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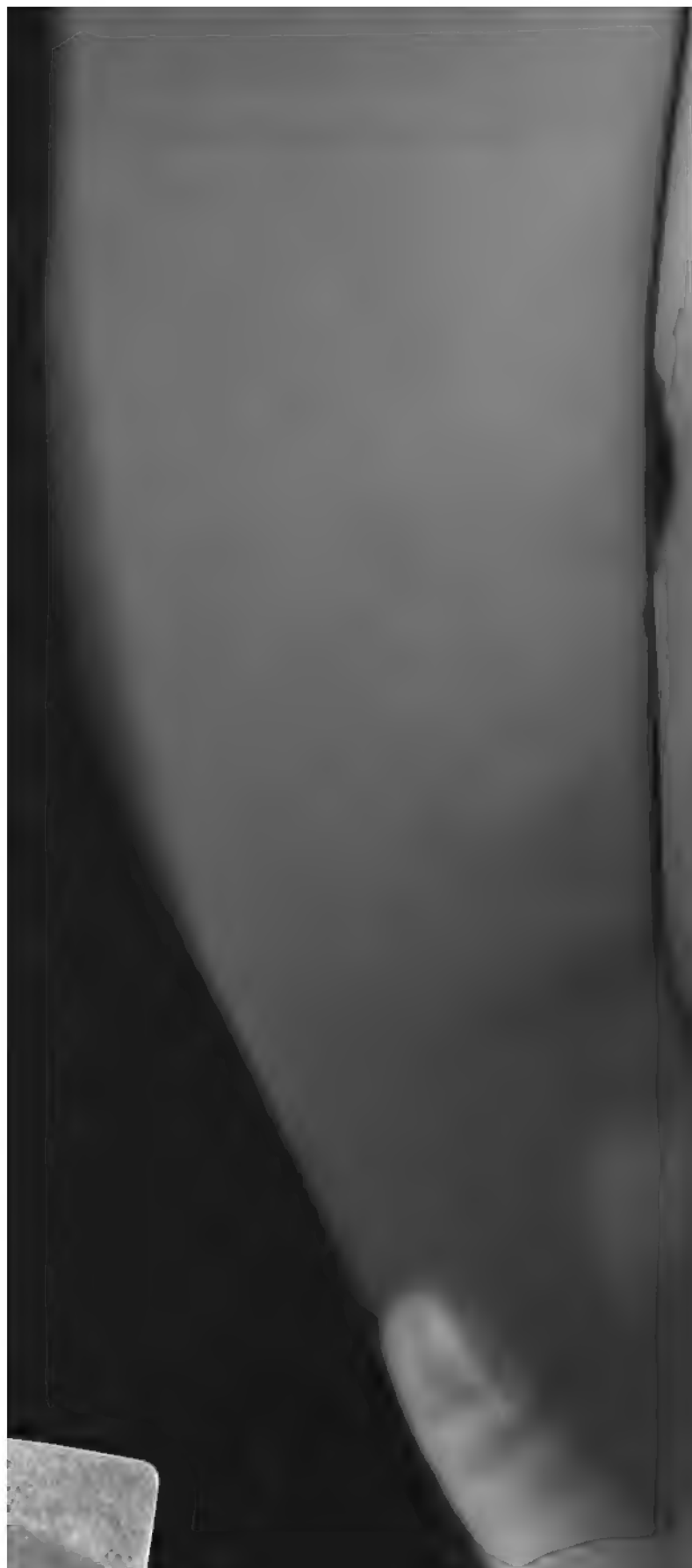
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THE  
IRISH CHIEFTAINS;  
OR,  
A STRUGGLE FOR THE CROWN.



*BY THE SAME AUTHOR.*

---

**THE ANNALS OF GALWAY: with copies of original Charters and Deeds, Notes, &c.**

**A TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTY OF CLARE, ITS CASTLES, ABBEYS, AND ROUND TOWERS.**

**GENERAL FORSTER'S REBELLION, OR THE RISING OF 1715.**

**THE LADY ADELIZA DILLON : a Story of the Penal Laws.**

**THE GENEALOGIES OF THE PRINCIPAL FAMILIES IN THE COUNTIES OF GALWAY AND CLARE.**

**A COLLECTION OF THE OLDEST AND MOST POPULAR LEGENDS OF THE PEASANTRY OF CLARE AND GALWAY.**

THE  
IRISH CHIEFTAINS;

OR,

A STRUGGLE FOR THE CROWN:

WITH

Numerous Notes and a copious Appendix.

BY

CHARLES FFRENCH BLAKE-FORSTER,

AUTHOR OF A HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR OF MAJOR-GENERAL DON HUGH  
MALDPANG O'DONNELL;

A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE DE BERMINGHAMS, LORDS OF ATHENRY;

THE ANNALS OF ATHENRY, OR, YE CITIE OF THE BARONS;

THE ANNALS OF COBCOMROE ABBEY; LEMENAGH CASTLE, OR A LEGEND OF THE WILD HORSE;

THE ANNALS OF ELLENORA; THE ANNALS OF KNOCKMOY ABBEY;

AND A HISTORICAL ESSAY ENTITLED WHAT ARE THE ARMS OF GALWAY?

ETC. ETC.



Oh! could I from death but recover  
Those hearts, as they bounded before,  
In the face of high Heaven to fight over  
That combat for freedom once more;

Could the chain for an instant be riven  
Which Tyranny flung round us then,  
Oh! 'tis not in Man nor in Heaven  
To let Tyranny bind it again!

MOORE.

DUBLIN:

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TO  
THE DESCENDANTS OF THOSE DISINTERESTED PATRIOTS  
WHO FOUGHT  
AT THE BOYNE, AUGHIRM, ATHLONE, GALWAY, LIMERICK,  
AND  
ON THE CONTINENT,  
IN THE SERVICE OF THEIR RELIGION AND COUNTRY,  
*This Record*  
OF  
THE VALOUR AND PATRIOTISM OF THEIR HEROIC ANCESTORS  
IS INSCRIBED,  
BY  
THE AUTHOR.



## P R E F A C E .

---

**I**T is now one hundred and eighty-three years since Ireland was devastated by the unfortunate war, the principal actors in which were the characters introduced in the following pages. The man dies, but his memory lives : and though they have so long ago passed away, oblivion has not covered the recollections of their time; and story, song, and tradition record the memorable events of that melancholy period in the history of our country. No man who feels proud of his native land could read the soul-stirring lines of Caledonia's gifted bard without being struck with the patriotic feelings they express :—

“Breathes there the man, with soul so dead,  
Who never to himself hath said,  
    This is my own, my native land !  
Whose heart hath ne'er within him burned,  
As home his footsteps he hath turned,  
    From wandering on a foreign strand !  
If such there breathe, go mark him well ;  
For him no minstrel raptures swell ;  
High though his titles, proud his name,  
Boundless his wealth as wish can claim ;  
Despite those titles, power and pelf,  
The wretch, concentred all in self,  
Living, shall forfeit fair renown,  
And, doubly dying, shall go down  
To the vile dust, from whence he sprung,  
Unwept, unhonoured, and unsung.”



At least this was the opinion I entertained on my return from England, where I had been educated; and therefore one of the first places I visited in my native county was that portion of it which anciently comprised the historic territory of Cineal Aodh. For me its various hallowed and long deserted ruins, like the rest of that locality, possessed pleasing, though somewhat melancholy associations. Yes—

“ Land of my sires ! what mortal hand  
Can e’er untie the filial band,  
That knits me to thy rugged strand !  
Still, as I view each well-known scene,  
Think what is now, and what hath been,  
Seems, as to me, of all bereft,  
Sole friends thy woods and streams were left ;  
And thus I love them better still,  
Even in extremity of ill.”

Therefore I resolved to ascertain all I possibly could, concerning the past history of those now silent and desolate memorials of the past. While I gazed on the ruins of Fidane Castle in particular, and pondered on the many festive scenes which had been here enacted, they recalled to my mind those beautiful and expressive lines, so suitable to the occasion :—

“ Time-hallowed pile ! no more, no more  
Thou hearest the hostile cannon roar ;  
No more bold chiefs thy drawbridge pace,  
To battle, tournament or chase ;  
No more the valiant man thy towers,  
No more the lovely grace thy bowers,  
Nor bright eyes smile o’er the guitar,  
Nor the trump stirs bold hearts to war.  
The falling meteor o’er thee shoots,  
The dull owl in thy chamber hoots ;  
Now doth the creeping ivy twine,  
Where once bloomed rose and eglantine ;

And there, where once in rich array  
Met lords and knights, and ladies gay,  
The bat is clinging to those walls,  
And the fox nestles in those halls."

Accordingly I read, searched, and collected: not, however, without being apprehensive of the great responsibility of such an undertaking; and being aware of the magnitude of the subject, I was for a long time reluctant to publish the result of my researches, principally on account of the prominent position which members of my own family occupied in this locality during the past days of tyranny and confiscation. But, on consideration, I concluded that many of the facts narrated in the following pages would be for ever lost to posterity, should any of the private and authentic MSS., which I had occasion to consult, and which I was kindly permitted to inspect, be destroyed. This was a matter which of course I naturally wished to prevent, taking as I did such a lively interest in the pathetic story of the misfortunes of the Chiefs of Cineal Aodh, whose extensive possessions were confiscated in consequence of their adherence to the great principle of religious liberty—a principle which, for venturing to maintain, England, which prides herself on being the most civilized of nations, drove one of her most, if not *the* most courageous and frugal of her sovereigns into exile: and from this circumstance sprung the various incidents which transpired within the period embraced in the story of 'THE IRISH CHIEFTAINS; OR, A STRUGGLE FOR THE CROWN'—1689 to 1770. It is therefore one hundred and two years since an alien and arbitrary Government unscrupulously accomplished the total ruin and subsequent extinction of one of the noblest aboriginal families of Ireland. These considerations, together with the solicita-

tion of some friends who examined the MS., have induced me to lay before the public the result of my inquiries, having first abridged (as much as was consistent with the work) all that related to the Blake-Forster sept. Although I was, moreover, convinced that it was no easy matter to compile a work which treats of so many different subjects, I was, however, encouraged to persevere in the undertaking by the example of Josephus, the historian of the Fall of Jerusalem, who relates how he 'grew weary' and 'went on slowly,' and how many persons 'are induced to draw historical facts out of darkness into light, and to produce them for the benefit of the public, on account of the great importance of the facts themselves with what they have been concerned.' In conclusion, I have to thank the many friends and strangers who so kindly offered to subscribe liberally towards the publication of this work. However, I felt myself bound to refuse subscriptions, as I wrote entirely at my own suggestion, and therefore wished, when the work would be completed, to give the public an opportunity of using its own discretion with regard to my self-imposed labour. To all those friends of literature who take an interest in the history of their country, I have also to return my most sincere thanks for the valuable assistance they gave me while compiling the work. I trust that no Irishman, whatever be his creed or politics, will imagine that I wrote of this unfortunate period in the chequered history of our country, for party purposes, as no one could be more anxious than I am to have all Irishmen united, and see them live in harmony with each other, as the sons of our common Fatherland should, and following the example of two of our illustrious countrymen, the gallant Earl of Lucan, and the learned Sir Toby Butler, who, though differing widely in



their political opinions from the Duke de Schonberg and Baron de Ginckell, maintained the most friendly relations towards them. Indeed Sarsfield, though not recognising the authority of William III., whom he viewed as a usurper, addressed Baron de Ginckell as the Earl of Athlone, while the Dutch nobleman, who viewed James II. as an arbitrary tyrant, justly dethroned by his indignant subjects, addressed the Irish patriot as the Earl of Lucan.

C. FF. B-F.

FORSTER-STREET HOUSE, GALWAY,  
*12th of July, 1872.*



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# THE IRISH CHIEFTAINS;

OR,

A STRUGGLE FOR THE CROWN.

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## CHAPTER I.

THE CHIEF OF CINEAL AODH.

THE Castle of Fidane is situated on the confines of the counties of Galway and Clare, and was formerly a fortification of great strength, and one of the most secure strongholds of the ancient O'Shaughnessy sept. It was a frontier castle, and well calculated to guard the western portion of their territory against any invasion of their warlike neighbours, the fiery Dalcassians. History does not record exactly the date of its erection, but its style of architecture shows that in all probability it was built during the fourteenth century. The architect, most undoubtedly, must have had the eye and head of an able engineer, having chosen a site difficult of access, and admirably fortified against an enemy at a time when the bow, the sword, and the spear were the principal weapons used in warfare. The castle stood between two lakes; the one to the north was the smaller. The lake to the south was a picturesque sheet of water. Large trees bound the margin on the castle side, and bulrushes growing in great profusion rose high above the surface, lending to the scene an air of romantic beauty not easily described. These lakes were supplied by a river which derived its source in the lofty mountains known as Slieve Boughta (11), and, descending, passed through the ornamental waters of Loughcutra. From this lake a river took its course to the west, and formed a confluence with other streams which flowed from the lake of Inchiquin, in the county of Clare.

It was a beautiful sight to behold, of a fine summer's evening, thousands of the red trout peculiar to the latter lake sporting in the calm waters of Fidane, and forming circles on its placid bosom.

At the commencement of winter, a spectator, on the top of this ancient castle, by night, could enjoy a most picturesque view of several of the clansmen of O'Shaughnessy pursuing, with lighted torches and fishing spears, the speckled trout along the flooded lands, and the rivers and neighbouring streams. The south lake was deep, and bore the curious name of Lough-an-airgiod, from a tradition that a Chief of the O'Shaughnessys had, during a period of civil war, thrown his money and plate into it. The castle parks contained about fifteen acres of land between the two lakes, and were guarded by fortifications extending from one lake to the other. Those to the west consisted of a broad and deep canal, extending from Lough Dubh, and meeting a strong wall full of port-holes, in which was a gateway strongly fortified. From this gate the wall was continued to Lough-an-airgiod. On the east side a canal extended from Lough Dubh, also meeting the waters of Lough-an-airgiod, and thus completing the outer fortifications of the Castle of Fidane. Midway between the two lakes, on this fosse, stood the principal entrance, which was erected in the form of a small castle. It was called, in Irish, Caislain-beg, or the little castle, and was three stories in height. The gateway was vaulted, and protected by a strong drawbridge, which, when not in use, was drawn up by chains into a groove in the castle wall, and formed an outer defence to the strong gate of iron. Another gate, strongly plated with the same material, stood opposite to this, forming the grand approach to this great castle. To the right of the entrance, on the drawbridge side, was a low, vaulted, dungeon-like room, where the warder in charge of the gate had his lodging. The immense iron bar that secured the gate passed through a groove of cut stone into this apartment, and could be easily pushed forward or drawn back at the pleasure of the warder. The stairs leading to the upper guard-room were very narrow, and furnished with a thickly-plated iron door. The first guard-room extended along the whole length of the building, and its walls were full of port-holes towards every direction, in order to afford an opportunity of annoying the foe from whatever quarter they approached. The third story was not vaulted, but a battlement surmounted its upper walls. The roof was thatched, in accordance with the peculiar style of Irish castles for a long time previously. The guards of this castle were chosen from amongst those of the retainers who were the bravest, and most distinguished for their skill in arms and valour as soldiers. The way from the barbican to the castle lay through an avenue studded with venerable old trees, of the oak and ash species, and the ground on which the castle stood was slightly elevated. This massive pile was surrounded by a wall, surmounted by strong battle-



ments, which formed an oblong, except on the western side, where a triangular projection of the wall was placed, in order to produce an additional mode of defence, should the enemy approach the fortress from that direction. The battlements of this part of the castle were well supplied with port-holes capable of receiving either arrows or the falconet wall-guns, so much in use in the middle ages. On this also was a parapet with port-holes, which made it stronger than any other portion of the castle walls, and in it was placed the great gateway to the castle courtyard. It was two stories in height. Over this gate there was a projection, with an aperture through which hot water, molten lead, or any other destructive missile could be cast down on an enemy daring enough to approach this strong castle. Like in the outer barbican there was a strong iron bar across the gate when closed, and which, when access was required, could be drawn back into the warder's vaulted apartment. Outside the inner entrance was a flight of stone steps leading to the upper apartment, which had its port-holes and a number of wall-guns and other arms were always kept here ready for use, and, by ascending a few stone stairs, the garrison could perambulate the entire of the battlements. The eastern side of the castle had at its angles projecting turrets, with port-holes so placed that the enemy would suffer considerably should he attempt to assail the corner-stones of the wall. The south, which was very near the lake on that side, was the worst protected part of the castle, having only the cross fire of the southern turret, some port-holes, and the advantage of the retainers' fire from the parapets to defend it. A large postern door of iron was placed in the wall, in order to give the inhabitants of the castle ready access to the waters of the lake whenever they required it. Originally there were no buildings in the courtyard of the castle but the Great Keep. At the time we are writing of, however, many other buildings were erected to supply the want of accommodation. During war time, when several families were obliged to seek refuge here and in other strong-holds, in order to save their lives and their valuables, an ample kitchen was added to the south side of the Keep, to suit the developed requirements of the household; smaller buildings to the west, which were used, respectively, as guard-houses, store-rooms, and sleeping apartments; and under its northern wall a large banqueting hall was erected. A view of the Keep presented to the beholder a well-built castle, tall and stately, surmounted by a high, peaked roof, having a lofty but narrow watch-turret, which projected from the eastern angle, from which, upon state occasions, the standard of the O'Shaughnessy sept was displayed. The door of the Keep was of iron, and had port-holes overhead ingeniously contrived in a sort of

double wall, with the usual facilities for giving the assailants a warm reception whenever they appeared. The iron bar, called by the Irish *Maide Emun*, was used here, as described of the outer gates, and the warder's apartment was small and vaulted. To the front was a large vaulted hall, with a capacious fireplace, and to the left of the door the narrow, winding stone stairs which led to the apartments and galleries of the castle, some of which were small at one side of the building, while at the other two were of rather a large size, and used as the principal rooms by the family while they resided here. Those apartments had also large fireplaces, with heavy chimney-pieces of black marble. All round, the walls were hung with beautifully-worked tapestry, representing various scenes in foreign lands and at home, together with paintings and pictures, some of warriors of the Cineal Aodh, looking grimly down from the castle walls, and others master-pieces from the early Flemish, Italian, and French schools; while from other parts were suspended antique warlike weapons—the sword, the shield, and the helmet of warriors who for ages were passed away.

Although the rooms were pleasant, still the Chief preferred to dine and pass away his time in the large banqueting hall, which was at some distance from the north entrance to the castle, and in front of which was a beautifully-designed garden. Here himself and his family whiled away the time pleasantly, and at night retired to the Keep; while double locked was each door of iron, and the guard kept vigilant watch throughout the night.

Since the return of Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy, the present Chief's father, from France, on the Restoration of King Charles II., in 1660, the country being in a state of quietude, this castle was uninhabited, the more comfortable mansion of Gortinsiguara being chiefly used as a summer residence; but when the alarms of war again disturbed the peace of the country, Fidane was judged to be the most suitable place to collect together men and arms for the approaching struggle for the crown of Ireland. The report of the expected arrival of the King from France naturally caused great excitement over the island, and while the bold rejoiced at the prospect of measuring swords with the enemy, the aged feared a recurrence of the dreadful scenes which they had witnessed in their youth. Those who possessed goods were afraid of plunder, and the husbandman feared to sow lest he should not reap.

Early in the month of March, 1689, while the retainers of O'Shaughnessy were sitting round the watch-fire in the guard-room of the warder's castle at Fidane, Emun Laider said to his companions—

“Listen! I think I hear the sound of horses' hoofs clattering down the road through the rocks.”

“Your ears never deceive you,” said Shane Oge Killerna. “But, hark ! the sentinel calls us to our posts.”

“Taggert,” said Emun Laidier, “you, as our commander, had better question the horseman on his arrival—not that there is any danger that he could take the castle by storm, but merely to show him how much we have improved of late on the points of war and parley.”

Taggert was of that class who, like the Mac Sweeneys and Mao Sheeheys, made it his profession to engage in the service of Irish chieftains, for the purpose of training their retainers in military tactics. His family were for a long time in the service of the Chiefs of Cineal Aodh, and, in consequence of their faithfulness and skill, were rewarded with a grant of land, as were also the descendants of a gentleman named Clayton, who likewise served under O’Shaughnessy, and had at this time a residence adjacent to the Castle of Gortinsiguara. The tribes of Taggert and Clayton had increased since their settlement in Cineal Aodh, so that now their fighting men amounted to more than seventy, and were in the full possession of manly strength and courage, and well versed in all the military manoeuvres of the time. Taggert was about forty years of age, but still he could easily bound over every wall and ditch that came before him, and with his long-barrelled Spanish gun in his hand he seldom failed to bring down any object that he fired at. In his habits, though kind and affectionate to his family and friends, he was, nevertheless, a strict disciplinarian, and insisted on all occasions that the soldiers under his command should perform even the most trivial movements of their drill with regularity and exactness. He now seized the opportunity of putting his men through the military evolutions of the day, having more facility for doing so than before the entire body were concentrated.

On reaching the battlements, Taggert ordered Emun Laidier to tell some of the men to be prepared to raise the portcullis and let down the drawbridge, while himself ascended to the parapet. From thence he observed that the horseman had checked his speed ; but, notwithstanding this, was still stoutly approaching. When he arrived at the gateway, taking in his hand a small bugle which was suspended at his side, he blew loudly the first few notes of an old Irish air, called “Tha me ma culla,” or “I am asleep.” Taggert then called aloud—

“Who comes there ?” To which the horseman replied—

“I am an express from Athlone, with despatches, and am one of Colonel Clifford’s dragoons, of Captain Forster of Rathorpe’s troop” (12).

“Cead mille failthe !” said Taggert. “If I mistake not, you are Nicholas Power, who joined that regiment about two years ago ; but you have grown so much that I did not recognise you at first. Lig sios !” he continued, and in a moment the chains were unloosed that held up

the drawbridge, which fell with a loud report. The portcullis was then raised, and the massive iron doors flew back, revolving on their tremendous hinges, with a dull and heavy sound against the inner walls of the vaulted apartment, and Power, dismounting from his horse, entered the archway.

Two large torches of bog-dale were now lighted, which, emitting a bright glare, illuminated all around, and revealed the guard drawn up in order, who were furnished with long-barrelled muskets, and having in their belts daggers of highly-polished steel, which were made to fit their guns when required (13). Their ammunition was contained in bandoleers suspended from the shoulder, and their heads were covered by the Barred, a conical cap worn by the Irish. A trousers and tight-fitting jacket, with a large, loose frieze cloak, completed their dress. Taggert now put them through several military manœuvres, until he was fully satisfied Power had formed a high opinion of his skill as a disciplinarian. The young dragoon, having assured him that his men were as well disciplined as the regular troops in Athlone—which, of course, reflected great credit on their commander—he desired them to leave by their arms and greet their friend. This they did not fail to do in the warmest manner, and Shane Oge produced a large bottle of usquebaugh, or poteen, which he requested him to partake of. Power, however, declined, saying—

“I must first take care of my good charger.”

“Give yourself no trouble about your horse,” said Conor Buighe; “I will bring him to the stables, and take good care to provide the best provender the place affords for him.”

“In that case, Conor,” said Power, “I will resign my horse to your care, and proceed with you, Taggert, to the castle, in order to deliver my dispatch to O’Shaughnessy, your Chief.”

He then wished the guard good-night, and, accompanied by the warder, proceeded to the Keep. When they arrived at the door, Power sent one of the retainers to acquaint the Chief of Cineal Aodh of his arrival. The result of this message was that he was immediately admitted. On entering the room he beheld O’Shaughnessy, sitting at a round table near the fireplace. He was middle-aged, of fair complexion, and his long brown hair fell loosely over his shoulders. He wore a moustache, and his beard was slightly trimmed; while his look, though calm, betokened a great deal of anxiety. He wore a green coat, with a standing collar and large silver buttons. His waistcoat was long, and furnished with ample pockets. His smallclothes were of buckskin, and his large French boots were ornamented with gold spurs. The ruffles of his shirt sleeves covered his wrists, and on his fingers were several rings inlaid with precious stones. His broadsword, which he had previously taken off, was placed alongside the chimney-piece; whilst

his holster pistols, adorned with silver mounting and the family arms, were suspended from the wall, beneath the portrait of Rory More Dearg O'Shaughnessy (14), and his three-cornered cocked hat lay on a chair, near the door. On the table were placed some large account-books and other papers, which he threw aside when the courier entered. On the opposite side of the table sat Dermot Oge Cloran, Esquire, his secretary and confidential friend, with a pen in his hand, and apparently busily engaged over some accounts. Cloran's family were for a long time previously in the confidence of the Chiefs of Cineal Aodh, and anciently held considerable property in their extensive territory.

Power, after saluting the Chieftain, said—

“Sir, I received at Athlone a letter for you from my officer, Captain Forster.”

So saying, he unbuckled his sabertache, and took from it the epistle, which he presented to O'Shaughnessy, who, having read it, laid it on the table, and, turning to Dermot Oge, said—

“Cloran, please leave by your papers until we hear what news the courier brings from Athlone. I hope my young friend Captain Forster,” he continued, addressing the dragoon, “is well?”

“In good health, sir, thanks to Providence, and there is no officer in the garrison more respected. Kind and affable to his soldiers, he still upholds the dignity becoming his noble descent. His purse is always at the command of his troop when they require it, and whenever letters arrive for any of us he personally delivers them. He is most attentive to our drill, and very often instructs us in the sword exercise, which he acquired while at college in France. He is a great favourite with the veteran Colonel Grace, Colonel Sheldon, and other distinguished officers. The Captain has obtained leave to come to Clooneene, for the purpose of recruiting men for the army from amongst his father's and grandfather's tenantry, and I am sure he will be most successful.”

“How can you know that?” said O'Shaughnessy.

“I suppose you do not recollect me, sir. My name is Nicholas Power, and I was born on the Clooneene estate.”

“What!” said O'Shaughnessy, “son of Power of Park-na-attinagh?”

“Yes, sir; I am his son, and you may recollect he fought against the Cromwellians, under my Chief, Frincheas More na Fion” (15).

“Yes, I know him well,” said O'Shaughnessy—“a trusty, honourable, and venerable old soldier; and, inasmuch as I esteem him, I insist on your remaining here to-night, where you are welcome to the best entertainment my castle affords.”

"I could not think of doing myself the injustice of not accepting your invitation," said the dragoon, "though, I must confess, I was anxious to see my father to-night."

"Dermot Oge," said O'Shaughnessy, "open the closet door, and take out some bottles of the claret which my father, Sir Dermot, received from Bordeaux, in 1666, and which the captain of the fast-sailing brig 'The Outlaw,' landed at Duras, not being over-particular about putting into Galway to pay the king's duty (16). Now, Dermot Oge, three cups if you please," he continued, after Cloran had brought the wine from the closet.

Dermot Oge, in obedience, opened a small oak press in a recess near the fireplace, from which he took three silver goblets, with the armorial bearings of the O'Shaughnessy sept emblazoned on them. On a shield *argent* a castle, triple-towered, *azure*; crest, an arm embowed, holding a spear; supporters, two lions *or*, with the motto *Fortis et stabilis*; and, placing them on the table, filled them to the brim with the rich, red wine of France.

"Come," said O'Shaughnessy, taking one of the goblets in his hand, "let us drink the health of King James the Second. God restore to its hereditary rights the House of Stuart!"

Power drew his sword from its scabbard, and, flourishing it over his head, with his whole heart responded to the toast. Then, after laying his goblet on the table, and sheathing his blade, he bowed, and retired to his quarters in the outer buildings of the castle.

When alone with O'Shaughnessy, Dermot Oge said, "I am exceedingly glad to hear that young Captain Forster is well, for I knew him from his childhood, and no better officer exists. I assure you, O'Shaughnessy, that, next to yours, I esteem the Clooneene family, and will, in my last hours, leave to you and them the disposal of all my worldly goods and chattels" (17).

"I am sure you have a high opinion of that sept," said O'Shaughnessy, "and my father, Sir Dermot, had the same. After my marriage he made Captain Francis Forster of Clooneene one of the trustees to the deed confirming my marriage settlement."

"Oh, yes," said Dermot Oge, "I remember the deed very well; it is dated 10th of September, 1668, and is here among the papers. I brought it for your perusal."

Dermot Oge then drew forth, from under some of the papers, a large volume of parchment tied with red tape, and commenced to read—"This Indenture, made between Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy, William O'Shaughnessy, and Captain Francis Forster, of the first part, and



Conor Lord Viscount Clare, the Honourable Colonel Daniel O'Brien his son, Mark Lynch, and Donough O'Brien, of the second part——"

"You need not read further, Dermot," said O'Shaughnessy, who feared Dermot Oge would not cease until he had read over all the long recitations of remainderships and covenants therein, commenting on the several clauses and provisoes as he went over each parchment. "What I wished to look at in the deed were the clauses as to the remaindership of the property, in case of failure of heirs male in my family."

"In that case," said Dermot Oge, "the reversion and remainder of all and of each and every one of the aforesaid thirty-five quarters of Gortinsiguara——"

"You may skip over long recitals," said O'Shaughnessy, "as the hour is rather late. I know you and your ancestors always took care that the deeds required by my family should be most correctly drawn up, and minute in their limitations, provisoes, and so forth."

"Indeed, you are quite correct, O'Shaughnessy; myself and my ancestors always took particular pains with every document connected with your family, and used our best endeavours to lead them into a knowledge of the nature of their deeds and agreements with other parties."

"Fill your goblet, Dermot Oge, and let us finish this magnum ere we read over the deed," said O'Shaughnessy.

Dermot, who was rather thirsty, drank the contents of the goblet at a draught, and then said—

"Sir, I have studied this settlement and its clauses well, and my poor father's opinion thereon. The words are—'The remainder to all that and those the twelve quarters of the castle and island of Fidane——'"

Here O'Shaughnessy, who did not relish the perusal of so voluminous a manuscript, interrupted him by saying—

"Come, Dermot, fill your goblet; the wine is *de premiere classe*, and we can look over the deed at some other time."

"To sum all up," Dermot Oge continued, "in case you or your sons, or their descendants, should fail in male issue, the reversion goes to your brother, Charles O'Shaughnessy, of Ardemilevan Castle, or his descendants; and my opinion is that this deed will hold good, both in law and equity, as long as justice rules the land; but we can see Captain Forster at Clooneene on to-morrow, and get his opinion on the subject," at the same time filling up once more O'Shaughnessy's and his own goblet.

"You are right, Dermot," responded the Chieftain, "for he, as trustee, has a copy of the deed; but, at all events, he ought to be a solid opinion

on such matters; for, as you are aware, his grandfather, Sir Thomas Forster, was a celebrated judge, and also his uncle, Sir Robert, who settled at Egham, in Surrey."

"Yes," said Dermot Oge, "I am fully cognizant of that already; but, as you are not inclined to hear the deed read at present, may I ask what is the nature of the despatch you have received?"

The Chieftain handed him the letter, saying, "This will afford you an opportunity of satisfying yourself."

Dermot Oge then trimmed the lamp, and, taking the proffered packet, read aloud the address—

"To Roger O'Shaughnessy, Esquire, of Gortinsiguara, These," and, taking off the cover, continued as follows:—

"By His Excellency Richard Earl of Tyrconnell, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland.

"SIR,—His Excellency regrets much your ill health, but hopes daily to hear you are better. Indeed, he knows well your zeal in the King's cause, which is now your country's cause also. His Majesty is daily expected at Cork, and, of course, will call a Parliament to meet in May next. I need not urge you to give every assistance in providing recruits for the army, as you are well aware that the ranks of the several regiments should be filled at once, owing to disturbances arising in the North. Captain Forster will take charge of recruits from your estates. His father, the present High Sheriff of the county of Galway, stands high in the confidence of the Government, and he can now be of great service to the King. You are likely soon to be restored to the former honours of the O'Shaughnessy family, and his Excellency hopes soon to see you, and thereby renew former acquaintance.

"By His Excellency's command,

"RICHARD NAGLE (18).

"Given at Dublin Castle, this the 28th day of February, 1689."

"I care but little," said O'Shaughnessy, "either for his promises or rewards. Nothing makes me act but a sense of my duty to my religion and my country. Restore me to the honours of the family, indeed! Why! my sept held their position till the time of Henry VIII."

"Yes," said Dermot Oge, "in Anno Domini 1543, King Henry of England granted to Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy, Chief of his Name and Nation, and to his heirs male *in capite*, by service of a knight's fee, the lands of Gortinsiguara, with their several manors, namely——"

"Dermot," interrupted O'Shaughnessy, "you need not repeat them at present. I was mentioning the fact that my sept maintained their



rights against all, and even the Burkes of Clanrickard could not root us out of our territory; and if my ancestor, Dermot O'Shaughnessy, Chief of his Name, and of Cineal Aodh, did then reluctantly submit to the power of England, it was because all the odds were against him. The Chief of the O'Briens accepted the title of Earl of Thomond, and laid aside the crown of his father. Burke of Clanrickard also submitted, throwing the name of MacWilliam Eighter aside on being created Baron of Dunkellin and Earl of Clanrickard. As to the title of knighthood which my family held under the patent granted by King Henry, you know, Dermot, that the patent of the 20th December, 1676, to me did not confirm it."

"I know that," said Dermot Oge, "inasmuch as your patent commenced as if a *de novo* grant, you paying certain quit or crown rents, instead of knight's service in the camp. Therefore, unless the honour of knighthood is conferred on you, you are not entitled to bear it. Nevertheless, wherever you are known you are esteemed and respected as the descendant of the Chiefs of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, and the ancient monarchs of our country."

"I feel I am, Dermot Oge," said O'Shaughnessy; "but, as supper hour has arrived, we will defer discussing the subject until to-morrow."

"As you please," said Dermot Oge, who commenced to arrange the papers on the table; and, having carefully tied each packet with divers coloured tape, conveyed them to the Muniment Chamber, where he placed them on their respective shelves, and, after locking the door, returned to the room.

Here he found Lady Helena O'Shaughnessy seated at the foot of the supper table, which was well supplied with beef, mutton, and the choicest wines; and even tea, which was then considered such a great luxury, had found its way to the Castle of Fidane.

Lady Helena O'Shaughnessy, who was in the full bloom and freshness of womanhood, possessed many admirable qualities, and those enviable charms of personal beauty for which her noble family were long remarkable. Her ladyship was dressed in the gay costume of the Court of the late King Charles, and on her fingers, which were white and tapering, she wore many valuable rings. From a green ribbon which encircled her neck was suspended a miniature of her noble father, the late Lord Clare, while her auburn hair was divested of all artificial ornaments. Lady Helena O'Shaughnessy possessed great wit, which contributed materially to increase the natural vivacity of her disposition; while, at the same time, her conversation was elegant and engaging. Indeed, it would be difficult to find a lady whose demeanour and accomplishments were superior to hers.

Her ladyship received Dermot Oge with great cordiality, and inquired most anxiously after the health of his family.

"Margaret Lynch," said Dermot Oge, who was accustomed to call his wife by her maiden name, "is well, and so are all the little ones. My eldest daughter, Mrs. Conor O'Hogan, of Kilkeedy, also enjoys good health; and I know your ladyship will be glad to hear that Conor is a kind husband, and in independent circumstances."

"The O'Hogans," remarked O'Shaughnessy, who up to this was actively engaged in carving a large joint of beef, "suffered terribly in former times."

"Yes," replied Dermot Oge; "but a few of them have received patents for small portions of their hereditary properties in the barony of Inchiquin—the O'Hogans of Kells and Cross amongst the number."

"I am aware of that already, my friend," said O'Shaughnessy, "but why waste time in talking of the past, while the best part of our supper is getting cold?"

"I was waiting, sir, for the young lady to join us," said Dermot Oge. The Chief was about replying, when he was prevented by the entrance of his daughter.

Helena O'Shaughnessy was a young, blushing girl, and in manner and appearance resembled her mother. Her hair, however, was of a different colour, being a rich brown, and on the whole she bore a greater resemblance to the O'Shaughnessys than to her maternal ancestors, the Viscounts Clare. She now smilingly advanced, and cordially greeted Dermot Oge, with whom she was a great favourite.

"I am daily expecting the return of my son," said the Chieftain. "He was very uneasy until we gave him permission to visit his uncle, Lord Clare, who is at present busily engaged drilling his regiment of dragoons at Carrigahoult Castle."

"I saw," said Dermot Oge, "the Yellow Dragoons at Clare Castle last year, and certainly they are a very fine body of men, well officered by loyal gentlemen of bravery and discrimination; and your son William must be proud to see his uncle, the Right Honourable Daniel Lord Viscount Clare, the colonel of such a splendid regiment. The sight, I have no doubt, will kindle martial ardour in his veins."

"I do not think he requires to be excited in that way," said O'Shaughnessy, "as he appears to be a youth of spirit and resolution, bold and daring. Some time ago I missed him from the castle, and, on going to the court-yard, to my astonishment beheld him throwing his ball high into the air while standing on the top of the western chimney."

Here Lady Helena, whose maternal affection overcame her, exclaimed—

"Oh, the rash boy! I fear nothing can tame his wild, impetuous spirit. What shall become of me should anything unfortunate happen to him?"

"He is a very good hurler, considering his youth," said Dermot Oge, "and well skilled in spearing the speckled trout, which amusement he often pursues at Lough-a-Torig; nor is he deficient in the knowledge of the classics, as far as I am capable of judging."

"Yes," said O'Shaughnessy. "I had him at school in Galway, where Latin and Greek are well taught; and he is instructed in French by Father Malony, who is a perfect master of that language, from his long residence on the Continent. He is also an excellent man, and was much beloved by my father."

Glynn, the major-domo, now entered the room, and, bowing low to his Chief, said, "Master Theobald Butler, of Ballygegan, wishes to see you, sir."

"Admit him at once," said O'Shaughnessy, without, however, noticing the deep blush which overspread the countenance of his daughter at the mention of this young gentleman's name, for Theobald had latterly paid her much attention, and she felt that he loved her. Lady Helena, who observed, with the discerning eye of a mother, the attention Theobald had been latterly paying her daughter, smiled meaningly at her; for, as she countenanced his suit, she did not care about concealing her knowledge from Helena. The Butlers of Ballygegan were a family of great antiquity, much respected, and were Jacobites. Theobald was therefore justified in aspiring to the hand of O'Shaughnessy's daughter.

Glynn withdrew, and in a few moments after Theobald Butler entered the room.

He was young, not more than twenty years of age—had fair hair, a florid complexion, and was rather tall and stout. He was greeted heartily by all the family, and invited to partake of supper.

"Come, Butler," said O'Shaughnessy, "first take a goblet of wine to whet your appetite."

"Few of my family would refuse a goblet of wine," said Theobald merrily, at the same time filling the measure and draining it to the dregs.

The minstrel, Mac Brody, now entered the room, to the satisfaction of all. Placing him in an arm chair near the fire, the Chieftain handed him a large goblet of wine. After taking a few draughts he commenced to play several well-known Irish airs, while O'Shaughnessy, Dermot Oge, and Theobald engaged the ladies in conversation, until the hour for retiring had arrived.

## CHAPTER II.

## CLOONEENE.

NEXT morning, after breakfast, O'Shaughnessy said to Dermot Oge—"We will now talk over our affairs in the Muniment Chamber."

Leaving the dining-room they mounted the narrow, winding staircase that led to the closet in which, for many years, were deposited the family documents. Dermot Oge unlocked the door, and, entering, sat down with the Chief.

The roof was a good height. The walls all round were lined with shelves of oak ; some dark oak presses and black oak chests, with strong brass rivets, were at the corners. In the centre was an oak table, and distributed in various parts of the room were several chairs of the same material. A silver inkstand, a strong brass-mounted desk, a large silver seal, with the O'Shaughnessy arms engraved on it, and sealing-wax of various colours, were placed on the table.

"This room is always kept in good order," said the Chieftain.

"I pique myself on its being so," said Cloran, who, standing up, continued—"Here, O'Shaughnessy, is shelf No. 1, containing acts and deeds of Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy, Strafford's Survey, in 1637—Black Tom, as he was called, who was ill rewarded by his countrymen for his tyranny to us (19). And here are letters from the Supreme Council of the Catholic Confederation to Dermot O'Shaughnessy, Esquire, of Gortinsiguara, one of its members for the county of Galway, in 1643. Your father was not a knight then, as his father, Sir Roger, lived till 1650. This ledger here contains proceedings of the Court of Claims at Loughrea, 1654-7, afterwards held at Athlone ; memorandums from France and Flanders during Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy's exile ; claim of Lady Margaret O'Shaughnessy in the Roll of Innocents, 1662-3 ; the same of Lady 'Sheela,'—that is to say, Lady Julia—O'Shaughnessy, widow ; King Charles's officers, 1649—claim of Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy therein ; same of Adventurers and Soldiers ; and same of Connaught Certificates ; Court of Claims again, 1662-3 ; No. 118, Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy, question as to contiguity—affidavit of Dermot Cloran thereon : my poor father, sir, who well knew all the lands, their bounds and value, and all the law and confiscations which your family were forced to suffer in the past days of spoliation."

"I hope we may never have a recurrence of them," said O'Shaugh-

nessy, "though we are hardly justified in hoping for better times, as the commerce of the country is at present paralyzed by the various rumours of war and bloodshed which are current. Your family and yourself, Dermot Oge, have taken great care of all our deeds and muniments."

"We did our best to do so," said Dermot Oge, "for when wild confusion reigned over the land, and your father, Sir Dermot, had to fly to the Continent, my father and myself, then a young man, carefully removed the papers and deeds, and hid some in the sides of caves, and more in the vicinity of the small castle on the island of Loughcutra. We placed them in large earthen jars, which we carefully sealed and wrapped in oil-skins, and then, burying them deep in the soft soil, impatiently awaited the restoration of his Majesty King Charles II. And, what is more, O'Shaughnessy, we saved the belt and crozier of that illustrious member of your family, St. Coluim Mac Duach, and they are yet among your other relics of antiquity which we preserved from the destroyer" (20).

"It is fearful to think of such bigoted times," said the Chief, "when even such curious antiquities could not escape the Vandals of the day."

"Some well-finished falconets and other wall-guns," continued Dermot Oge, "used by the guard of the castle, we were obliged to throw into deep water; and we hid the large brazen cauldrons (21) now used in the kitchen in some adjacent bogs. We recovered some of the things we concealed, but many were lost. When the regicide, Ludlow, took Gortinsiguara Castle in 1651—I remember it well, being then about fifteen years of age——" (22).

"Some other time I would much like you to narrate the circumstances connected with its capture to me," said O'Shaughnessy.

"I shall not fail to recount them some evening at our leisure," replied his companion.

"This war will entail heavy demands on my purse," said the Chief; "and although I have yet a great deal of ready money which I received as part of Lady Helena's fortune from Lord Clare, and the tenants are in good circumstances, still the price of stock and corn is low. No man can tell what the cost of the coming struggle for the crown will be, or what ruin it may bring on myself and my tenantry; but I will hear what my father's old friend, the elder Captain Forster, of Clooneene, says on the subject."

"Two heads," said Dermot Oge, "are better than one, and Scripture tells us that in the multitude of counsellors there is safety."

"Sometimes," replied the Chief, "the multitude act wrong; but the wisest plan is to hear all opinions, and then fix on the best conclusion

you can arrive at. The Captain has great experience, and my father always consulted him on any difficult affair. His high sense of honour and unimpeachable integrity, combined with a liberal mind and generous disposition, have made him a general favourite in Clare and Galway, and the poor also have a kind friend in him, for often, very often, has he taken them out of prison when about to be victimized by some bigoted tyrant. Frincheas More na Fion, as he is called, is well known to be a brave soldier, and his way is never to allow any one to insult him with impunity. I have read in a book on genealogy, which my father brought from Flanders, that his sept are descended from the Foresters who ruled that country in ancient times. Sir Richard Forester, son of Baldwin V., who accompanied William the Conqueror in his successful invasion of England, was ancestor of this bold Northumbrian race from whom my venerable and esteemed friend is descended."

"Yes, I have also read much about that family," said Dermot Oge. "The Chief's son, the Major, is much respected, and Eleanor Burke, his wife, is a near relative of yours."

"I am glad to say she is a lady dignified by every virtue, and highly accomplished," said the Chieftain.

"What else could be expected from the daughter of that gallant soldier, the chivalrous Gerald Burke, of Tyaquin Castle, who defended to the last his stronghold," replied Dermot Oge, "until it was taken by Sir Charles Coote, who razed to the ground the castle of his stubborn foe, so long the abode of the brave and hospitable Burkes. After the Restoration of Charles II. he was restored part of his wide domains."

"I recollect," said O'Shaughnessy, "having accompanied my father on a visit to the old warrior at Tyaquin, where he had erected a house on the island on which the ancient castle of his ancestors stood. It was a long building, with a large bawn and numerous offices. I was well entertained. He had fat beeves, and plenty of the best Spanish wine from Galway. The old Colonel liked much to speak of his campaigns abroad, while he served in the Spanish army, and was a fine, hale old man. Notwithstanding his advanced age, his eyes had not lost their lustre, nor his arms their strength. His son was lately appointed by the Lord Lieutenant to a colonelcy in the army."

"Yes, I am aware of that," said Dermot Oge; "and I have heard he is expected soon on a visit to his sister, at Rathorpe."

"The coming election for the county," said the Chief, "will cause many to call there for the purpose of visiting her husband, the High Sheriff; and I suppose that, by this time, the King must have arrived



at Cork from France. However, we will receive an early account of his landing, as the express from Limerick to Galway will pass by Crushnahawn."

"Do not, O'Shaughnessy," said Dermot Oge, "reckon on your wife's fortune as so much money in hand. The bond from my Lord Viscount Clare may not be paid on demand, and you may not be able to raise money on it. Your father got of the £800 fortune, £300 in cattle, which I say were overvalued, but still of great use, as they helped to increase Sir Dermot's stock, and ever since your farms are full of sheep, black cattle, and horses, which will now be of much service in supplying the army. There are a hundred fat heifers at Newtown, a thousand fat sheep at Ballysheedy, and three hundred cows and calves feeding on the town-parks of Gortinsiguara." (23.)

"Dermot Oge," said O'Shaughnessy, at another time I will go over all the lists of my stock. I feel full confidence in the correctness of all your accounts."

"Indeed you may, sir, for Lissine was the ancient estate of my forefathers, even before the year 1628, and I can therefore sign myself Dermot Oge Cloran, of Lissine, Gentleman. Till that time my ancestors only paid yearly a mark as chiefry to O'Shaughnessy; but Sir Roger, your grandfather, I am sorry to say, then sued all the old proprietors of Cineal Aodh for their lands. They resisted at first, but were forced to yield at last, and settle under new rents. My grandfather made some agreement to pay forty shillings yearly, but when Sir Dermot succeeded he reduced it to one mark. However, I now pay five pounds for it."

"Make yourself easy about that matter," said O'Shaughnessy, "for in future, you and your heirs shall possess the lands of Lissine for one mark a year."

"Thanks," returned Dermot Oge. "I will use my best endeavours to manage all the affairs relating to your family as well as I have done since the Restoration, for no one living knows more about them. In the chest in the corner there," he continued, pointing with his hand, "are some mortgages due to your father, and other deeds. The deed of your wife's marriage settlement, she wished to read some time ago, and I gave it to her. Matthew Geagan's bond, Conor Reagh O'Shaughnessy's, and Dermot Tully's bond on the forty-seven acres, belonging to him at Rafladown, and Gortavoher, and others are there also. Some other time I will instruct you as to the agreement your father, Sir Dermot, made with the trustees to the mortgages."

“My marriage settlement in 1667,” said O’Shaughnessy, “was drawn by Marcus Lynch.”

“Yes,” said Dermot Oge, “I was present when the deed was drawn, and Sir Dermot felt confident Lynch would not draw it at any disadvantage to him. My Lord Viscount Clare also consented to Marcus Lynch’s drawing up the deed, as he was considered a good lawyer. Your grand-uncle was a party to the deed of confirmation, in 1668, with Captain Forster, of Clooneene.”

“My grand-uncle did good service in the Catholic army,” said O’Shaughnessy, “during former troubles, and was at the taking of the fort at Galway in 1643. Its commander, Captain Willoughby, was a blood-thirsty assassin and an inhuman tyrant. Colonel William O’Shaughnessy was much beloved by the people of the old city of Galway.”

“In that memorandum book,” said Dermot Oge, “on shelf No. 3, there is an extract from the Corporation Book of Galway about Colonel William’s admission to the freedom of that good city.”

“You may read it if you wish, Dermot Oge,” said the Chieftain.

Dermot Oge then removed the book from its place, and opening it, read—“1648 : Ordered that Lieutenant-Colonel William O’Shaughnessy (in consideration of his allyance in bloode to the *whole* town, and for the goode nature and affection that he and his whole family doe bear to it) and his posteritie shall be hereafter freemen of this corporation.”

“I like,” said Dermot Oge, “making notes and memorandums of all relating to your sept, as they may be considered curious hereafter. I see also in this book an old Irish ode composed by Muldoony O’Morrison in 1639.”

He then read some beautiful Irish verses, of which the following is a translation :—

“The palm for beauty of her sedate aspect O’Shaughnessy’s daughter has obtained,  
Meekness without narrowness of heart, humility, generosity, firmness.  
A fruitful palm-tree of the race of Dathi, the kind-hearted daughter of Rory,  
Who inherits the attributes of the sire she sprung from, in longing to indulge the  
flame of hospitality,  
The undying character of the Kings before her she has not suffered to pass away !  
But has reflected on the name of Guara that lasting lustre she has derived from him.  
The race from whom Sheela has descended deserve the palm for hospitality,  
Of which the drinkers of Metheglen boast : they are the choice of Heremon’s race.”

“Indeed,” continued Dermot Oge, “Julia well deserved the praise bestowed on her, and she was a worthy wife to O’Donovan, Chief of



Clan Cahil. I have also a copy of a letter sent her from this very castle, in 1647, by her father, Sir Roger, but I think, sir, we had better leave for Clooneene."

So saying, he proceeded to restore all the books and manuscripts to their proper places, and walking out with the Chief, locked the chamber door.

"I think," said O'Shaughnessy, "we had better mount our horses at the stable door, to save Bryan Roe the trouble of leading them round to the castle gate; this is a fine brisk day, and a ride to Clooneene will only circulate the blood in our veins."

Already O'Shaughnessy's henchman had his horse caparisoned, a noble-looking gray charger. The saddle was evidently of foreign manufacture, and its housing was fringed with silver lace. One of the retainers placed the Chief's pistols, which he had brought from the castle, in the holsters. Dermot Oge's horse, a strong bay animal, was also saddled. His trappings were similar to those of O'Shaughnessy's charger, and the holsters also contained pistols. Bryan Roe, who was one of Dermot Oge's attendants, was mounted on a stout black pony, and held his master's horse by the bridle. Two mounted retainers, who were also in attendance, were engaged in placing their pistols in the holsters, and easing the belts of the brass-barrelled arquebuses which were slung behind them.

"You remember, Dermot Oge, when I could easily vault into the saddle, but latterly I have no heart to perform such gymnastic feats."

The Chieftain then placed his foot in the gilt stirrup, and mounted. Dermot Oge brought his horse alongside, and Taggert, who was standing at the gate, now advanced, and exchanged a few words with O'Shaughnessy. The warder then retired to the castle, and the equestrian party proceeded by the Gortinsiguara road, which was scarcely wide enough to admit of two travelling abreast. Nothing was to be seen on either side but the craggy limestone, partially covered with a stubborn brushwood of hawthorn and hazel, and interspersed here and there with trees of great size. The party soon left this narrow way, and entered on the road leading to Clooneene and the Castle of Ardemilevan. They had not proceeded far when they heard the clattering of a horse's hoofs behind them.

"This must be Power," said Dermot Oge to O'Shaughnessy, and at that moment the dragoon rode up, displaying to the best advantage the fiery action of his mettlesome charger, and giving the military salute, said—

"Taggert detained me, sir, for breakfast, and afterwards would

not allow me to depart until I had put your retainers through their exercise."

By this time they arrived at the summit of the rising ground, where the four roads, near the house of Crushnahawn, branch off in different directions. Here Power turned his horse towards the road leading to Park-na-attinagh; but the animal having seized the bit between its teeth, galloped some distance along the Clooneene road before he succeeded in restraining it. When he did so, he returned to O'Shaughnessy, who observed—

"Power, your horse appears to know the road well."

"Indeed he ought, sir," replied the dragoon, "as he was foaled at Clooneene, and has a strong inclination to return to his native place. When Captain Forster raised his troop, he mounted his men from his father's and grandfather's studs, and presented them as a gift to his Majesty the King, whom God preserve."

Power now wished them good luck, and plying the rowels deep in the sensitive sides of his charger, galloped off at full speed down the Park-na-attinagh road.

O'Shaughnessy's party was by this time in view of the valley in which the demesne of Clooneene is situated. Each side of the road leading to the entrance was protected by large quickset fences, inside which were growing apple, holly, and huge trees of other species, whose wide-spreading branches covered the road, and the whole valley appeared to be one vast forest. It was bounded on the south by the wood-crowned hills of Knockancorragh, and Shanaglish, over which could be observed in the distance the lofty Castle of Ardemilevan towering above the surrounding forest.

"I like," said O'Shaughnessy, "the pleasant woods of Clooneene, and have a great objection to felling my own timber at Tyroloughan and the Punch Bowl, it adds so much beauty to the picturesqueness of the country."

"I think," said Dermot Oge, "you ought to overcome your scruples on that point, and thereby spare your other means, for I could readily dispose of several of the heavy oak trees to the shipwrights at Galway."

"Perhaps it is better in these unsettled times," said O'Shaughnessy, "to do all I can in the way you have mentioned, so you may dispose of the timber at Tyroloughan and Gortecarnane Wood to the best advantage as soon as you please."

They had now passed the gate at Clooneene, and were proceeding up the long avenue leading to the mansion, but owing to the thickness of the ash, oak, and elm trees, were prevented from obtaining a view of

it until they reached the foot of the lawn or open space which was high above the surrounding grounds.

This ancient mansion was a very long building, surmounted by tall chimneys, and having numerous windows. Two hall doors opened into the semicircular hall, which, though lit by a very large window, had a peculiar appearance, from the number of antique firearms that were suspended from the walls.

“The castle’s hall was hung around  
 With many an old and battered shield,  
 That oft had warded deadly wound  
 In many a well-fought bloody field.  
 Upon the rough-drawn wall appear,  
 Hung up for trophies or for show,  
 Old scutcheons—swords—with massy spear,  
 And here and there a strong yew bow.”

Over the door which led from the hall were emblazoned the armorial bearings of the sept, with the motto, “*Audaces fortuna jurat*,” and underneath all was inscribed, on a scroll of parchment, this quaint verse :—

“Let us dearlie them hold  
 To mynde their worthynes  
 That which our parents olde  
 Hath left us to possesse” (24).

The whole was surrounded by a richly-carved oak frame. Under it hung the heavy battle-axe, said to have been used by Sir Richard Forester at the memorable and sanguinary battle of Hastings, where the Saxons, under Harold II., were completely overthrown by William of Normandy. In the centre of the wall, to the right on entering, hung a large painting, under which, on a brass plate, was engraved—“Baldwin I., the Forester, surnamed Iron-arm.” In the centre of the wall, to the left, hung another large painting, under which was the following inscription :—“Arnulph I., the Forester, surnamed the Great.” There were also paintings of Alfred the Great, King of England, Con of the Hundred Battles, Monarch of Ireland, and many of the early Lords of Etherston. The floor was of coloured tiles, which were brought from Italy, and eight large oak chairs were placed round the hall at equal distances. To the right of each hall-door there was a large armchair, in which a man, armed with a brass-barrelled arquebuse, kept guard every night. The walls were also adorned with stags’ heads, having remarkably large antlers. A door opened from the hall to the first parlour, the walls of which were hung with tapestry. The fireplace of this

apartment was ornamented by an antique white marble chimney-piece, on which was carved the armorial bearings of the Chief, and on the walls hung many paintings of his ancestors and their relatives, evidently the works of the best masters. High-backed chairs, a round table of dark-coloured mahogany, and a buffet of dark ebony, comprised the furniture. The buffet was laden with a rich service of crested plate, consisting of handsome goblets, trays, candlesticks, and other articles of value. The door of the large dining-hall opened from this room. This hall, which was also used as a ball-room, was of ample dimensions. A long table occupied the centre, and was surrounded by numerous high-backed chairs of the Tudor period. Various pictures representing battle scenes were suspended on the walls, together with many others of the Chief's ancestors; and in a glass-case over the chimney-piece was his commission of captain from King Charles I., with its broad seal of white wax. Over it were placed the handsome horns of an Irish elk. Without the inner door of this hall was the entrance to the cellars, which extended under the mansion, and had several arched receptacles for wines. The outer cellar was filled with hogsheads of spirits and ale, while the inner one contained the choicest French and Spanish wines. A broad stairs led to the upper apartments, and a long passage at the foot of this staircase led to another wing of the building, and communicated with the courtyard, and part of those buildings formed one of the boundaries of the garden. A large kitchen was on the south side, with larders, and a gallery, from which a staircase led to the upper apartments. Outside this court was another yard, which contained the bawn, coach-houses, stables, and other offices. In the next yard were the houses required for feeding cattle, and in it also was an immense haggard, comprising vast ricks of corn, hay, and turf. The garden was surrounded by a high wall, and was well stocked with the choicest fruit-trees. On the south side stood the Castle of Clooneene (25), on the top of which was a square apartment. The large windows of this room commanded an extensive view of the country for miles around. A winding stone staircase led to this apartment, which was furnished with four swivel guns. To the north of the garden was a large wood of oak, skirted by a shrubbery of evergreens, which extended to the mansion. A handsome walk led through this shrubbery and wood to the old fort of Lisconla, having on one side an extensive orchard of cherry and apple-trees.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE LORD OF THE MANOR AND HIS GUESTS.

As the Chief of Cineal, Aodh, and Dermot Oge Cloran, rode slowly up the avenue at Clooneene, the former said—

“Dermot Oge, I see the faithful O’Halloran at the hall-door already prepared to receive us.”

“Indeed, sir,” said Cloran, “he knows we are welcome to Clooneene at any time.”

“Cead mille faltha, noble O’Shaughnessy,” exclaimed Shane O’Halloran, as they approached. My Chief, Frincheas More na Fion, will be glad to see you.”

Entering the hall, O’Shaughnessy encountered his friend, Captain Francis Forster, Lord of the Manor of Clooneene, who advanced to meet him(26). His form was tall and stout, and his features handsome and manly. His forehead was high and commanding, and his healthy ruddy complexion a little bronzed from constant exposure to the atmosphere. A profusion of brown hair, which, notwithstanding his age, was but slightly tinged with grey, fell from beneath his large cocked hat, indicating a robust constitution. His figure was well adapted to the dress he wore, a green coat with silver buttons, the upright collar of which was edged with gold lace, as were also the lapels of its pockets and the large cuffs which were then worn. His buff-coloured vest covered his hips, and laced ruffles ornamented his shirt, which was of the finest linen. His small-clothes were of green cloth, and his feet were encased in large boots, topped with yellow, and ornamented with handsome spurs. A long court sword with a golden hilt was suspended at his side, and in his right hand he carried a stout hazel stick, on the gold head of which was engraved his coat-of-arms and initials. His dark gray eyes brightened on beholding O’Shaughnessy, and taking off his cocked hat, with a kindly smile, he said—

“Welcome to Clooneene is the son of my old friend, Sir Dermot,” and, at the same time, warmly shook him by the hand.

“Captain,” said O’Shaughnessy, “you are not more glad to see me than I am to behold you in such good health.”

The Lord of the Manor having then observed Dermot Oge, who was standing behind O’Shaughnessy, also greeted him in the kindest manner imaginable.

“No ceremony, my friends,” he said ; “come in immediately. I had a slight cold, and Doctor Egan told me that exposure to the keen March wind is not salutary for one at my advanced age.”

They were soon seated before the blazing fire, which diffused a genial warmth over the room.

“The ride from Fidane must have given both of you an appetite, and the refreshment which Shane is bringing in will be acceptable, I think. Your presence has given me an inclination to take a goblet of claret,” said the hospitable Captain, as O’Halloran entered with a large silver tray, on which were placed some beautifully-out decanters containing the richest Spanish wines, three magnums of claret, and several silver goblets.

On each of the latter the arms of the sept were engraved. On a shield *argent*, a chevron, *vert* between three bugles *or* ; stringed *gules*. Crests : a stag, *courant*, and an arm in armour embowed proper, the hand grasping a broken tilting spear. The latter, which was the ancient crest of the Forsters, was granted by King Richard I., surnamed Cœur de Lion, to their progenitor while serving in the Crusades, in 1191. Supporters : on the sinister side, a Knight in armour of the period of the first Crusade, holding in his right hand a broadsword, and bearing on his left arm a shield emblazoned with the arms, with the addition that on the chevron was the word “Acre ;” on the dexter side, a Forester carrying a quiver full of arrows, with a bugle suspended from his neck, and holding in his hand a long yew bow ; under the arms was the motto, *Audaces fortuna jurat*.

Other attendants now entered the room, carrying silver dishes, on one of which was placed a huge sirloin of beef, while some of the others contained large cakes of bread.

“Attend you at the table,” said Shane O’Halloran to his assistants, “while I run down to the first cellar for some ale and brandy.”

The Captain now rose from his arm chair, and invited his guests to partake of the refreshment. When O’Shaughnessy and Dermot Oge had done ample justice to the sirloin of beef, the Lord of the Manor said to his guests—

“I must now call on you both to fill your goblets to the brim, and drink to the toast—‘Prosperity to old Ireland, long life to James the Second, and success to our cause.’”

“I will not say, Captain,” said O’Shaughnessy, “that I will drink all this wine at a draught. I will drink the toast, however,” continued he, and raising the goblet to his lips, he drunk deeply of the wine, and then observed : “No man wishes the welfare of the King more than I



do. I know he is a brave man, and showed great courage in the naval engagement with the Dutch, when our friend, Lord Muskerry, was killed by his side" (27).

"I hope," said the Captain, "he will keep up his courage in this country, but I fear his paternal feelings are much affected by the cruel desertion of his daughters, and that *Est-il possible* Prince George of Denmark. The stake to be played for by him is a crown, and he must act with vigour and energy in the struggle about to be made for it, or he will rue the consequences. He must have arrived by this time, but perhaps landed at Kinsale, instead of Cork, where it was rumoured he intended landing. O'Shaughnessy," continued the Captain, "I perceive you have not yet finished your wine. I know you are not a man who is fond of deep potations, but a little wine now and then cheers the heart. Of course I understand how uneasy you must feel about the dangers that may ensue from the present position of affairs to yourself and your family, and indeed it is only natural that you should feel troubled about the future; but permit me to remark, as there is no one present except our mutual friend, Dermot Oge, that of late you sometimes give way to depression of spirits, owing to too much thinking. I well know, O'Shaughnessy, you inherit all the bravery of your race, but you must not be cast down in time of danger by rumours of war. Your father saw his castle at Gortinsiguara almost burned to the ground by General Ludlow. He had to fly to foreign lands, and fight as a soldier of fortune in a foreign service. Still he lived to be restored to the full enjoyment of all his hereditary rights. Remember your family motto—*Fortis et stabilis*, and give way no longer to melancholy forebodings."

"My friend, I feel I ought not," replied O'Shaughnessy.

"Now, it is your duty," said the Captain, "to your country and family, and, above all, to our religion, to act an energetic and manly part."

"I will endeavour to follow your advice, my dear friend," said the Chieftain, "but I am at present much affected by the sad thought of parting with my only son, William, whom I have, after much serious reflection on the subject, determined on sending to France, to complete his education at a military college, in order that at a future period he may be worthy to head the Cineal Aodh of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne with honour and distinction. I have made up my mind to send Dermot Oge to Carrigahoult Castle, where William, as you are aware, is now on a visit, to accompany him home. Judge, therefore, Captain, of my feelings at the thought of my dear son leaving his native country, perhaps

never again to behold him on this earth—my only son, my only hope! How will his mother ever bear his absence?”

The Captain now saw the big tears gather in the eyes of O'Shaughnessy, and his own kind heart was already beginning to soften at hearing of William's intended departure, whom he remembered from his childhood, as he was the favourite and constant playmate of his grandsons at Rathorpe. William O'Shaughnessy had often spent several days at Clooneene with them, and was always a most attentive listener to the Captain's anecdotes of the wars in which he had served.

“Come, my friend,” said the Captain, “no more grief; we will fill our goblets, and drink to his happy and safe return.”

“Yes,” said Dermot Oge, drinking off his wine, “I drink to his safe return, and hope I shall live to see it, and sincerely trust my son Edmond will act as faithfully to him as I have to you, O'Shaughnessy.”

“Under the present circumstances,” responded the Captain, “I consider it a good plan to send William to France, as he is rather young to bear arms, and being your only son, it is better to put him out of harm's way during these troublesome times. He will return an accomplished gentleman, worthy of you and your family; and a thought now occurs to me, which is, that Father Moylan's nephew is about going to France to complete his studies. He is much older than William, and will be a safe companion for your son. In company with one from his own neighbourhood, he will feel his voyage less tiresome.”

“I am glad, indeed, you have thought of that, Captain,” said O'Shaughnessy. “William will be happy while he has one from the old country near him.”

Here the conversation dropped on this subject, and, after some time, the Chief of Cineal Aodh said—

“While arranging my papers, as I wish to have all my affairs settled before taking part in the coming war, Dermot Oge and I read over the deed of 1668, to which you are a trustee; and I wish you to inform me if it is your opinion that the succession to the O'Shaughnessy property is strictly limited to my heirs male, with reversion, in case of failure, to my brother Charles.”

“Not a doubt on the matter,” replied the Captain. “Marcus Lynch did not omit one word necessary to carry out the intentions of your father and Lord Clare. I give my opinion with confidence, as I have carefully perused the document. Galway lawyers are always very clever, and Patrick D'Arcy could not have drawn it up in better style” (28).



"I must now wish you farewell, Captain," said O'Shaughnessy, "as I intend visiting my brother Charles at Ardemilevan Castle to-day, but hope to see you soon at Gortinsiguara."

"Go without dinner!" exclaimed the Captain. "Indeed you shall not leave Clooneene without having dined, for you can easily defer your visit to Charles until to-morrow."

"I will do so," said the Chieftain, "for I cannot refuse you."

"My grandson and young Cuthbert Fenwick (29) have ridden out to visit Rathorpe, but I suppose they are returning by this time," said the Captain.

The latter person alluded to was the son of a gentleman of an ancient Northumbrian family, and nearly related to the senior or Etherston branch of the Captain's sept. In the September of the preceding year, his health being rather impaired, his father, considering a change of air might benefit him, sent him to Ireland, knowing he would be taken good care of by his relatives there. He spent some time at Clooneene, much to his satisfaction; but when he was preparing to take leave of his hospitable kinsman, news arrived of the landing of the Prince of Orange, so that he could not safely return, and was forced to remain at Clooneene, where his good-natured disposition made him a general favourite, not alone with the family, but with all the neighbourhood. He was of the middle height, and his form displayed perfect symmetry. Agreeable in his manners, he was a welcome guest at the dwellings of all the gentry in the vicinity of Clooneene. He felt happy and quite at home amongst them, as he did not perceive much difference between the customs of his Irish friends and those of his own countrymen. His political feelings, moreover, were in unison with those of his Irish acquaintances, which helped materially to strengthen the bonds of friendship between them. The family to which he belonged was, like many others of the ancient Border Clans, among the staunchest adherents of King James, and his uncle, Colonel Sir John Fenwick, M. P., of Wallington, represented the historic House of Fenwick, of Fenwick Tower, in Northumbria, and was considered one of the most zealous and stubborn supporters of that monarch. Cuthbert Fenwick's health had greatly improved since his arrival at Clooneene. Constant exercise braced his nerves, and lent additional strength to his graceful person. Sometimes he rode out with his young friend. At other periods they went on shooting excursions over the plains, and often pursued the game to the distant mountains of Clare. Fenwick took a great interest in hearing the traditionary lore of the country, and would spend whole

hours with his companion, John Forster (30), in poring over the various histories of Ireland in the library at Clooneene. His affection for his young relative was very great, and John's regard for him was equally so, though their dispositions differed considerably. Cuthbert was much addicted to the sports of the field, while John preferred literary pursuits. In his youth the latter was considered a delicate child. However, as he grew up he became stouter, and from his earliest years displayed a great taste for literature and the fine arts, and the priest who had charge of his education had a high opinion of his talent and ability. When he advanced in years his father thought it better he should finish his education on the Continent, and accordingly sent him, to use the phraseology of the time, "to study beyond the seas." He spent some years at St. Omer, in France, and, probably, would have remained there for a longer period, but his father, fearing a long stay at the college would be injurious to his health, directed him to return. After his arrival at home he almost constantly resided at Clooneene with his grandfather. However, he continued his studies with unabated vigour, with the determination of entering the Temple, several of his family having risen to eminence at the Bar; but the great change in the state of affairs, caused by the landing of the Prince of Orange, prevented him from carrying out his intention. He was now about twenty-three years of age, tall and graceful in figure, having a well-shaped nose, expansive forehead, brown hair, and an intellectual countenance, full of good humour and benevolence. His grandfather settled on him a portion of the estates which he was ultimately expected to inherit. He was beloved by his tenantry, as he never omitted an opportunity of doing them a service, and always made it his business to arrange any dissensions that arose between them in the most amicable manner. But, in fact, it was an easy matter to manage an estate in those days; the population of the country was small, and was also considerably reduced by the late wars carried on by the Regicides (31). The object, then, was to obtain tenants for the lands, and not to banish them from their homesteads. The tenantry, when they experienced an act of oppression from any of the bigoted landlords, invariably went to reside on the estates of those who ruled their tenants and retainers with humanity and on the principle of toleration. Consequently, the Captain's estates were inhabited by a great number of persons, many of whom were the sons of royalist soldiers, and some the children of those who had lost their estates during the late wars.

"You see I was right, O'Shaughnessy," said the Captain, "in saying they were returning, for here comes John and Cuthbert. I see

them riding up the avenue, and perhaps they are the bearers of some news."

In a few moments after the young gentlemen galloped up to the hall-door on their chestnut chargers, and, after dismounting, they entered the room, where they were cordially welcomed by all present.

"Grandfather," said John, "my father will not return until after the Assizes at Galway, as the trial of Sir Thomas Southwell, the two Blennerhassetts, and other delinquents, is to come off."

"That will be an important trial," said the Captain; "they gave some trouble to the county in their attempt to pass through Galway, but were fortunately defeated, as the High Sheriff last year, James Power, raised the *posse comitatus*, and called on all the county gentlemen to assist him. My grandson, John, and his father, were the most active in coming to his aid on that occasion, and were stoutly assisted by our tenants."

"I was not idle either on that day," said Dermot Oge, "with your tenantry, O'Shaughnessy, while you were absent with your regiment. Taggart and Clayton did their duty bravely. We hemmed them in a narrow pass, and made them all prisoners. We then brought them to Loughrea, where we lodged them under a strong guard, and afterwards escorted them to Galway. Their object was to pass on to Londonderry, and join the Williamites there."

"Galway will be a busy town this week," said Fenwick. "I hear the famous lawyer, Sir Toby Butler, is to attend at the Assizes. He is very partial to our friend, Dominick Browne's wine, and certainly no other Mayor in Ireland keeps so good a supply of Spanish."

"I think," said O'Shaughnessy, "Sir Toby will not let the opportunity pass of picking up a few briefs so near home."

"I declare," exclaimed Dermot Oge, "here is Owen Gar, Sir Toby's clerk, riding up to the door with well-filled saddle-bags, which no doubt contain law papers."

"Bring him in immediately," said the Captain, addressing one of the attendants, and in a few minutes, Owen Gar was ushered into the room. Bowing to the company, he informed the Captain that Sir Toby intended calling at Clooneene on his way to Galway, and had sent himself in advance with his papers and change of clothes.

"You are welcome," said the Captain: "Shane O'Halloran will take care of you. I hope Sir Toby will soon arrive."

"I left him," said Owen Gar, "with some Freeholders from Ennis, at Sraghnagalloon. He was treating them decently with the best of everything, and persuading them to elect him their representative in

the new Parliament. When I left they had almost settled the affair, and the Freeholders seemed very well pleased with Sir Toby and his wine."

Time passed thus in conversation, until O'Halloran announced that dinner hour had arrived.

"Do not serve up dinner for some time," said the Lord of the Manor, "as we expect Sir Toby Butler. Has Costellan returned from Inchoveagh Castle yet?"

"He has just come, sir," said O'Halloran—"but here comes Sir Toby Butler, and Felim Creena riding after him."

He then ran out to assist Sir Toby in dismounting, who was very glad to see him. Shane ushered him into the room, where he was warmly received by the Lord of the Manor and his guests.

Sir Toby said he was hurrying on to Galway to be present at the coming Assizes, but could not bring himself to pass the hospitable abode of the Chief and his young friend John, for whom he entertained the warmest friendship, without visiting them. Turning to the Captain, he continued—

"Your grandson possesses great talents, and, if called to the Bar, would undoubtedly soon become a judge;" and he wound up with many other complimentary observations.

Sir Theobald Butler was always most agreeable to young gentlemen of fortune, as he shrewdly calculated that at some future time he might have the pleasure of drawing up their marriage settlements, and of conducting their law affairs. His family had, during the Civil Wars, lost all their lands in the province of Munster, and being obliged to fly, took up their abode at the foot of a wild mountain in the county of Clare. Here they took a lease from the Earl of Thomond of a place called Doon (32), which became their principal residence. Sir Theobald, or, as he was more frequently called, Sir Toby, a name by which he was popularly known, was a younger son, and had nothing but his profession to rely on; still he managed to buy large properties, and more were granted to him by King Charles II. A great deal of the property of the O'Gradys, of Inchicronan, in the county of Clare, fell into his possession. His fame as a lawyer was well known throughout the country, and he was remarkable for being rather negligent in his dress. He was also noted for his love of the juice of the grape, which, strange to say, had not the same effect on him as on other men (33). No matter what quantity of wine he imbibed, still his intellect remained unimpaired, and he could eloquently advocate the cause of his client after partaking of several bottles of claret, which, had he not partaken of, he would have

been dull and silent. Sir Theobald was well-known to be most studious in acquiring wealth, and, whoever suffered, he took care that himself should not.

“What a useful member of your household O’Halloran is,” said Sir Toby, as that domestic entered the apartment, carrying a tray on which were some decanters and goblets. “The road was very dusty to-day, and really there is nothing so refreshing as a goblet of good wine after a long ride,” and with this remark he drank the company’s health. “Indeed,” he continued, as Costellan, the agent, entered the room, “I am exceedingly glad to see you looking so well, as I have always known you to act faithfully towards my old friend, the Captain.”

Sir Toby wished to stand high in the estimation of the agent, who replied—

“I hope I have, Sir Toby, for all honesty, you know, is not confined to lawyers.”

Michael Costellan, as he wrote his name, was a trustworthy agent to his Chieftain, who placed much confidence in him. His father, a Costello, of Mayo, was one of those unfortunate gentlemen whose cases were unheard by the Court of Claims, and, consequently, obliged to exist as best they could. The Captain had met young Michael Costellan while visiting his estates in Mayo, and finding him an intelligent youth, employed him as an agent, and for many long years he acted in that capacity, with profit to himself and advantage to his employer.

O’Halloran shortly after appeared at the door, and looked at his Chief inquiringly, who, understanding what he meant, said, “O’Shaughnessy and Sir Toby, dinner is ready; no ceremony, my friends, forward at once.” However, the Chief of Cineal Aodh made a stately bow to Sir Toby, who, being an accomplished gentleman, did the same. As they did not appear disposed to arrange the order of precedence, the Captain said, jocosely—

“Sir Toby, take your friend O’Shaughnessy’s arm and proceed; the dinner will be cold and the wine will flatten if you delay.”

At the mention of—to him the magic-word—wine, Sir Toby smiled significantly, and said—

“I accept the compromise, and will no longer demur.”

With another stately bow he took O’Shaughnessy’s arm, and all were soon seated at the plenteous board. They had scarcely taken their places when an attendant announced the arrival of Colonel Francis Mac Namara, of Moyriesk, and Lieutenant-Colonel John Mac Namara, of

Cratloe, two of the Deputy-Lieutenants for the county of Clare, and the Chief, rising from the table, proceeded to the door to receive them.

"You are welcome, is all I can say," said he, "for I cannot express the pleasure I feel at seeing you here, particularly as there are some friends at dinner that will be glad to meet you both."

He then led them into the room and Shane quickly provided seats for them. The company now commenced to dine, and soon inroads were made in the great joints of meat, and all, but particularly Sir Toby, seemed to relish the various dishes with which the table was supplied, while O'Halloran and his four assistants, arrayed in their Chief's livery of green and gold, took good care that the goblets of the guests were constantly kept full. Sir Toby Butler now appeared quite a different man: his countenance became bright and intellectual, and even his form appeared to dilate. In rich, mellow tones he addressed Mac Namara, of Cratloe, by saying—

"I hope, my friend, your canvas among the Clare Freeholders was successful, as no doubt it ought to be. Who has a better claim on them than the descendant of the Chieftains of Clan Cuilean, who were so distinguished in the kingdom of Thomond ever since the battle of Clontarf, where they fought on the side of Brian of the Tributes? I am induced to offer myself, you know, as a candidate to represent the patriotic borough of Ennis, at the solicitation of all my friends and clients there. I hope for your interest, too, Mac Namara. May I expect it?"

"I," replied the Chief of Cratloe, "could not think of refusing you. I have not as yet been refused a single vote by any one, nor has the Honourable Daniel O'Brien either. I determined to ask every Freeholder for his support, and I have now come here to solicit my noble friend's vote and great interest at Inchoveagh Castle and his other estates in Clare."

"I have already sent my tenants word to vote for you, Mac Namara," said the Captain. "You ought to have known well that I would support no other person in preference to you, who is the kinsman of Francis here, the relative of my grandchildren."

"Who will be your colleague, Sir Toby?" said MacNamara.

"Florence Mac Carthy, of Dromad," replied the counsellor; and then he continued, turning to Mac Namara, after hastily tossing off a bumper. "My most excellent friend of Cratloe, many thanks for your kind support. Both county and borough will be well represented when we are in Parliament." Turning to O'Halloran, he said—

"Shane, some claret; your light wines have not the body to sustain



nature that claret has ; and a goblet also, for it drinks better out of silver."

The jovial Sir Toby, having taken a deep draught of the claret, continued—

"We will be Members worthy of the county and borough—none of your puritanical hypocrites, canting vagabonds of the Barebones Parliament class, who were more fit, I say, to be scavengers than legislators. We are rid of them now ; the Act of Settlement must be repealed, and justice done to this misgoverned country."

Here Sir Toby commenced an eloquent speech on that act, and went into all the particulars relative to Sir Richard Nagle's remarkable Coventry Letter on the subject, and wound up by proposing the health of the King in a full bumper, which was cordially drunk by all the company.

O'Donoghue, the bard, then appeared, carrying his harp, and was gladly received by the Lord of the Manor and his guests. Shane placed a small table by his side, on which was a goblet of wine. The minstrel soon awoke the chords of his harp, which poured forth sweet strains of melody, while the Chiefs of Clooneene, Gortinsiguara, Moyriesk, and Cratloe held a long conversation on the approaching war and its probable consequences. Sir Toby drew near Dermot Oge and Costellan, and gave them learned disquisitions as to the laws of boundaries, succession, remainderships, patents, and the Act of Settlement, and also an explanation of the claims of the Fifty-four Nominees to be restored to certain portions of their estates, "who," said Sir Toby, "were told by the Earl of Orrery that they were nominees in *Nom*, but not in *Re*. I remember," he continued, "when our friend MacNamara, of Moyriesk, ran the High Sheriff for Clare through the arm with his sword ; but the Chieftain thought no more of the affair, and left the low, canting, bigoted minion to fret under the indignity of the first chastisement he received" (34).

Here O'Shaughnessy stood up, saying, "Good night, my friends ; I must now return to Fidane, as I have to go to Gortinsiguara on tomorrow, and hope I will soon have the great pleasure of seeing you all there."

"But why think of leaving us until morning?" said the Chief of Clooneene.

"My good lady," replied the Chieftain, "might be uneasy if I remained away, as she is expecting my return."

"Oh, in that case I will not ask to prevent you," said his considerate friend.

“ *Ne exeat regnum*,” said Sir Toby. “ You shall not leave this room until you take the stirrup cup. I will be glad to join you in drinking the health of your respected lady, sister of my noble friend Lord Clare, who is a client of mine, as well as one of my most esteemed patrons.”

Shane immediately replenished their goblets, and the toast was drunk with all due honour. The Chief of Cineal Aodh and Cloran being about to depart, the Lord of the Manor said, “ I wish to speak a word with you in private, Dermot Oge.”

They then left the dining-room and entered the first parlour. Having closed the door, the Chief of Clooneene said—

“ To be brief, Dermot Oge, I can only say that I feel in my heart the intended departure of William O’Shaughnessy, and will miss his company very much. Here,” he continued, slipping a purse into Cloran’s hand, “ this contains some pieces of gold. Present them to him as a small token of my sincere regard, and assure him that he will have my prayers for his future welfare ; but do not mention it to his father.”

“ I would not offend you, Captain,” said Dermot Oge, “ by refusing to bring William this mark of your affection for him, as I well know the gift is that of a friend ; yes, a true friend to the race of O’Shaughnessy !”

Shane now announced that their horses and attendants were already in waiting at the hall-door ; and, after bidding the company farewell, O’Shaughnessy and Dermot Oge mounted their impatient steeds, and soon after reached Fidane Castle.

“ What a fine, noble specimen of the ancient Milesian blood of old Erin our friend O’Shaughnessy is !” said Sir Toby. “ Really I cannot refrain from proposing to drink his health.”

Shane, ever vigilant, on hearing this, filled the goblets, and the toast was unanimously drunk, Sir Toby showing, by his empty goblet, that he felt the sentiments he expressed.

“ Our illustrious friend,” said he, “ has not got rid of that feeling of melancholy caused by the troubles he witnessed in his youth. Part of his fortune, I remember, from my Lord Clare, remains unpaid yet. O’Shaughnessy sued him, and I was his Lordship’s counsel in the matter. Our friend Marcus Lynch, of Galway, who is a thorough gentleman, acted for O’Shaughnessy. When the case came on, being mutual friends, neither Lynch nor I was desirous of pushing things to extremes. We agreed that O’Shaughnessy should get a bond for principal and interest recorded in a statat staple, by the Mayor of the Staple in Limerick, and a mortgage on Carrigahoult Castle. The costs



were also to be paid by Viscount Clare. The case came on again, O'Shaughnessy having sued for possession of the mortgaged lands. I parried him off, to give my client time, until both his patience and large sums of his money were exhausted in the necessary expenses of the lawsuit. However, Lynch and I were well paid."

"I do not doubt that," said John; "you lawyers do not generally grumble at the length of a family lawsuit, provided the fees on the briefs are regularly paid. The refreshers are also very acceptable, I have no doubt."

"We must live," said Sir Toby; "'tis our vocation. My early days were spent in solitude at Doon. I often heard my father relate how he was banished from his comfortable ancestral home, and I had by stealth to acquire the rudiments of my education, and was afterwards obliged to proceed to a foreign land to complete it. Early in the reign of the late King Charles, I commenced to practise as a barrister. Fortunately, I had many friends, who employed me in the recovery of their lands, and in other suits; and no one can say but I did all in my power to forward the interests of my clients. I am now, indeed, independent in circumstances; but I laboured hard to obtain the position I hold in society. The O'Shaughnessys had, in the old times, a great lawsuit with Sir Fulk Comerford. It continued a long time, but eventually the O'Shaughnessys succeeded. It arose out of a dispute between Dermot Riveagh, who was killed at Ardemilevan Castle in 1579, and his nephew, William O'Shaughnessy. Dermot, the uncle, went to England; and, being patronised by the noted Earl of Leicester, the favourite of Elizabeth, became the "Queen's O'Shaughnessy." This ambitious Chieftain shortly afterwards returned, and, meeting William, a fierce encounter ensued at Ardemilevan, and this unnatural strife resulted in the death of William by the hand of his uncle, who, severely wounded, lived but one brief hour the undisputed Chief of Cineal Aodh!"

"That was a very melancholy event in the history of this country," said the Captain, "and was caused by the evil policy of those unprincipled tyrants who then ruled this unfortunate land. Their unnatural principle was *divide et impera*, and they thought to break up the sept by encouraging its different members to slay each other. The neighbourhood of the castle is still considered by the peasantry as a haunted place, and they actually fear passing it by night."

"The peasantry of Northumberland have a similar idea relative to where any deed of bloodshed had been committed, and their legendary lore very much resembles that of this country," said Cuthbert.

“Pray, my friend Fenwick,” said Sir Toby, “what is the general feeling towards the King’s cause in England?”

“When I left that country, Sir Toby, the King was reigning.”

“Oh, really, I forgot that,” exclaimed Sir Toby.

“I think,” observed Cuthbert, “that a great portion of the English nation wish him every success. The Prince of Orange was brought over by an oligarchical faction to serve their own ends. They are, of course, supported by all the bigots of the country, and by means of force suppress any expression of opinion in favour of the King.”

“Certainly it is strange,” said the Captain, “how bigotry will cause persons to accept as truth the greatest falsehoods and most palpable absurdities. The unblushing proceedings of Titus Oates, and the other vile plotmakers in the late reign, will be the wonder of our posterity, and they will say that the English were not gifted with reason and common sense, or they could never have been guided by such men. I know not a people who ought to be more favourable to the great principles of civil and religious liberty than the English, as they trade with several nations whose religion differs from their own. Therefore, they should wish to appear before them animated by feelings of toleration and universal philanthropy, and not degraded with the foul stain of being intolerant persecutors. Why blame the Irish for retaining the faith of their ancestors? I cannot think what my forefathers would say if they could behold the manner in which affairs are now managed in England: what would they feel, the Catholic heroes who bled at Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, at such a lamentable state of things? All the boasted Constitution of England was the work of Catholic legislators, and now because the King wished to give religious liberty to his subjects, they banished him from his kingdom, and called in a Prince from the swamps of Holland to rule them (35). The King is the descendant of the ancient Irish monarchs of the Milesian dynasty, through the Princes of Dalriedia, in Ulster, and was likely to have healed all our divisions, and wiped away for ever the many crying grievances of this hitherto downtrodden country. I could never bring myself to believe that Irishmen could not live on terms of amity with England, if they were only justly governed. I find, from several Irish histories, that the Irish nation was anciently on terms of the warmest friendship with the Saxons, educated their youth, and even in this province erected a college for their use, in Mayo, for which reason the county is known to this day as Mayo of the Saxons. In the reigns of the Edwards the Provincial Kings of Ireland led large armies to assist them in their various wars, and the government of the Duke of York, in the reign of

Henry VI., plainly demonstrates that the Irish people felt most grateful for being governed with kindness and impartiality. When he returned to England, he was followed by many of them, who fought and fell in the long and bloody wars of the Red and White Roses, supporting his claim to the Crown of the Plantagenets. Whatever way the coming struggle for the crown may terminate, I, for one, am resolved to risk all in the welfare of my country."

"What else could be expected," said Sir Toby, "but such a declaration from a lineal descendant of the Baldwins of Flanders? Your grandson, young Captain Francis, is a gallant soldier, and will yet hold a high command in the army; so I call on you all to drink his health."

Shane having filled Sir Toby's goblet, this toast was drunk with enthusiasm.

"I will be candid with you," said the Captain. "In my youth I liked the pride and pomp of war; but, when I saw the frightful scenes resulting from it my feelings as a man turned with horror from slaughter, and I began to appreciate the blessings of peace. Nothing but a sense of duty to the interests of my country made me consent to my grandson's taking the commission from Tyrconnell. I feel this is a war of defence, not of aggression; so I allowed Francis to enrol himself amongst the noble young men who fill the ranks of our patriotic army."

"I wish to observe," said Sir Toby, "that a great deal has been spoken in England against Lord Tyrconnell, for having dismissed the Protestant officers of the army; but if by Protestant officers were meant bigoted fanatics, what else could he do? The complaint at one time in England was, that the very air of Ireland was Catholic, and that most of the higher and educated class of officers, or their children, had become Catholics. Was Tyrconnell to leave the remnant of the regicide officers to conspire against and betray the Royal son, as they fought against and betrayed the martyred father? He has taken his officers from the families of rank and respectability, and the army, as it now stands, is much to the credit of his Lordship, both for discipline and martial appearance."

"Mac Namara," said the Captain, "is thoughtful this evening."

"I have consented," replied the Chief of Cratloe, "to become a candidate for Parliamentary honours at the next election, but must resign if it should interfere with my military duties, as I am determined to take an active part in the war."

"Every exertion should be made to support the King's cause," said Sir Toby, "and I have studied long and well all the circumstances con-

nected with the present Parliament's declaration that the King abdicated his right to the throne by retiring to France. Now, I have most carefully perused the various cases recorded in history—to wit, the case of *Collatinus versus Tarquin*, or rather *Lucius Tarquinius Superbus*."

"Excuse me," said the Captain, "for interrupting you; but I opine now that the venue is changed from the parchment to the camp—that a thrust from your sword, or a volley from your travelling pistols fired on the field of battle, would be of greater service to the King's cause than your most learned oration."

"I am a non-combatant," said Sir Toby, "and was always a man of peace. My parents did not anticipate that a war would occur during my time, or probably I might have chosen the profession of arms. My relatives, however, like brave and honourable men, fought in the war of the Catholic Confederation. Sir Walter Butler's obstinate defence of Kilkenny Castle elicited even the praise and admiration of the regicide general, whose name I hate to pronounce" (36).

"What true Irishman does not?" interrupted the Chief of Moyriesk; "the inhuman and bloody massacre of the garrison of Drogheda, after quarter was promised, and the frightful slaughter of the unprotected and helpless women at Wexford, at the foot of the market cross, will for ever stamp his name as a brutal monster."

"Undoubtedly; but I was saying," continued Sir Toby, "that even this villanous tyrant could not refrain from complimenting my kinsman, Sir Walter Butler, and his brave troops, on their gallant defence of the castle, as they marched out with all the honours of war. Had the Northern troops, under General Hugh O'Neill, assisted in the defence as they were ordered, the city would never have been taken. They were undoubtedly brave men—no braver; but the plague raged awfully in the place. They preferred dying by the sword on the open field, rather than by the pestilence, and said that their duty was to fight in the field, not in garrisoned towns."

"I consider," observed the Captain, "that their opinion was a very good one. Had all the soldiers then in garrison joined together, they would have formed an army fully competent to put an end to the march of the enemy; but, instead of that, they cooped themselves up in strong castles and fortified towns, the result of which was their ultimate destruction. But come, Sir Toby," he continued, "replenish your goblet, while O'Donoghue drives away melancholy by the sweet strains of his harp."

"Shane," said he, turning to O'Halloran, who was filling the minstrel's goblet, "you must not fatigue yourself; but retire, and send up Martin

Fahy and some of the retainers to attend during the remainder of the night. Owen Gar, I know, will be glad of your company."

"Owen Gar is in right good humour, my Chief," said Shane, "and is making himself merry, and not without reason, for he is in the company of Hannan the steward, and Hanrahan the stockmaster, in the retainers' hall. Before I came up I mixed a strong jug of brandy hot for them, as they considered it more palatable than wine."

"Talking of punch," said Sir Toby, "makes me wish to take some; and, *a propos*, I observe Fahy is coming with the hot water."

"Which do you prefer—Cognac, Hollands, or our native produce?"

"Of course, Shane, my patriotic feelings at once prompt me," said the Counsellor, "to drink our native beverage; but, at the same time, I feel inclined to try a little of the others first, as I will thus have an opportunity of afterwards feeling the superiority of the usquebaugh."

So saying, Sir Toby mixed some brandy, sugar, and hot water together, which, after drinking with avidity, he said—

"This brandy does your importer the greatest credit, indeed; but I will now test the quality of the Hollands."

Having taken a goblet of the latter, he remarked—

"I cannot say I like this as well as the brandy; but, indeed, I feel I am at present rather prejudiced against anything from Holland. I hope *all* Dutch importations will soon be obliged to *return* to their own country."

This observation of Sir Toby's was received with general approbation.

O'Donoghue, since he had entered the room, continued playing, in a very low tone, some exquisite Irish airs, occasionally stopping to taste his wine; but now his Chief, addressing him, said—

"Play for us 'Mac Alis Drunis's March.' I would much like to hear it, and so would the Mac Namaras. It will recall to our mind the memory of that great hero, Sir Alexander Mac Donnell, who fought so valiantly at Knocknanness."

The bard then took from his pocket a silver winding-key, which was highly prized by him, being an heir-loom in his family, having been presented to his ancestor, Art O'Donoghue, by Charles O'Donnellan, Chief of Clan Breasail, a munificent patron of bards and minstrels, who died in 1399. With this he wound his harp, saying—

"My Chief, I fancy I ought to play that march well, for I learned it a long time ago. When travelling to Cork in my youth, O'Keeffe, who was then a famous minstrel there, taught it to me."

When he had finished playing this martial air he was highly complimented by the Chief of Clooneene and his guests on his performance.

"I ought to be," said the bard, "a pretty good performer, if constant application could make me so; but if you had heard some of the old bards, you would at once conclude that my playing was of a very inferior description. My Chief," he continued, "I will now play for you 'Ellien aroon,' and only wish I could do so in the style of its composer, Carol O'Daly, the father of Irish minstrels (37). Once more the chords of the harp vibrated, and O'Donoghue executed the air with such taste that the company unanimously declared that even Carol O'Daly could not have excelled him. Sir Toby, who was greatly pleased with the music, arose and said—

"Your health and long life, Bard of Clooneene! I wish Mac Brody was here to-night. We would then have an opportunity of judging if the Bard of Gortinsiguara can equal you."

This toast was duly responded to by the other guests, and Cuthbert Fenwick then requested the bard to play "The King shall have his own again."

"I will," said the minstrel, "together with the variations I have composed for that air."

The bard also afforded the greatest satisfaction on this occasion by the thrilling tones he produced.

"I have been," said the Chief, "for a long time past, rather lonely, as the uneasiness which the rumours of war have created in this country prevents the gentry of the neighbouring counties from leaving home. I have had but few visitors this winter—a season which in former times was one of hunting, feasting, and dancing, while we kept out the cold by blazing fires and the free circulation of the wine cup."

"My cousin and I," said the Chief of Moyriesk, "must return to Clare on to-morrow, as there is to be a consultation of our friends relative to the raising of recruits for the army from off our estates. We wished to see you, Captain, and have your opinion as to the steps we should take in the matter. Your great experience in war, and, indeed, in all other affairs, is well known, and everyone in Clare wishes to act in accordance with your advice."

"Both you and my other friends are most kind," replied the Chief, "in referring to me, and I am grateful for the confidence you repose in me; but after dinner I generally defer weighty matters such as you allude to until morning. To-morrow, my friends, in my study we can calmly give the subject all the consideration it requires."

"How well," said Sir Toby, "this warm punch corrects the coldness



of the claret in my stomach. I see my young friend from Northumberland has followed my good example in taking some. Here is to our better acquaintance, Mr. Fenwick. When I studied at the Temple I knew one of your relatives, a right good fellow, worthy of being one of the ancient border clan of Fenwick."

Cuthbert bowed in return to the Counsellor's compliment, who continued—

"I miss my old friend Kelly very much. He was seldom absent from your hospitable table, Captain, when I was here last year. I hope nothing has happened to him."

"He was not much here during the winter," replied the Chief, as he had a friend from Mayo on a visit with him at Loughcutra. He had a busy season, and, though a great sportsman, it is really surprising what a large number of wild-duck and wild-geese he slaughtered. I am delighted, Sir Toby, you reminded me of him, as I will send my grandson and Cuthbert to bring him here to-morrow. John," he continued, "go in the morning, after breakfast, to visit Kelly at the island, and direct Shane to provide a pair of hampers, and have them packed carefully with some foreign fruit, wine, brandy, and spiced beef, and have them sent to him. Some time ago he presented me with a large number of wild-fowl, which I did not require at the time, as my game-keeper, O'Meally, and the shepherds shot more than a sufficient supply for the larders. However, I could not refuse accepting Kelly's gift, lest he might imagine I slighted him; but as I did not require them I made presents of the greater part to my friends."

"I shall be happy to go for him," said John; "but as Cuthbert saw the Lake of Loughcutra already he may not care to go there again."

"Although I have seen the lake more than once," said Cuthbert, "I have never been in Kelly's Island Castle. But, notwithstanding my previous visits, I would much like to see Loughcutra again, as it is well worth visiting, and reminds me of the beautiful scenery of Westmoreland and Cumberland."

"I will now take some coffee and retire for the night," said the Lord of the Manor, and, rising, he bowed to his guests.

"I was thinking, Captain," said the loquacious lawyer, "that you might require my opinion on any lawsuit you may have on hands."

"I am glad to state," replied the Chief, smiling significantly at the Mac Namaras, "that at present I have not a single suit with any one. Indeed, I may say that since I commenced dealing with property the fees I paid lawyers could easily be counted. I always endeavour to keep

out of law, if possible, by acting fairly towards all men. Now, Sir Toby, I leave you the entire command of my cellars till morning."

The Chief of Clooneene then wished all his guests good night, and retired to his room, leaving them to enjoy themselves.

"Gentlemen," said the Counsellor, rising, "our respected host has left us here in comfort; how can we omit drinking his health? The lineal descendant of the illustrious Foresters of Flanders, who derived their origin from the valiant Saluart, Prince of Dijon; the friend of every gentleman of honour in the counties of Clare and Galway; the kind patron of our bards and minstrels, and the brave soldier who always maintained the cause of the poor and unprotected against their low, canting, puritanical oppressors. But the presence of his grandson, my learned young friend here, prevents me from saying more. Come, O'Donoghue, fill to the brim, and join us in drinking the health of your Chief."

"I will gladly do so, Sir Toby," replied the minstrel, "and I will, after drinking to the toast, play one of our ancient Irish martial airs."

The toast was then drunk with great enthusiasm, and O'Donoghue played the promised air in such a soul-stirring strain that their Milesian blood boiled in the veins of the Chieftains of Cratloe and Moyriesk, and they both declared that they would be roused by it to meet the most daring foe. In a short time after they intimated to John their intention of retiring, who acquiesced, knowing they felt fatigued after their long journey. Soon after himself and Fenwick followed their example, leaving Sir Toby to enjoy himself with Costellan and the minstrel.

It could not be said by any one that the Counsellor was a drunkard. He merely imbibed what his accommodating constitution permitted him, and this, certainly, was no small quantity. He liked to sit long over his wine, and, when in company with his friends, to talk of law, politics, the current news of the day, and sometimes old stories. The retiring of the Chieftain and the other guests did not discommode him in the least, and he resolved to enjoy himself with O'Donoghue and Costellan. Sir Toby, therefore, caused the agent and the minstrel to sit near him and replenish their goblets. He then delivered a long oration, occasionally sipping his punch, in praise of Irish bards and minstrels, and denounced in scathing terms the vile Acts of the Parliament of the Pale, by which they were proscribed and banished. Sir Toby concluded by inviting the minstrel to call at his residence at Sraghnagalloon when he next visited Ennis.

"Come, at all events," said he, "during the next election, for you



may depend upon it I will be happy to entertain you. You can compose some verses in my favour, and sing them, accompanied by your harp. Ballads, you know, are very useful at elections. A good ballad is of more service than a thousand speeches, for it catches the popular ear, and is attentively listened to by young and old. You may rest assured I shall not forget whatever you do for me. Here is towards your health, Dermot 'millish'; the tones of your harp are sweet indeed."

Here he was interrupted by Shane O'Halloran, who now entered the room, carrying a small hamper in his hands, and said—

"It is all hours, Sir Toby. There is a blazing fire in your bed-room, which is near the cellars, so you will not have to go far should you get thirsty during the night. Come," he continued, addressing one of the attendants, "take a tray, and carry the goblet, sugar, and hot water to the Counsellor's room, and these two bottles of wine, which he may require to mollify his thirst."

Sir Toby then rose, and, shaking hands with O'Donoghue and Costellan, followed O'Halloran, and was soon seated at a cheerful fire in his bed-room, with a small table by his side, on which were placed a goblet, the bottles of wine, some sugar, and hot water. His *valet*, Felim Creena, now entered, and took off his boots.

"Thank you, that will do," said Sir Toby. "Close the door after you."

Then, addressing O'Halloran, who had remained in the room, he said—

"Upon my word, Shane, I like very much how regularly you manage everything here."

"I do my best, Sir Toby, to make every one comfortable. I brought some law books from the library, which are laid on the chimney-piece, as I thought you might like to read for a time before going to bed; so now I wish you good night, sir."

"Good night, Shane. Do not forget to call me early in the morning, for I intend starting for Galway immediately after breakfast."

"I will take care to do so, sir," replied O'Halloran, as he retired.

The Counsellor, though left alone, did not retire to rest; but, as the light from his room indicated, prolonged his *studies* until it was nearly daylight.

## CHAPTER IV.

## LOUGH CUTRA.

EARLY next morning the cheerful voice of the Lord of the Manor was heard in the breakfast parlour, greeting his guests as they entered. The choicest breakfast which that period could afford was laid before them, as the Chief of Clooneene took care to have his table provided with everything that could add to the comfort of his numerous visitors. The management of his large household was well conducted by his man of business; and although his hospitality might appear profuse to a stranger, from the number of visitors who constantly feasted in his hall, and the crowds of attendants, retainers, and tenants from his estates, with several others from the surrounding neighbourhood, who partook of his good cheer, still there was no waste or confusion, as the generous Chieftain, who, from his military life, had learned to have things done in order and with regularity, instructed Costellan.

After breakfast, Sir Toby Butler, who, notwithstanding the hour he had retired to rest, appeared quite fresh, said to O'Halloran—

“Shane, have my horse saddled, and brought to the hall-door without delay. Galway is a long way from here, and it is time for me to be thinking of moving. I may stop to lunch at Corker, with my friend Burke, who is remarkably hospitable.”

The Chiefs of Cratloe and Moyriesk next requested Shane to have their horses prepared, as they were also about to start. They then retired to the study; and, after holding a short private interview with their host, relative to the best measures for them to adopt at the meeting about to be held by their friends in Clare, returned to the hall. As they approached the door, the Captain said—

“I am sorry, my friends, I cannot detain you longer under such pressing circumstances, as I perceive it is absolutely necessary for you to return immediately.”

They then wished him and Sir Toby farewell, and, mounting their horses, were soon out of sight.

“Counsellar,” said Shane, as Sir Toby mounted his horse, “I have put two bottles of brandy in Felim’s saddle-bags for you, and lent him a corkscrew; so you can fill your flask, now and then, on the long road to Galway.”

After thanking O'Halloran, and bidding the Chieftain, John, and

Cuthbert adieu, he merrily trotted off, followed by his clerk, Owen Gar, and his *valet*, Felim Creena.

"I think, Cuthbert and I may as well proceed at once to the Lake of Loughcutra, grandfather," said John. "We can go by the short way through Laughtyshaughnessy."

"Yes," replied the Chief, "and be sure to bring Kelly back with you."

"To prevent unnecessary delay, we ought to walk to the yard, and mount our horses there," said Fenwick. So saying, they went to the stables where two grooms awaited them with their splendid bay horses. After inspecting the kennel, they quickly mounted and rode off at a brisk trot through the demesne, followed by a mounted retainer, leading another horse with the hampers containing the present for Kelly. When they emerged from the narrow road leading by Gurtmugga and Laughtyshaughnessy (38), they turned to the right, and crossed the woody hill of Dunconarta, and then the picturesque lake was full in view.

It was a mild March day, and as the beautiful Loughcutra lay before them not a wave ruffled the bright blue surface of its calm waters, which reflected the surrounding forests and hills, and the wood-clad islands. Vast flocks of wild fowl were sporting on its bosom, some of which at times rose high in the air, and winged their course towards the distant mountains, while an eagle might be seen hastening with its timid prey firmly grasped in its talons to its eyry in one of the islands. To the south lay the lofty sky-blue mountains of Clare; on the east the hill of Ballyturn, and the wood surrounding its ancient castle; while the view was bounded by the Slieve Boughta mountains, extending towards Loughrea. A deathlike stillness prevailed over the whole scene, and nothing gave indication of its being inhabited, save the smoke from the Island Castle where Kelly resided.

"The scenery is indeed magnificent!" exclaimed Cuthbert. "How picturesque are the venerable ruins of the old church on that island before us."

"Yes," said John, "it is a very ancient one, and in all probability was erected by St. Fachnan, the founder of Kilfenora Cathedral, whose 'blessed well' is on the bank of this lake; but I think we might as well fire off one of our pistols. Kelly will hear the report, and bring over a boat for us."

Taking a pistol from the holster, he discharged it in the air, and in a few minutes after Kelly was seen, accompanied by a youth, rowing rapidly across the lake.

Kelly was a stout, well-built man, with a good-humoured, ruddy countenance, and large fair whiskers. He wore a close-fitting shooting-frock and large boots. From a broad belt round his waist was suspended his sword, and his manners were gentlemanly. His father was one of the O'Kellys who were formerly Chieftains of the territory of Hy Maine. When a young man he married and settled in the county of Mayo. Shortly afterwards the Insurrection of 1641 broke out, and after many years of war and confusion Kelly found himself deprived of his property, and consequently experienced great privations. On the restoration of Charles II. he entertained hopes that his claim to his lands might be taken into consideration.

The Court of Claims sat in Dublin in 1662-3. The claimants were about four thousand in number, but by the artifices of Orrery and Coote the duration of the court was limited to twelve months. Sir Richard Rainsford, the presiding judge, who was an Englishman, and in 1668 one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer in England, acted fairly, it is said by some, and allowed, after having sat for six months, about six hundred claims, or heard the cases. This alarmed Orrery and Coote, lest more should be declared worthy of being restored their properties; and they procured an order from England that the court should be closed without hearing any more claimants. Thus were the rights of thousands disregarded, and, in the words of the Earl of Ormonde, in one of his able letters, they became "undone men." Sad was Kelly's lot, struggling with poverty; but in a short time death released him from his many sufferings, when his son went to reside with his mother's relatives, who were in good circumstances. He received a sound education through their kindness, and grew up a fine, stout, hardy young man. He became particularly fond of the sports of the field, and was considered one of the best anglers on the Moy, and also one of the most celebrated marksmen in the county. The Chief of Clooneene first met him while on a visit to his properties in Mayo, and, pitying him for being amongst the unfortunate, invited him to Clooneene. Young Kelly remained here for some time, where he formed an acquaintance with O'Shaughnessy, and many of the neighbouring Chieftains and gentlemen. After some months' sojourn between Clooneene and Gortinsiguara, one evening, after having dined with the Chief of Cineal Aodh and Dermot Oge Cloran, he said to the former—

"O'Shaughnessy, I wish to become a tenant of yours."

"Why, are you tired of my company already?" said the Chieftain.  
"You have time enough yet to settle yourself in the world."

"If you will not have me as a tenant," answered Kelly, "I will leave to-morrow for Mayo, and never return."

"No, no, indeed, you shall not," exclaimed O'Shaughnessy; "I like your society very much, and lament your position as an orphan, unjustly deprived of your property. Say what part of my land you purpose taking."

"Not much, indeed," replied Kelly: "the Church and Castle Islands in Loughcutra."

"How could you think of living in that solitary place, without even a house near it? Why, you shall hear nothing there but the hooting of the owls and the cackling of the wild-geese and other wild-fowl," said the Chieftain.

"I am determined to try it, as I am particularly fond of shooting, and that place would just suit me. Name your rent," said Kelly.

"Why, as to that," said the Chief, "the small castle has been for some time unoccupied, and therefore requires some repairs. It was built many centuries ago, as a place of security in time of danger for the Chiefs of Cineal Aodh to take refuge in. As to the Church Island, my shepherds in summer time graze some sheep on it. Let me see: for the two islands, and, I suppose, you wish also to include the right of fishing and shooting on the lake, I presume you will think twenty shillings a year and twelve pike not an exorbitant rent."

"Certainly not," replied Kelly; "but I cannot express my gratitude for this as well as your many past favours to me."

"You will possess the islands as a yearly tenant, as I may require the castle hereafter. In case I do, however, I will give you some other place instead, and also permission to keep a horse and two cows gratis at Tyroloughan. Dermot Oge," the Chief continued, addressing Cloran, "draw up an agreement that we can both sign."

Dermot Oge accordingly called for writing materials, and in a short time the necessary document was written and signed.

Having become O'Shaughnessy's tenant, Kelly had the castle cleared out, put some furniture therein, and commenced housekeeping on his own account. He prevailed on a poor family who had previously resided in the neighbourhood to live with him and act as servants. His gun in winter provided them with more wild-fowl than they were able to consume, and his fishing-rod in summer was equally successful. He was always a welcome guest at Clooneene and Gortinsiguara, and was also a great favourite with all the young men in the neighbourhood, whom he instructed in the art of angling, while his unimpeachable conduct won for him the esteem of their parents.

Ere his boat touched the main-land, Kelly cried out—

“Welcome, my friends. I knew at once who you were! How is the Captain?—in the enjoyment of good health, I hope.”

“My grandfather is well,” said John, “and much surprised you have not paid him a visit for some time. He has sent me to ask you to Clooneene.” Here Liam Bawn placed the hampers in the boat, and John continued—“These are sent you, Kelly, by my grandfather, in return for your kind present of trout and wild-fowl.”

“I have received many tokens of his kindness already, any of which more than overbalance mine,” replied Kelly.

They were all now in the little boat, and Kelly, addressing John, said—

“I will take an oar, and while Mr. Fenwick and the others bear a hand you can steer.”

They then arranged themselves, and quickly made the handsome little boat, which was painted green and white, ply rapidly through the waters of the lake. She soon rustled through the tall reeds and bulrushes which thickly lined the shore of the island, and landed at a rude quay of large stones in front of the castle.

The high-pointed gables of this ancient building were surmounted by tall chimneys, while the walls were covered with ivy. Huge clouds of smoke issued from the chimney of the apartment which had been fitted up as a kitchen. Entering the lower room, they perceived it was well furnished with strong oak chairs, some small tables of black bog-wood, and a good supply of culinary utensils arranged along the walls; while fitches of bacon and dried fish were suspended from the ceiling. A large fire of peat and bog-dale lent an air of cheerfulness to the room, and the pleasant bubbling of two large iron pots showed the noonday meal was in course of preparation. These were diligently watched by the cook, who, with a “cead mille failthe” and a low courtesy, welcomed John and Cuthbert, and then, hastily dusting some chairs with her apron, requested them to be seated.

“No, not here, Winifred,” said Kelly; “we will sit upstairs in my ‘hall,’ as I call it. Make haste with what is boiling, and fry some of the trout I killed on yesterday.”

He then turned to the young gentlemen, and, requesting them to follow him, mounted the narrow staircase, and the three were soon seated in the hall. Some oak chairs and small square deal tables, capable of being joined together when required, were, with two black oak presses, its principal furniture. The walls had affixed to them the antlers of deer, and suspended from them were several skins of different



animals of the chase which Kelly had killed. The sword which his father had used during the disturbances of 1641, with two ancient-looking daggers, and various other articles, were hung over the fireplace. Leaning against the corners of the walls were some long-barrelled guns suitable for lake-shooting, and on the mantel-piece were placed an old-looking watch, of a large size, and two silver-mounted pistols. Along one of the walls were some fishing-rods, and feathers from which he formed the artificial flies he used so successfully during his piscatory excursions.

"This room," said Kelly, as they entered, "is not as well lighted as I would wish; but I do not like to spoil the antique look of the castle by making the windows larger."

So saying, he stirred up the fire into a blaze, opened one of the black oak presses, and placed on the centre table three bottles, containing, respectively, claret, brandy, and usquebaugh, and also some goblets. He then invited his guests to partake of the wine, saying it was as well not to be idle while luncheon was preparing. They declined, however, as they preferred waiting for lunch; and Cuthbert, rising, said that in the meantime he would like to ascend to the battlements of the castle, to view from thence the lake and islands. The three then mounted the narrow staircase, and, on reaching the summit, Fenwick, who very much admired Loughcutra, exclaimed—

"The prospect is, indeed, charming. Do you know what the name of this lake is derived from?"

"I find," said John, "by the oldest annals of the country, that the lake is called after Cutra, a leader of the Belgic tribe, who inhabited Ireland before the arrival of the Milesians. He possessed this lake and the adjoining lands of Tyroloughan (39), and had his palace in the neighbourhood. Many places in this county derive their names from the Firbolg race, such as Ryndyffin, Molin, and Rintinane. This tribe were skilful artificers in the manufacture of brazen instruments, and formed the caves which in this country are so numerous. There is a vast cave at Boc, in the demesne of Clooneene, which, the peasantry say, extends to the lake here. I do not think, Cuthbert, the truth of the ancient history of this country can be disputed, when I see so many monuments of the various races who settled in it. Oh, how beautiful Illaun-na-pharsoon appears! What a contrast its woods present to the blue, placid waters which surround it! Look at that flock of divers near it. See how they dive, and, again rising, dimple the waters."

After admiring the scenery, Fenwick said—

"Kelly, have you had good fishing here lately?"

“Not of trout,” he replied; “there is scarcely one in the lake. There are plenty of them, however, not far off, at Lough Gilka and Lough-a-Torig; but eels of a large size and pike are plentiful. I hooked one, just before your arrival to-day, which I will show you before you leave.”

“Salmon do not come up to spawn here,” said John, “as the waters of this lake proceed to the sea at Kinvara by mostly a subterranean passage. After passing the ruins of the old abbey at Beach and Derry Ban Tierna they sink under ground. At a short distance a vast circular opening, like the crater of an extinct volcano, clad with holly and whitethorn bushes, discloses the water to the spectator at a great depth. Further on it appears again, and again sinks into an opening called the Blackwater. Two other deep gulfs show it at Ceanahown. It next appears issuing from a large arch of rock, where it passes the Castle of Gortinsiguara. Once more it is engulfed at the foot of the ruined castle of Mac Raymond Burke, at Ballynamantan. From thence, in darkness, the waters pursue their course, and at Dunguara Castle, near Kinvara, mingle with those of the Atlantic Ocean.—”

“I am very sorry, indeed, to interrupt you,” said Kelly, “particularly after hearing such a very fine description, but hope you will excuse me, as I hear my servants bringing up to the hall the poor repast, which is the best I have to lay before you. All I can say is, that it is given with a most sincere welcome.”

“No apology is required, I can assure you, my friend,” said Fenwick, as they entered the apartment, and he viewed the viands on the table. “These delicious trout would be a treat for even a Newcastle alderman or the Lord Mayor of London.”

After they had partaken of the trout and some wine, Kelly told his *garçon* to send up the Chief’s presents, and directed the spiced beef to be laid on the table; but both John and Cuthbert declined partaking of any more, and the former said—

“Kelly, you must now prepare to come on the main-land at once.”

“Very well,” he replied; “and as I am going to Clooneene, I will take the large pike I promised to show you with me, as it may be acceptable to your grandfather.”

As soon as they had left the little fortalice, he pointed the fish out to them, which was hanging on the wall, in company with the long pike-rod with which he had taken it. On reaching the main-land, Kelly mounted the horse which had carried the hampers, and the three gentlemen rode towards Clooneene.



## CHAPTER V.

## THE CHEVALIER DE TOURVILLE.

On arriving at the Castle of Fídane, the Chief of Cineal Aodh and Dermot Oge found Theobald Butler, who had not returned to Ballygegan, seated in the room above the parlour, which was always used by the ladies of the family as a drawing-room. Its walls were hung with beautifully-embroidered arras, and the furniture was similar to that in the lower apartment.

"We remained up, my dear Roger," said Lady Helena, "anxiously expecting your return. Has any news arrived from the camp?"

"None," said O'Shaughnessy, "nor will there be any until the express passes, perhaps on to-morrow. As Theobald is a friend I will not refrain before him from telling you of the course I am resolved to adopt with regard to our dear son William. I have deemed it advisable to send him abroad to finish his education."

"Oh!" exclaimed Lady Helena, "surely you could not think of sending away my dear son from me. I could never bear his absence, and what would poor Helena do without her brother?"

The Chieftain endeavoured to suppress his own strong feelings, in order to comfort her Ladyship, and said that all whom he had consulted at Clooneene concurred with him in thinking that it was most advisable, under the present circumstances, for William to retire to France, as he was too young to take part in the coming war, and that, even if he were older, it would be a great trial to peril the life of their only son in it. Theobald took the same view as O'Shaughnessy, although he felt painfully the idea of parting with his young companion, William. After considerable consideration, Lady Helena reluctantly became reconciled, and said—

"I must submit, and endeavour to support myself by praying that our son may return in safety to his native land."

"Now, Dermot Oge," said the Chief, "all that remains to be done is to provide the necessary funds for William's journey."

"I have not called on some of the tenants for their rents as yet," replied Dermot Oge. "I did not ask your relatives, the Mahons of Ryn-dyffin; as they are very young and fatherless; I did not wish to press them."

"You acted perfectly right in not doing so," said O'Shaughnessy.

"However," continued Dermot Oge, "Pierce Lynch has a great sum of ready money at command; and, even if he did not owe you rent, he would lend you any amount that you might require on such an occasion."

"There is no doubt of that," returned the Chief; "Pierce Lynch is a gentleman in every sense of the word. His family, who are of ancient Austrian descent, suffered severely in the late war."

"Yes," said Dermot Oge, "they were banished from their inheritance, and forced to seek refuge on your father's estate, at Rafiladown, where, by his skill in farming, Pierce has amassed enormous wealth, and can now live as comfortably in his mansion at Rafiladown as if he dwelt in one of the fine old dwellings of Spanish architecture which his ancestors possessed in Galway. We can get letters of credit, also, on the D'Arcys, of Brest, where they are very well off. In 1647 I remember Francis D'Arcy's ship brought over the cannon that were mounted on the strong walls of Galway, and so effectively used against the Parliamentarians, under Sir Charles Coote, in 1652. The D'Arcys are, as you are well aware, descendants of Anthony, son of James Riveagh D'Arcy, of Kiltulla, who was appointed Vice-President of Connaught by his kinsman, Sir Conyers Clifford, in 1597. The brave Sir Conyers, who was Governor of the province of Connaught that year, was slain at the great battle of the Curlews, and his whole army totally routed by the Irish, under the command of Red Hugh O'Donnell in 1599, a Chieftain who at one time stormed and plundered the historic city of Athenry, which was anciently the Norman capital of Connaught, and for centuries resisted the numerous but unsuccessful attempts of the native Irish to annihilate that enterprising but warlike settlement."

"Dermot Oge," said the Chieftain, "I am aware of all that; but, to return to business, I wish you to send early for young Moylan to meet us at Gortinsiguara, and after to-morrow you can proceed from thence to the county of Clare, for William. On to-morrow Lady Helena can remove to Gortinsiguara, while Taggert remains here to take care of the castle. But I think we had better adjourn to the lower apartment, as supper must be ready by this time."

They then descended to the supper-room, and after partaking of a slight repast, retired to rest.

Next morning O'Shaughnessy, Dermot Oge, and Theobald Butler, after having breakfasted, mounted their horses, and, accompanied by two armed attendants, proceeded at a smart trot to the village of Tubberindony. Leaving Fidane Castle by the western gate of the outer fortifications, they soon crossed the meandering stream at Castle Lodge,

passed through Tubberindony with its small oratory and "blessed well," situated near the boundaries of Galway and Clare, and on the left of the highway they beheld, at a short distance, the residence of Pierce Lynch, who was walking outside his house when they reached it.

This mansion was an extremely long building, with numerous additions, of different orders of architecture, which were added as the want of accommodation for the family required them. The hall, which was semicircular, was handsomely furnished, and floored with different-coloured tiles. A large bawn, together with numerous out-offices, completed this extensive establishment. The house was surrounded by lofty trees of oak, elm, and ash, which gave to the whole place a pleasing, though antiquated appearance. The proprietor, Pierce Lynch, was a hospitable and wealthy man, and was delighted to see his friends (40). Walking towards them he said—

"You are welcome, O'Shaughnessy, and so are you also, my kinsman, Dermot Oge. I am, indeed, happy you have come to see me. No delay, but enter my dwelling, and rest yourselves."

A wholesome repast was soon served up, in the large and comfortable parlour, which was furnished with handsome antique furniture that his father had saved with much difficulty from the wreck of his property, when Galway surrendered to the Cromwellian soldiers, who, under the command of the tyrannical Stubbers, subjected the old and respectable inhabitants to so much plunder and persecution. Over the chimney-piece, which was of Connemara marble, there was a brass plate, on which was engraved the coat-of-arms of the Lynch family, on a shield *azure* a chevron *or* between three trefoils slipped *or*; crest, a lynx passant *argent*; motto, *Semper fidelis*. These armorial bearings, according to tradition, were granted to an ancestor of this family to perpetuate his gallant conduct in defending the city of Lintz, of which he was governor. The siege having lasted for a considerable time the provisions became exhausted, and the garrison were reduced to such a state of dire necessity that they were obliged to feed on grass; but, being relieved by a large army which came to their assistance, he received from his Prince a grant of the trefoil to commemorate the great misery to which he was reduced for want of food, and the lynx, the sharpest-sighted of all animals, as emblematic of his foresight and prudence; while the motto records his loyalty and fidelity.

After having spent some time in pleasant conversation, the Chief informed Lynch of his son's intended departure for France; and he, like the rest of his friends, at once concurred in the propriety of sending William abroad without delay, and, addressing Dermot Oge, he said—

“Of course there will be funds required for the purpose of defraying my young friend’s expenses, but as O’Shaughnessy may not find it convenient at present to provide them, on account of the heavy demands there are on his purse in consequence of the coming war, it will afford me the greatest pleasure to advance the necessary sum. At all events, I had better pay my rent.”

He then retired to his closet, the door of which was strongly secured with iron bolts, and soon returned with a large, well-filled bag. Having ascertained from Dermot Oge the amount of his rent, he quickly counted it out in gold, saying—

“If there are any more funds required, I will be only too happy to supply them.”

“We have more than sufficient, I can assure you, my friend,” said the Chief. “In a few days I hope to have a visit from you at Gortinsiguara. Now, Dermot Oge,” he continued, “please write out a receipt.”

“I shall not forget your kind invitation,” said Lynch ; and after some further conversation his visitors again mounted their horses, and, returning through Tubberindony passed the village of Barna, and soon reached Ballygegan, Pierce Butler’s residence.

The mansion of Ballygegan was older, but almost similar in style to that of Rafiladown. It was encompassed by numerous trees, and the forest, extending to Cregg, crowned its lofty hill, and continued till it met a murmuring rivulet, which, issuing from the Lake of Carheeney, flowed through the picturesque valley of Bunahow, the seat of another branch of the Butler family.

On entering the house, O’Shaughnessy, addressing the proprietor, said—

“Butler, I could not pass here without calling to see you, though of late you are a very bad visiter.”

“Excuse me,” replied Butler ; “circumstances prevented me ; but I hope to make amends in future. At all events, you cannot make the same complaint against Theobald, for I have remarked that of late he spends more of his time at Fidane Castle than at Ballygegan. Be seated, if you please ; we will have some refreshment immediately. Run, Theobald,” he continued, “and order up some wine. I must join my friends in drinking the King’s health.”

The Chief of Cineal Aodh and Dermot Oge thanked him, but said as they had partaken so lately of Lynch’s hospitality they were unable to accept of his. However, they had no hesitation in joining him in drinking his Majesty’s health.

“As I am taking your son Theobald on to Ardemilevan,” said the

Chief, "you may as well accompany us also. We can dine there with my brother Charles, and, I can assure you, he keeps as good wine as can be had in the country."

Pierce Butler having agreed to accompany them, they shortly after left the mansion, and in a few minutes reached the narrow road, bounded on the left by a dark-looking lake, and on the right by a bog, which led to Ardemilevan Castle. They soon after gained the foot of the hill on which the castle is erected. All round was a dense forest of venerable oak and ash, thickly interspersed with brushwood. The building stood close to a precipice which overhung a deep valley on the south side, and, although not as lofty as Fidane, the great elevation on which it was raised made it appear much higher. Its battlements had at the corners small, square watch-towers; and its base was surrounded by a strong double stone wall, with numerous port-holes, the four angles of which were also guarded by small watch-towers. The massive iron door was well secured by a strong bar of the same material, and, like Fidane, it had a machicolation over it. Close by this door was a long, convenient thickly-thatched house, in which, in time of peace, the inmates of the castle dwelt. To the north ran a strong wall of rough, unhewn stone, enclosing a large bawn and several offices. Ascending the height, the Chief and his party passed through the bawn, and, entering the dwelling, were welcomed by Charles O'Shaughnessy, and his wife, Eleanora Lynch.

The Chief's brother, Charles, was the second son of the late Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy, and since his father's death resided at Ardemilevan. He was a tall, handsome man; but, preferring retirement to the more active duties of life, did not take much part in the politics of his time, but lived pleasantly, like most country gentlemen of the period, and was fond of the sports of the field, particularly of hunting.

"You have come just in time," said he; "for dinner is ready, and I never enjoy it without company."

Ascending the narrow stone stairs of the castle, he ushered his brother and his friends into the principal apartment, which was used as the parlour from time immemorial. Part of the walls were tapestried, while other portions were ornamented by fresco paintings bearing a strong resemblance to those in Knockmoy Abbey, and were probably executed by the same artist. It was furnished, like Fidane, with antique chairs, tables, and fire-arms, some of the latter dating as far back as the reign of Edward IV. They were scarcely seated when the attendants entered, carrying the several dishes that comprised the dinner. Though the viands were faultless—for Charles O'Shaughnessy liked the comforts of life—he nevertheless apologised by saying—

“ I am sorry I cannot entertain you better, as I did not expect you to-day.”

“ What better could we expect,” said Pierce Butler, “ than good claret ? and your supply of wine, I must say, is first-class—from Galway I suppose ?”

“ No,” replied the host ; “ my friend the Chevalier de Tourville, of the *Aigle Volant*, was its importer ; so I have had no occasion, for some time past, to trouble my friends, the enterprising merchants of Galway.”

“ Captain de Tourville,” said Dermot Oge, “ is a gallant seaman. His vessel, the Flying Eagle, is one of the fastest-sailing ships afloat. He musters forty bold and stout seamen on her decks armed with pistols in their belts, and sharp cutlasses in their hands. Besides the Flying Eagle mounts seven guns and two stern-chasers. I saw him last year when his ship was moored outside Duras (41), and for the first time made his acquaintance. He was then lightening his vessel, for the purpose of enabling him to run her up the shallow water to Kinvara, where he intended remaining for some time on a visit with his old friends, the O’Hynes’. He knows every bay and inlet on the coast, and has some good Irish blood in his veins, his mother being a Burke of Mayo, of the Mac William Oughter sept. His name is much respected among the officers of the French marine, and, although he is now in the contraband trade, he has privately received a commission as Captain from Louis XIV. I have no doubt but he will act with valour in the approaching struggle. He has already performed many praiseworthy acts, by conveying to France several of our priests who were persecuted by the Government, and was never known to refuse a passage to any young man who wished to go on the Continent to study there. While his ship is discharging her cargo at Duras, he leaves the command to his Lieutenant, and visits all our houses.”

“ Indeed,” said the Chief of Cineal Aodh, “ De Tourville is always welcome when he comes to Gortinsiguara or Fidane ; he is so agreeable in his manners, and frank, like all sailors. If he were now at Duras I could send William to the Continent with him.”

“ Why send William to France ?” said Charles ; “ when did you come to that resolution ?”

O’Shaughnessy then stated briefly the course he had resolved to adopt with regard to his son ; and Charles, after lamenting the unsettled state of affairs which necessitated his brother to send William abroad, said—

“ I trust my nephew will yet return to us to enjoy the estates which were possessed by our ancestors ; but, now, how can we hope for any-



thing good on earth, when our country is filled, from shore to shore, with rumours of war?"

"Come, come," said Dermot Oge, "you had better not give way to despondency, Charles. Cheer up, and prepare to put your castle into a state of defence. Marauders will, no doubt, be found in time of war, who will endeavour to plunder castles, and we should remember how Red Hugh O'Donnell carried off the cattle, and how his foray extended to the very gate of Fidane, where, through the valour of your ancestor, he was repulsed."

"I think it would be prudent for you to do so," said Pierce Butler. "Ballygegan is unprotected, and my family could, with our stock and other valuables, take refuge here."

"I agree with Dermot Oge and Butler in their opinion," said the Chief; "but as I must proceed without delay to Gortinsiguara, if I receive any intelligence of importance I will acquaint you, Charles, of it."

After bidding a kind farewell to his brother, Pierce Butler, and Theobald, he started, accompanied by Dermot Oge, for Gortinsiguara. Passing along the side of the hill of Ardemilevan they came on the narrow road leading to the Blackwater, and very soon after arrived at the narrow stone bridge which spanned the Gortinsiguara river, and was erected by an ancestor of the O'Shaughnessy sept. On their left was a small green island called Insi-Guara, from which the adjoining village derived its name. Gortinsiguara was, in the seventh century, the regal seat of that celebrated King of Connaught distinguished in Irish history as Guaire Aidhne, or Guara the Hospitable. This King was remarkable for his hospitality to all classes, and was very charitable to the poor of his kingdom, and those who visited it from other parts of Ireland. Therefore, it became a proverb in the country, when speaking of Princes, Chieftains, or others noted for their liberality, that they were "as generous as Guaire," and many of the minstrels, in their figurative language, wrote that his right hand had become much longer than the left, from being so frequently extended in giving alms to the poor. From this King the Chiefs of Cineal Aodh derived their origin.

On that side of the river on which stood the village of Gortinsiguara there extended some rising ground, covered with wood, until it met the walls that surrounded a large house which the O'Shaughnessy sept had anciently erected there. To the rere of this was an extensive banqueting hall, and many offices were enclosed by the strong and high loopoled wall, which had in it a gate of great strength. Outside this wall lay the broad street of the village, with its numerous thatched and comfortable dwellings. To the right of the bridge stood the castle, and adja-

cent to it the mill. The castle was situated on an island formed by the river, which was crossed by a narrow bridge that led to the gate in the wall which surrounded the island, and formed its outer defence. Inside was a large hall communicating with the castle, which was burned during the previous war, by Lieutenant-General Edmond Ludlow, but was now thoroughly repaired. When the Chief rode over the bridge, instead of going to the mansion he turned his horse to the right, and rode towards the castle. On arriving here he met his warder, Clayton, at the gate, and, after directing some of the attendants to lead the horses to the stables, he went into the castle, accompanied by Dermot Oge and the warder.

"Well, Clayton," said he, "I perceive you are always at your post."

"Yes, my Chief," said Clayton, "I have been training the young men all day. Some of them are anxious to enter the army, and I have no doubt but they will become a credit to the country, though I am only able to provide a few firelocks for them."

"I cannot supply that want at present," replied O'Shaughnessy; "but I hope the King will bring with him a supply of arms from France sufficient for all who wish to join his service. Our cavalry are well supplied with good arms and excellent horses, and are inferior to none in the world; but our infantry are badly armed."

"I am sorry to hear it, my Chief," said Clayton. "But I wish to inform you that Lady Helena is now at the mansion, where she arrived a short time ago. Her Ladyship told me that you intended coming here as soon as you would have visited your brother at Ardemi-levan."

"Then we had better proceed there at once," replied the Chieftain.

When O'Shaughnessy reached the mansion of Gortinsiguara he was accosted by a messenger from Kinvara, who informed him that the Chevalier de Tourville had landed at Duras a few hours previously.

"Dermot Oge," said the Chief, "send a retainer, with one of my horses, for him at once. His coming will spare you a journey to Cork, as he can convey William to France. Therefore proceed without delay to Carrigahoult Castle and bring William here."

"Yes," replied Dermot Oge; "but I can remain to-night at Lissine, and at daybreak to-morrow go on to Clare. Farewell, O'Shaughnessy," he continued; "keep up your spirits and do not despond." And, so saying, he departed.

In a few hours after, the Chevalier de Tourville and one of his officers arrived at Gortinsiguara, where they were gladly received.



The Chevalier Victor de Tourville, who was cousin of Admiral the Count de Tourville, of the French Navy, was of the middle height, having glossy black hair, sunburnt countenance, and a determined air. His uniform was that of a naval officer, richly ornamented. He wore a massive gold chain round his neck, and several rings on his fingers. His sword was golden-hilted, and in his gold embroidered belt he carried a pair of beautifully-finished pistols, and a long Scottish dirk. His manners were free and his smile was affable. Addressing O'Shaughnessy, he said—

“*Bon jour, mon ami.* I feel happy once more to take my seat in your mansion. Since I was last here I have often thought of you, and of my other friends in this part of the country. Allow me to introduce you to my Lieutenant, Monsieur Albert de Merville.”

The Lieutenant made a low bow, and the Chieftain shook him warmly by the hand, and bade him welcome to Ireland. Then, turning to De Tourville, he said he hoped his voyages since he had left Duras last year were successful.

“*Pourquoi!* taking them altogether they were,” said the Chevalier, “remunerative; but at the prospect of the coming war I have entered the service of the *Grand Monarque*, Louis, with a sort of roving commission from his Most Christian Majesty; so my cargo, this time, is not entirely composed of wines, brandies, silks, and tobacco. I have brought over some gunpowder, which I landed at Galway, and also some small arms, which I intend to dispose of along the coast.”

“I will be glad to take them off your hands,” said the Chief; “that is, as far as I am able to pay broad pieces for them.”

“*Eh bien!* do not make yourself uneasy on that account,” replied De Tourville. “I can take goods in exchange for them, such as wool or hides; and I will require some fresh provisions for my crew. Sailors, you know, must be well fed, as they require to be always ready for active service.”

“I think,” said O'Shaughnessy, “that I can supply you with some fat beeves; and you can obtain more, if you require them, from Captain Forster, of Clooneene. He has first-rate cattle, which are in good condition.”

“He is, as you know, one of my best friends,” said De Tourville. “I hope he is well. Last year he sent me a present of four beeves while I was staying at Kinvara, and I have spent many a pleasant day both at Clooneene and Rathorpe.”

Glynn, the major-domo, now entered the hall with his attendants, carrying several savoury dishes.

“Come,” said the Chief to De Tourville, “your ride from Kinvara must have given you an appetite, and you, De Merville, join your Captain.”

He then filled his goblet with wine, and continued, “Here is success to our cause, both by land and sea.”

“We respond with all our hearts,” said the Chevalier; “and in return drink the health of you and your amiable family.”

After some time had elapsed, De Tourville remarked the absence of Lady Helena and William.

“I am sorry to tell you,” said the Chief, “that my wife is at present in great grief at the idea of parting with our only son, who is on the eve of going to France to complete his education. Perhaps you may be able to accommodate him with a passage, and I will, of course, defray the expenses.”

“*Ouf!* pay me!” said De Tourville, indignantly. “I shall not accept as much as a single jacobus from you. I to receive payment for taking your son to France! If he will do me the favour of coming as my guest, the first cabin shall be at his service, and I consider it by no means an adequate return for your hospitality to me. *Mon ami* I would much rather have him on board than his Royal Highness Philip Duke of Orleans!”

“Many thanks,” returned the Chief; “he is to be accompanied by a young man named Moylan, who is going abroad to study for the Church.”

“*Baste!* I will take him also,” said the Chevalier. “He is not the first divinity student my good ship has borne from the shores of this unfortunate country.”

After dinner, De Tourville said—

“I will now walk out to see some of my customers, and show the place to De Merville, who never saw Gortinsiguara before.”

“Remember,” said O’Shaughnessy, “you are my guest here for some time.”

The Chevalier thanked the Chief, but said he could remain for that night only, as he had to visit Captain Forster and other friends before he returned to France, and that a message could be sent at any time to acquaint him of William’s arrival, and he would immediately return to Gortinsiguara. He then departed, to transact his business in the village.

Towards evening De Tourville and De Merville were seated in the banqueting-hall of the mansion, with O’Shaughnessy, Lady Helena, their daughter Helena, Father Moylan, and his nephew.

The priest, the Reverend Dermot Moylan, who was born in 1657, was a mild, gentlemanly person, of polished manners. In his youth he was educated at the celebrated seminary of Douay, and at the University of Louvain, where great numbers of the Catholic clergy had for a long period been forced to resort, owing to the despotic and cruel laws of a bigoted Protestant Government, which debarred them from an opportunity of being educated at home. In the year 1680, being then twenty-three years of age, he privately hastened back to his native land, in a contraband vessel, from which he landed by night at the village of Duras. Having received Holy Orders at Ballylooge, from the Right Reverend Doctor Keogh, Lord Bishop of Clonfert, he was appointed parish priest of Kilmacduach and Beach, or St. Anne's. He took up his residence at Laughtyshaughnessy, which was one of the estates of his protector, the Chief of Clooneene, and where some members of his family resided. He often had to hide from his vindictive enemies, but was always fortunate in escaping their pursuit. Now, however, he was at liberty openly to perform the functions of his sacred office, and he hoped, ere long, to erect at Shanaglish a church worthy of that ancient place. The furious bigots of former times had destroyed the church dedicated to St. Anne, which had previously stood there from time immemorial, and a plain thatched building was afterwards erected in the demesne of Clooneene, which, however, did not occasionally escape the notice of the persecutors of the Catholic religion—those sanguinary priest-hunters who were eager for reward. Several times it was found necessary to send a family to reside there, to give it the appearance of an ordinary dwelling, and thus prevent its being burned and razed to the ground. Such was the lamentably sad state that the ancient religion of the country was reduced to in those evil days; but it was a consolation to Father Moylan that he was respected by all his parishioners, despite the tyranny of the Government, and was a frequent guest at their houses, particularly at Clooneene.

"I hope, De Tourville, your crew are all well," said O'Shaughnessy, "they have many old acquaintances at Duras and Kinvara."

"If strong lungs are indicative of health," said De Tourville, "my crew are the healthiest afloat. *Mon Dieu!* I wish you heard the ringing cheer they gave when we cast anchor at Duras, and how it was echoed by the surrounding woods. After landing, they had a dance at the old Druid Altar (42), and I sent ashore some ankers of brandy to be distributed among those of our friends who reside at Duras."

"Had you an easy voyage?" asked the Chief.

"Light winds blowing when we left Brest; we had to tack occasionally. Half way between Brest and Cape Clear it blew a strong

south-east gale, and we saw a Dutch frigate nearing us ; but I knew she was no match in point of speed for the Flying Eagle, so I let her pretty near, and then gave her a shot from my stern-chasers, and afterwards showed the white flag, with the *fleur-de-lys* of *la belle* France. They appeared very much astonished, but, with every sail spread to the gale, I soon left her far behind. By St. Louis ! only for I knew it was my duty to attend to my orders, I would have boarded the Dutchman, and tried the strength of my crew. Here, my young friend, Moylan," he continued, "you must drink to our better acquaintance. You are to be my companion on my next voyage to the beautiful land of France. *Mon cher*, you must not be surprised at the rough manners of my sailors ; for I assure you, uncouth as they may appear, they have a great respect for the Catholic priesthood. I remember, on one occasion we had a clergyman on board, and, being attacked by an English vessel, my crew fought much better in consequence of his presence amongst them. We were maintaining a running fight, when a broadside from the Flying Eagle, sent the enemy's main-mast overboard. I wore round and gave her a second broadside, which swept her decks, and then coolly continued my voyage, having only two men wounded and one killed, while the enemy must have lost considerably by the engagement."

"My minstrel will now play for you," said the Chief, as Mac Brody entered.

The minstrel was kindly greeted by De Tourville, who said—

"We will give you a hearty welcome on board, if you visit the Flying Eagle. My sailors would be delighted to hear your harp, and my Second Lieutenant, De Trushnot, is an excellent musician."

"Perhaps I may do myself the honour of paying you a visit, sir," said Mac Brody ; "but if the company have no objection I will now play for you 'Rosg Catha Gabhra,' one of Ossian's spirited war songs."

"I have," exclaimed the Chevalier, after hearing it played, "a mind to carry you off to my ship this very night. Your harp would inspire my sailors before going to battle."

"I was bred on the land, and not on the sea," returned Mac Brody ; "but, surely, you are not without music on board ?"

"We have," said De Tourville, "plenty of violins, horns, drums, and fifes, no doubt ; but the wild strains of your harp excel them all. De Trushnot, I am sure, would be in ecstasies if he heard you play."

"I much admire the harp's sweet sounds," said De Merville, "and although, sir," he continued, addressing O'Shaughnessy, "you may imagine I am a real Frenchman, still I proudly claim Ireland as the

land which gave some of my ancestors birth. Indeed, I begin to consider myself an Irishman."

"But your name is a French one," said the Chief.

"No doubt of that," returned the Lieutenant, "and, probably, the De Mervilles can trace their pedigree back to the days of Charlemagne, Emperor of the West and King of the Franks, or to those of Dagobert, or, perhaps, to the earlier period when Clovis governed France; but I will explain how that name came to be adopted by my family. Many years ago one of my ancestors was an adherent of one of Ireland's most celebrated warriors, Red Hugh O'Donnell, and accompanied him to Spain, where he went to seek assistance for his conquered country from King Philip III. The name of Sir Hugh Mostyn is, I believe, inscribed in the pages of Irish history."

"It undoubtedly is," said the Chief of Cineal Aodh.

"My ancestor," continued De Merville, "like many of those whose families came over to this country, felt keenly its many wrongs, and espoused the cause of the dauntless Red Hugh when he rose in arms to throw off the galling yoke of her oppressors. Banished for his zeal in the defence of his fatherland, he found a ready welcome in Spain, which has ever been the hospitable home of the extirpated Irishman! His grandson, my father, leaving that country on some commercial affairs, married, at Brest, the daughter of Monsieur Casimer de Merville, and I have adopted my mother's name. I was bred to the sea, and, having met my friend De Tourville at Brest, I took a great fancy to him and became his Lieutenant, knowing him to be a commander of ability and undoubted courage."

"Your health, and caed mille failte to Ireland," warmly exclaimed O'Shaughnessy. "I feel truly happy to see you at Gortinsiguara, and I am sure all my neighbours will participate in my feelings."

Having thanked the Chief for his kindness, De Merville said—

"I take a lively interest in the affairs of this country. The recital of the terrible scenes enacted here both during the wars of Queen Elizabeth's reign and the usurpation of the late Regicide spread all over the Continent of Europe, and has excited the greatest indignation. It has also been the medium of placing many of the descendants of the extirpated Irish in high positions abroad, who feel an intense anxiety with regard to the affairs of Ireland, and an inveterate hatred for England."

"Yes," said the Chief, "many of our exiled countrymen are well off in Spain. A great number from this county settled at Malaga, from whence they trade with their relatives in Galway, which, before the sanguinary wars you have mentioned, was a city that enjoyed great com-

mercial intercourse with France, Spain, Portugal, and even the West Indies. Still, I regret to say that in a few years its houses fell into ruin : its once numerous and opulent merchants disappeared in consequence of the cruel treatment which they received after the violation of the treaty made with that city in 1652. But we must now hope for the better."

"At all events, I must put my vessel in a more warlike trim than she is in at present," said De Tourville ; "for although she now carries only seven guns and two chasers, she is pierced for twenty-four. I will obtain the balance of what I require at Brest, or perhaps Dieppe, and endeavour to gain some renown in the struggle between King James and the Prince of Orange."

Captain de Tourville then related several exciting anecdotes of his various voyages to the coasts of England and Scotland, and prolonged his discourse until the night was far advanced, when all retired to rest.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### RATHORPE.

ON arriving at Clooneene, Kelly was cordially received by the Chief, and next day, accompanied by Cuthbert Fenwick, to whom he had become much attached, as their dispositions and tastes were almost similar, went to fish for pike in the lake of Knockancorragh, in the demesne of Clooneene. After having killed several, they returned to partake of luncheon, when the Chief remarked that probably they might meet the express at Crushnahawn if they proceeded there.

"We may as well stroll in that direction, grandfather," said John, "and then go on to Rathorpe, as I am very anxious to see my mother."

When lunch was over they walked to Crushnahawn, but found, on inquiry, that the expected express had not passed, and continuing their walk they soon reached the height over Rathorpe (43), which was situated in the midst of a dense and ancient wood. This old mansion, to which were added numerous additions of various sizes and different orders of architecture, covered a large space of ground, and extended to the ancient fort at its rere from which it derived its name. This fort or rath, was surrounded by an immense ditch, the banks of which abounded with brushwood, and in the centre was a large cave. Through the wood at one side of the fort ran a narrow road, which passed by the lake, and



led to the county of Clare. This lake was large, and reached the basement of Moneyiffane Castle, the woods of which covered a great extent of rock, and ornamented the rere of the heights adjacent to Rathorpe. On the lake were to be seen several men and boys, retainers of the family, standing on bulrush mats, which supported them on the water, and holding in their hands long *claghs*, or fishing spears, with which they were engaged in catching eels.

When John and his companions entered the mansion they were received by his mother, who was rejoiced to see them. This fascinating lady was Eleanor, daughter of Colonel Gerald Burke, of Tyaquin Castle, the representative of a junior branch of the illustrious House of De Burgh, anciently Earls of Ulster and Lords of Connaught. At an early age she married James Forster, of Rathorpe, the favoured of the many suitors who had sought her hand. He was the eldest son of the Chief of Clooneene, and on the organization of Clifford's Dragoons received the commission of Major in them, and now filled the office of High Sheriff for the county of Galway. Though the mother of many children, she still retained all the freshness of youth, and her appearance, which was dignified and commanding, indicated a vigorous and robust constitution. Independently of these desirable qualities, her intellectual attainments were of a very high order, which, together with a winning affability and gentleness of manner for which the daughters of the distinguished House of De Burgh were remarkable, made her a general favourite with all who came within the circle of her acquaintance.

Though refreshment was served up in abundance, the visitors could only partake of it sparingly, having lunched so recently at Clooneene, and Kelly, having praised the wines in eulogistic terms, said—

“Madam, it is generally believed among the peasantry that the cellars of Rathorpe are supplied by the fairies; and if there is any truth in what they say, I suppose it accounts for the richness of this crusty old port.”

“We are certainly well provided with wine,” replied the lady of the mansion, “as the Chevalier de Tourville regularly visits this neighbourhood; but the close proximity of the building in which the cellars are to the fort, which, like all others, is believed to be inhabited by fairies, must have given rise to that report.”

After they were some time at Rathorpe his mother, addressing John, said—

“I hope to see you and Cuthbert soon again; but as your grandfather is alone you had better, when you return, tell him that I will



shortly pay him a visit, and that I soon expect your father here from Galway."

When they reached Crushnahawn (44) on their return, John said to Cuthbert—

"I will just take a look at this place," and they then proceeded in the direction of the nearest hall-door.

The house had high peaked gables and long narrow windows. The hall formed a semicircle, and two hall-doors opened from it towards the road, and, like Clooneene, it was floored with tile of foreign manufacture. The apartments were not large, but numerous, the construction of the building being between that of a house and a castle, wanting only a narrow stone stairs and battlements to make it the latter. This place was virtually John's, having been settled on him during his grandfather's life; but he did not reside there. However, it was occupied by all his servants, and occasionally, when guests were numerous at Clooneene, several of them were lodged here. The house, being situated near the great road leading from Limerick to Galway, afforded the inhabitants of the surrounding country an opportunity of often hearing news from both those cities, and the Chief of Clooneene frequently strolled there to meet some passing traveller whom he could bring to his residence to partake of his hospitality.

"Here comes Houloughan," said John, as his steward approached from the direction of the offices. "Well, Murty, are the horses and dogs all well, and the cattle in good condition?"

"They could not be better, sir," responded the steward, at the same time making a respectful bow. "But walk into the house, sir; there is a blazing fire in the parlour. No person passed here for the last two days, still I am keeping a sharp look out for the express. Sometimes a great number of strangers pass, so I wish you would order some of the tenants to watch here by night for the future. I have only two guns, sir, while there are so many idle in the hall at Clooneene."

"I will speak to the Captain on the subject," said John, who continued—"Come, now, Cuthbert, and you, Kelly, we can return from here by Lisconla."

Then, crossing the road in front of the house, they soon passed the dark trees that shaded Crushnahawn, and, leaving Rath Doran bog behind, they entered that part of the wood of Clooneene where the fort of Lisconla (45) is situated. This fort is a vast enclosure of earth-works, surrounded by a deep ditch, having in the centre a small circular opening leading to a large cave, and canopied by holly and hazel.

"This was a work of great labour in the olden times," said John. "It is difficult to ascertain the Conla after whom it is called, so many of

that name have resided in this country. Conla the Leper, of the Milesian Dynasty, was a King of Ireland; and a Conla is mentioned by Ossian amongst his heroes."

After examining the fort, and walking round its entrenchments, they proceeded to the mansion. At the door they were met by Shane O'Halloran, who, addressing John, said—

"Sir, the Chief is in the library with the Frenchman, and his comrade is in the parlour with Costellan."

"I will go and see De Tourville, for it must be him," said John; and he then walked in the direction of the library, while Fenwick and Kelly went into the parlour.

Near the foot of the principal staircase was the door of the library, which was of strong polished oak. This room was well lighted by a large window which looked into the garden. Each side of the fireplace there were large recesses, well filled with sundry black-letter folios, and all along the walls were arranged a numerous collection of valuable books. On several pedestals were placed statues of distinguished historical characters, conspicuous among which were those of Sir William Wallace, William Tell, and Junius Brutus. Over the mantel-piece hung the Chief's broadsword, and near it his buff coat and pistols. Above these hung a large painting of Sir John Forster, of Bamborough Castle, Knight Banneret, Lord Warden of the Middle Marches, in 1561, and Lord of Blanchland, who was represented in complete armour, but with the visor of his helmet raised (46). The Chief was seated in his great arm-chair, before a brilliant fire, and Captain de Tourville was sitting near him, smoking a curiously-carved pipe, and both were in earnest conversation. John, having entered, advanced towards the Chevalier, and, after greeting him, said—

"I hope you are to remain here for some time."

"I intend stopping as long as I possibly can," replied De Tourville. "My Second Lieutenant will soon have our cargo discharged, and I never, by any chance, remain longer in port, even if not paid. My agents at Duras and Kinvara always receive the goods. If they have the cash they pay, and if not I am sure of getting it when I return."

"Have you ever lost by that system?" said the Chieftain.

"No," replied De Tourville; "I could leave any of my agents wines and brandies to the amount of five thousand gold pieces, and would be quite safe in doing so."

"I was saying, John," said his grandfather, "as you came in, that

I would purchase from De Tourville some of the arms he has on board the Flying Eagle, as, unfortunately, this county, like Ireland in general, is very deficient in military weapons."

"I can give you," replied the Chevalier, "about fifty firelocks, eighty pistols, and twelve barrels of powder, at the first cost."

"Houloughan," said John, "requires fire-arms at Crushnahawn, and some men to protect the goods and stock."

"Send him all that is necessary," said the Chief. "Tell him he can call in the Powers, the Hanrahans, the Connollys, the Haddocks, and others, if he requires them. I will again direct how the watch and ward are to be kept."

O'Halloran now appeared at the library door, and interrupted the conversation by saying—

"Captain Stacpoole, Captain O'Brien, and their ladies have just arrived, sir, and the dinner is ready."

"I am delighted to hear my granddaughters have come here," said the Chieftain. "Come, John, and welcome your sisters."

Warm and affectionate was the manner in which he greeted his grandchildren and their husbands, who were equally rejoiced to find him in such good health, and anxiously inquired if he had heard lately from young Captain Francis.

The Chieftain said he was happy to inform them that their brother enjoyed good health, and was very much pleased with his military life.

When dinner was over, and the ladies had retired, Captain O'Brien stated that, being anxious to hear how matters stood in the county of Galway, he had come hoping to get satisfactory information on the present aspect of affairs. "The only news of any importance," said he, "in my part of the country, is that Lord Clare is busily engaged drilling his dragoons at Carrigahault, and is to march to the North in a few days, where several troops have been ordered—amongst others, those of Sir Toby Butler's kinsman, Lord Galmoy. Colonel Patrick Sarsfield, of Lucan (47), county Dublin, is much thought of, being one of those Irish officers who opposed the Prince of Orange in England after his landing there. He first served in France, as an Ensign in the *gens-d'armes* of Count Hamilton, eldest surviving son of Colonel Sir George Hamilton, of Dunnalong, county of Tyrone, Receiver-General of Ireland, by his wife, the Honourable Mary Butler, third daughter of Lord Thurles, and sister of the Duke of Ormonde. After the success of the Prince of Orange he left England, being then a Lieutenant in the Guards, and I have been told by Lord Clare that he is to accompany the

King from France. The Honourable Justin MacCarthy, third son of Donough Earl of Clancarthy, who is a very upright officer, it is said, is also to take command of a body of troops in the Northern expedition."

Houloughan now opened the door, saying—"I beg your pardon, gentlemen, for intruding, but I have come to say the express has passed on his way to Galway. I made him feed his horse and refresh himself at Crushnahawn, and he informed me that the King landed at Kinsale and has proceeded to Cork; also, that his Majesty has brought with him some Irish, English, Scotch, and French officers, together with some arms and money."

"Some arms will not do," said the Chief. "Look to the badly-armed infantry we have; the miserable state in which they are, for want of weapons and clothes, is really deplorable."

"Indeed," said O'Brien, "it is pitiable to see how half my regiment is armed with bad guns and halberts. However, in course of time we hope to have some good French and Spanish guns distributed amongst us."

Here Father Moylan entered the room, and, after exchanging salutations with the Chieftain and his guests, said—

"I just came in, Captain, as I did not like to pass by without calling to see you. Donal Bran, of Ballinascagh, is not very well. His son, young Donal, has called on me to attend him and give him religious consolation."

"I am sorry to hear he is ill," said the Chief, "as I know him to be a most faithful follower of my sept, and I trust the hardy old warrior will soon recover."

"I think it is very probable he may," said the priest. "His son is a clever, smart young fellow, and his wife, Nora, is very attentive to her old father-in-law."

"I met Donal Bran selling horses some time ago at Limerick," said Captain Stacpoole, "and a capital judge he is of horse-flesh, I can assure you."

"Yes," said the Chieftain, "he has been dealing in that way for many years, and lately his son gives him considerable assistance in his trade. From an early age young Donal frequented the stables, and acquired from my groom, who is an expert, the art of managing the most stubborn horses. He usually accompanies his father to the distant fairs, and frequently goes to the North to dispose of horses."

"Perhaps," said Captain O'Brien, "I could persuade him to act as a guide to my regiment, when going there."

"To-morrow," said the Chief, "you can see him and speak to him

on the subject. The arrival of the King will, I sincerely hope, heal all dissensions among the people. All our losses in the late war were owing to treachery and discord, two evils which, I trust, are banished from this country for ever. We have now to contend for our religious liberty, and I expect the victory will be ours. O'Brien," he continued, "how do Lord Clare's affairs stand just now?"

"He is at great expense in raising his dragoon and infantry regiments," replied O'Brien. "He has no pay for them, and, like most of the nobility and gentry, has to support his men himself, who willingly submit to every privation for their country's welfare. How funds are to be raised I know not; however, one thing is certain, that as long as food can be provided the troops will hold together."

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## CHAPTER VII.

### THE KING LANDS AT KINSALE, AND ENTERS DUBLIN.

THE 24th of March was ushered in with that cold, dry, but invigorating and wholesome atmosphere so characteristic of the spring season, when Nature gradually begins to awaken from her winter slumbers, and assumes a gay costume, which soon becomes developed into purple heath, green leaf, and fragrant flowers. It was a day of deep interest to the inhabitants of the old City of the Swords, the metropolis of Ireland, and from the unusual excitement and bustle which prevailed it was evident that some great event was expected to take place—an important event, which had a different effect on the citizens, as it was fraught with fear for some, but with joy for the greater portion. The Catholics, who had hitherto been despised and treated with contempt by the insolent Protestant minority, were delighted that King James, whom they regarded as their deliverer, was expected that day to arrive in the metropolis. Nearly all the houses in the city were decorated with tapestry or cloth of gold. The streets were spanned by triumphal arches, while at every available spot the green flag flew boldly in the breeze. Priests, Friars, and other religious persons mingled with the people who crowded the streets, and were loud in their acclamations. The whole city, in fact, presented a tumultuous appearance, and most of the people seemed to be intoxicated with delight. Officers in various uniforms, wearing oak boughs in their hats, and women in gay and varied costume, added to

the liveliness of the scene. *Te Deums* were sung in the churches, and the bells throughout the city pealed forth merrily. All the vessels in the Liffey were decorated with flags of various sizes, on mostly all of which were emblazoned either the Sunburst of the Milesians, the White Rose of the Stuarts, the Harp of Erin, or the *Fleur-de-lys* of France. Thus opened Palm Sunday, the 24th of March, 1689, in the good old city of Dublin.

King James, who resided at the palace of St. Germain-en-Laye, near Paris, as the guest of Louis XIV., since he was compelled to fly from England in December the previous year, felt exceedingly grateful to his powerful cousin for the assistance he gave him in his misfortunes. King Louis lent him four hundred thousand crowns, as he knew funds would be required to undertake the intended expedition to Ireland; but not long before his departure from France, he lost a faithful ally by the sudden and unexpected death of his niece, the young Queen of Spain. This Princess was the eldest daughter of Louis the Fourteenth's only brother, his Royal Highness Philip Duke of Orleans, by his wife, the Princess Henrietta Maria of England, daughter of King Charles I., and sister of Kings Charles II., and James II. Her Majesty, who inherited the beauty and many accomplishments of her mother, married Charles II., King of Spain, over whom she possessed powerful influence, and was only in the twenty-sixth year of her age at the time of her unexpected death, which took place on the 20th February. The death of the Queen was, therefore, a great blow to the cause of her unfortunate uncle, who nevertheless resolved to set sail for Ireland. When King James was taking leave of the King of France, the latter unbuckled his sword, and, with a gaiety of manner which was intended to rouse the drooping spirits of his kinsman, presented it to him, saying he hoped it would prove fortunate, and be the means of restoring him to his crown. He bluntly added—"The best wish that I can offer to your Majesty is that I may never see you again." On the 28th, King James bade farewell to his Queen, Mary Beatrice Eleanora of Modena, who was much affected at parting from him. He travelled overland in his coach, accompanied by his son, the Duke of Berwick (48), who gave promise of becoming one of the greatest generals of his day, the Duke of Powis, the Earls of Dunbarton and Melfort, and Thomas Stuart. The party quickly crossed the faubourgs of Paris, reached Orleans the same night, and took the route through Bretagne. At Roche Bernard, the Duke de Chaulnes received his Majesty with great magnificence, and would have conducted him to a bed-chamber, that he might take repose after the journey, but the King exclaimed—"I only want something to eat." His



wish was soon gratified, as there was an expensive supper, consisting entirely of fish, prepared for his Majesty. On reaching Brest he found a squadron, comprising thirty men-of-war, commanded by Admiral de Gabaret, prepared to accompany him to Ireland, but the vessel in which he set sail, meeting with an accident, was obliged to return into port to undergo repairs; and this circumstance, though trivial in itself, was sufficient to dishearten many of his adherents, who viewed it as an ill omen. However, the King landed at Kinsale on Wednesday, the 12th of March, where he remained until the arms and other necessities for the coming war which he had brought over with him were disembarked. He entered Cork on the 14th, where he was received with acclamations of joy by the people, and met by the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Tyrconnell, whom he on this occasion created a Duke, as a reward for all his faithful services; but the patent of creation did not pass until the 11th of July following. On the ensuing Sunday after his arrival, he heard Mass in the new chapel which had been lately erected near the Franciscan Friary, being supported by two Friars of that Order, and accompanied by several others clad in their habits. His Majesty was received with great honour and rejoicings by Donough Mac Carthy, Earl of Clancarthy, whom he made one of the Lords of his bed-chamber, and his regiment, a Royal Regiment of Guards.

On the 12th of March the following fleet arrived in the bay of Cork, from France:

Commanders.	Ships' Names.	Guns.	Men.
Lieutenant-General le Marq. d'Autreville,		62 . .	420
Chefs d'Escadres.			
Le Chevalier de Flacour, . . . .	Le Glorieux, . . . .	50 . .	380
Le Marq. de Relinguess, . . . .	Le Serieux, . . . .	60 . .	370
Le Marq. de Nesmond, . . . .	Le Constant, . . . .	54 . .	370
Captains.			
Les Sieurs,			
D'Amblement, . . . . .	Le Henry, . . . . .	64 . .	400
D'Hannault, . . . . .	Le Furieux, . . . . .	60 . .	250
De Septeme, . . . . .	L'Ardent, . . . . .	62 . .	370
De Machard, . . . . .	Le Bourbon, . . . . .	62 . .	370
De Belisle, . . . . .	Le Marquis, . . . . .	56 . .	330
De Belfontaine, . . . . .	Le Prince, . . . . .	58 . .	350
De Reald, . . . . .	Le Courageux, . . . .	60 . .	350
De Mabrane, . . . . .	L'Excellent, . . . . .	60 . .	350
De la Hatteloire, . . . . .	Le Fort, . . . . .	58 . .	350
De Septeville, . . . . .	L'Entreprenant, . . . .	60 . .	350



Commanders.	Ships' Names.	Guns.	Men.
De Bidaw, . . . . .	L'Aquillon, . . . . .	58 . .	330
De Chasseur, . . . . .	Le Vermondois, . . . . .	58 . .	350
Du Palaise, . . . . .	Le Bon, . . . . .	54 . .	300
De Gallisonviere, . . . . .	Le Maure, . . . . .	54 . .	270
Calebert, . . . . .	Le Sage, . . . . .	50 . .	300
D'Allis, . . . . .	Le Francois, . . . . .	46 . .	250
De France, . . . . .	Le Trident, . . . . .	52 . .	375
De Champigny, . . . . .	Le Brave, . . . . .	56 . .	350
De Renault-Huet, . . . . .	Le Termeraire, . . . . .	54 . .	330
De Serquinge, . . . . .	Le Diamant, . . . . .	54 . .	300
De Florin, . . . . .	Le Neptune, . . . . .	48 . .	330
De St. Maure, . . . . .	L'Arc-en-Ciel, . . . . .	54 . .	250
Chef D'Escadre, . . . . .	L'Arogant, . . . . .	58 . .	250
De Genlis, . . . . .	L'Imperfait, . . . . .	44 . .	250
De Chateau-Moraut, . . . . .	Le St. Michael, . . . . .	60 . .	230
Baron des Adess, . . . . .	Le Faulcon, . . . . .	36 . .	200
De Pontis, . . . . .	La Courtisane, . . . . .	64 . .	370
D'Augere, . . . . .	Le Joli, . . . . .	36 . .	200
Des Hainault, . . . . .	Le Moderne, . . . . .	50 . .	300
De la Rougere, . . . . .	Le Sans Parcil, . . . . .	58 . .	250
De la Guiche, . . . . .	Le Palmier, . . . . .	36 . .	200
Baron, . . . . .	L'Alcyon, . . . . .	36 . .	200
Europin, . . . . .	L'Opiniatre, . . . . .	36 . .	200

4 fire ships.

6 floats.

3 other ships of St. Louis.

King James remained in the city of Cork until the 20th of the month. On the 24th he entered Dublin with great pomp and magnificence, all classes having assembled to receive his Majesty with the respect due to his exalted position. Indeed, the King's progress from the great southern city to the metropolis was marked with the greatest enthusiasm; for the Irish, who are an affectionate and warm-hearted people, deeply sympathised with the fallen Monarch in his misfortunes, particularly because they were caused by his attachment to the religion for which they had themselves so long and bitterly suffered.

At the entrance to the Liberty of the city a large stage was erected, covered with arras, on which were seated two aged minstrels playing national airs on their harps; underneath there were several Friars chanting hymns; while at their head a large cross was borne by one of their order. At the limits of the Freedom his Majesty was received by the Lord Mayor, Sir Michael Creagh, the city sheriffs, Christopher Palles

and John Coyne; the Aldermen, Common Council, Wardens, and brethren of many corporations; the Ulster King-at-arms, Herald, Pursuivants, with many of the clergy and other members of religious orders. The streets from St. James's Gate to the Castle Gate, which were newly gravelled, were lined with soldiers, and the balconies of all the houses were hung with tapestry or cloth of gold, according to the wealth of the respective inhabitants.

The procession proceeded towards the Castle in the following order: First, six carriages, drawn by six splendid horses each; two calashes, five strong carts and one close waggon, containing arms and ammunition, guarded by some French troops. Next walked in order over two hundred stalwart young citizens of Dublin; then came Major Mansfield Barker, of the Royal Regiment, bareheaded, whose duty it was to keep the centre of the streets clear. He was followed by twenty-nine well-accoutred horsemen; then one of the Lord Lieutenant's carriages, drawn by six fine horses, in which sat alone the Lord Grand Prior of England (49); then three officers of the Guards on horseback, followed by three led horses; then marched about twenty officers of the Royal Army, followed by five trumpeters and drummers wearing the King's livery. After these came twenty gentlemen at large, followed by the pursuivants and messengers of the household; next the Ulster King-at-Arms and heralds; then the Duke of Tyrconnell, Viceroy of the Kingdom, carrying the sword of state; and next walked forty young maidens, dressed in white, who strewed the way with flowers before the King, who rode on horseback, that the assemblage might obtain a view of him. His Majesty was dressed in a plain cinnamon-coloured cloth suit, and black slouching hat. He wore the St. George and blue ribbon of the Most Noble Order of the Garter. On his left rode the Duke of Berwick and the Earl of Granard, and on his right the Duke of Powis and the Earl of Melfort. After came a troop of dragoons, a great number of officers, clergymen, and private gentlemen, two troops of horse and several other attendants; after which followed six noblemen's carriages, each drawn by six horses; then Sir Thomas Nugent, of Pallas, county of Galway, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who was shortly after created Lord Riverston (50), and John Keating, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, in their official robes, followed by six carriages; and then a great number of enthusiastic citizens, followed by the mob, loudly vociferating "Long live King James the Just! God save our Catholic King!" Also shouts of "*Vive le Roi*," and "*Cead mille failte*," almost rent the air, while in every part of the city bands played "The King shall have his own again!" On arriving at the Castle gate, his Majesty alighted from his

horse, on beholding the Host, over which a rich canopy was held by four bishops, and having reverently knelt, prayed for some time. The sight was now most imposing. The King, in his plain costume, bent to the ground in adoration, surrounded by his nobles and high officials in their richest attire, who unanimously followed his example. The canopy which was supported by the bishops, fully robed in their canonicals, was surrounded by numerous wax lights, while vast clouds of incense rose from several censers. Numerous priests of the secular order, and monks and friars chanted hymns ; and the Primate of Ireland, wearing a tiara, as the representative of the Sovereign Pontiff, his Holiness Innocent XI., received his Majesty, and congratulated him on his safe arrival in the kingdom. The King was then conducted to the Chapel Royal, where a *Te Deum* was sung in thanksgiving for his preservation. During the entire of this eventful day all was joy and festivity within the walls of the capital of this unfortunate country, which was so soon to become the theatre of war and bloodshed !

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### ENNIS.

AFTER taking leave of the Chief of Cineal Aodh, at Gortinsiguara, Dermot Oge proceeded without delay to Lissine, where he spent the night with his family. At an early hour next morning he departed for Carrigahoult Castle, accompanied by a mounted and armed retainer of O'Shaughnessy, who led by the bridle a saddled horse, which belonged to William. After a pleasant journey of a few hours they reached Ennis, the capital of the county of Clare, where they put up at the Harp and Crown Inn, to bait their horses and refresh themselves.

The ancient borough of Ennis is situated in the barony of Islands, on the western bank of the River Fergus, about three miles above the small but industrious town of Clare Castle, at which place the river is navigable. It is said by some writers that the name of this latter town, which was taken from the castle there, and afterwards given to the kingdom of Thomond, was derived from Sir Thomas de Clare, son of the Earl of Gloucester, to whom King Edward I., of England, granted the whole of Thomond, on condition that he made good his claim by the sword, and at the same time created him Earl of Clare. The castle was built and strongly fortified by Donough Cairbreach O'Brien, King of Thomond,

who founded in his time no less than eighty abbeys, churches, and chapels, and received its name from a strong bridge of planks which he erected at this place over the Fergus.

Ennis was anciently called Ennis-Cluainruadha, and is 136 English miles in a direct line from Dublin. It returns two members to Parliament, and is governed by a corporation, which consists of a provost and free burgesses (51). In one of the suburbs, called Clonroad, there flourished shortly after the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland a celebrated seminary, in which 350 learned monks resided. It was regularly attended by about 600 students, and owed its origin to the munificent liberality of the Kings of Thomond. The following is a synopsis of the history of Ennis, from the earliest period, of which reliable records exist relative to that borough.

In 1247, Conor na Siudaine O'Brien built a magnificent monastery here, for Friars of the Order of St. Francis, and it was considered one of the handsomest in Ireland of its time. Some authorities say that this religious house was founded in 1240, by Donough Cairbreach O'Brien, but as the date of its founding is undoubtedly 1247, and as he was succeeded at his death, in 1242, by Conor na Siudaine, who reigned until 1268, it is evident that the latter prince was its founder. In 1249 a great portion of the town, which was composed of wood, was entirely destroyed by fire. In 1305 the Franciscan Monastery was thoroughly repaired and considerably beautified by Torlough, King of Thomond. He was son of Teige Caeluisce O'Brien, who died in 1259. Torlough also presented the Friars of Ennis with several handsomely ornamented crosses of considerable value, richly embroidered vestments, cowls, altar furniture, and book-cases inlaid with brass mounting for the use of their extensive library. In 1306 Cumeadh More Mac Namara died, and was interred in the Franciscan Monastery of Ennis. This year also Torlough, King of Thomond, died, and was interred here beside his relative and faithful adherent, the said Cumeadh, who in his lifetime had aided so materially in placing him on the throne; and Brien O'Brien, at the head of a large army, composed of Irish and Anglo-Normans, plundered the town, and slew many of its inhabitants. In or about the year 1311, in which he was slain, Donough, King of Thomond, being in a religious mood, granted the revenues of his principality to the Friars of the monastery of Ennis, for the purpose of beautifying and enlarging their establishment; and in 1313 a Dermot, or Dermot O'Brien, who had previously become a friar of this monastery, died and was interred here. On the 5th of June, 1343, Murrough O'Brien, King of Thomond, died, and was interred in this monastery and in the same year Matthew,

or Mahon Mac Namara built at his own expense the refectory and sacristy, and afterwards took the habit of the Order. In 1350 Pope Clement VI., granted several indulgences to this monastery, and in 1364 Dermot O'Brien, the deposed King of Thomond, who died in exile on the vigil of the conversion of St. Paul at Ardahan, in the territory of Hy-Fiachrach, in the kingdom of Connaught, was interred in the monastery of Ennis, as was also Matthew O'Brien, who died on the feast of St. Philip and St. James, in 1370. On the 22nd of August, 1375, Edward III., King of England, granted a license to the guardians and friars of this monastery, empowering them to enter the Pale for the purpose of purchasing provisions of every kind which they required for their establishment, as a great scarcity prevailed in Thomond. He also granted a license to Marian Currydany, a brother of this house, to depart for the city of Argentine, to study in the college there; and in this year also it appears that two Franciscan friars from Ennis were sent, at the expense of their convent, to Strasburg for the same laudable purpose. The monastery of Clonroad, at Ennis, was given in 1540 to the friars *de observantia*, at the request of Murrough, son of Torlough O'Brien, and the Chieftains of Thomond, with the consent of the superiors of the Order of St. Francis.

In 1569 Thomond, which had hitherto formed part of Munster, was united to Connaught by Sir Henry Sydney, and placed under the authority of Sir Edward Fitton, Knight, the first Lord President of Connaught. In 1570 Sir Edward Fitton issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of South Connaught, informing them that he intended holding a court in the monastery of Ennis, and commanding them to enter an appearance. Accordingly, Teige (son of Murrough O'Brien, of Inchiquin), the first Sheriff of Thomond, or Clare, made every preparation to receive the Lord President at the Monastery of St. Francis, where Sir Edward arrived about the festival of St. Bridget. On the third day after his entry into Ennis he dispatched a strong body of disciplined cavalry to request the Earl of Thomond's attendance. Unfortunately, it so happened that on the same day Donal, the son of Conor O'Brien, and uncle of the Earl of Thomond, was coming to visit his kinsman, and he and the English force arrived at the same time at the gate of the Earl's Castle. Lord Thomond, who did not wish to submit to the English, unhesitatingly resolved to make a prisoner of Donal and of all his principal followers, and to put the remainder to the sword; but they, hearing of his lordship's unfriendly intention, fled back with all speed to Sir Edward Fitton, who was conducted on the following day from Thomond to the village of Gortinsiguara, in Cineal Aodh,

where he arrived that night. On his march to Gortinsiguara he travelled by the most sequestered ways, which were well known to Teige, the Sheriff of Thomond, and Donough of Lemenagh, the sons of Murrough O'Brien, of Inchiquin, surnamed the Tanist, who were his guides on the occasion. He was, however, pursued by the exasperated Earl of Thomond. This afterwards ended in the outlawry of his Lordship, who took refuge first in Kerry, but was subsequently compelled to fly to France, where he found shelter, and became eventually reconciled to the Queen, when he was restored to his former rank and position. In 1576, in a dispatch forwarded to the Lords of the Council, Sir Henry Sydney, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, informed their Lordships that he had "proved before them," namely, the Lords and Chieftains of Thomond "(lately annexed to the presidency of Connaught by the Name of the countye of Clare) the verie Roote and Origine of their Ruyne was the uncertaine Graunte and unstaple possession of their Landes, whereupon grew their Warres," and adds, "I brought them to agree to Surrender all their Landes and take it of her Highnes agayne, and yeelde, bothe Rent and Service." In this quotation Sir Henry alludes to the fact of his having annexed Thomond to Connaught seven years previously; but now, owing to his negociations with the Irish Chieftains, he considered it more prudent, for political motives, to undo this settlement; and, accordingly, the county of Clare was separated from Connaught by him, and, being again joined to Munster, was placed under the governorship of Sir William Drury, the Lord President. In 1577 Sir William Drury, about the festival of St. John, at the head of a large army, and accompanied by the principal Chieftains and nobles of the "two provinces of Munster," entered the county of Clare, and held a great court at Ennis, which sat for eight days, but none of the Dalcassian tribes attended, as they refused to acknowledge his authority, and the Lord President, having left a numerous army behind him, which he hoped would bring them under subjection, returned to Limerick. By a rent roll of the Crown for this year it appears that the Crown was then in possession of the site of the monastery of Ennis, a mill on the river Fergus, and an eel and salmon weir, together with some houses and gardens. In 1579, Donal, uncle of the Earl of Thomond, and son of Conor, son of Torlough Don, son of Teige, son of Torlough, son of Brien Catha-an-Eanaigh or, "of the battle of Nenagh," O'Brien died in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and was interred, with great pomp, in the monastery of Ennis. The county of Clare was again detached from the province of Munster and united to that of Connaught, and placed under the governorship of Sir Nicholas Malby. On the last day of March, in



this year, he received a dispatch from Queen Elizabeth, informing him that the "Country of Thomond," otherwise called the "county of Clare," was united to his government—Connaught—as it had been in Sir Edward Fitton's time, and directing him to determine the number of baronies the said county was to be divided into from that forth; the yearly rents, services of men and labourers for the works of the Crown, which were to be reserved by an indenture to be executed between the President of Connaught, on behalf of the Queen, and the gentlemen of Thomond, otherwise Clare. Sir Nicholas was further directed to procure the consent of the Mayor of Limerick—Nicholas Stritch—to have that portion of the city situated beyond the Castle, to the north of the River Shannon, made the new capital, or "Shiretown" of this county, either permanently or until "some apte place in Thomond maie, at the country charages, be circuited with a wall, which we think not harde to be brought to passe in this peaceible tyme, wherein we are contented that the laborers to be resarved to us in the composicons be employed, and do refer to you the choice of the place which we conceive maie fytly be at Quyne, Killaloe, or Innis, yf Clare be not ours, but granted to the earle of Thomond, as we are enformed." Sir Nicholas Malby would most undoubtedly have chosen Clare Castle, situated as it was at the estuary of the Fergus, and in the centre of the county which bore its name, but as it was the residence and private property of the Earl of Thomond, as had been correctly notified to the Queen, he resolved to select the next most convenient place recommended in the Queen's letter as the capital; and, accordingly, Ennis was made by him the shiretown of the county of Clare, in preference to Quin or Killaloe. The laborious undertaking, known as the "Settlement of the county of Clare," which had been suspended since the recall of the Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sydney, from the government of Ireland, was resumed by Sir John Perrott after the prorogation of the Parliament which assembled in Dublin, on the 26th of April, 1585. Accordingly, on the 15th of July, a commission was issued, directed to Sir Richard Bingham, Governor of Connaught, the Earls of Thomond and Clanricarde, Lord Athenry, Premier Baron of the kingdom, Sir Torlough O'Brien, of Ennistymon, Sir Richard Bourke, and others, containing a recital of the various evils attendant on the system of "cuttings" and "cessings," which then, unfortunately, prevailed throughout the province of Connaught and Thomond, owing to the Chieftains making such enactments under pretence of defending the people who resided in their respective territories. The commissioners were invested with authority to summon before them "all the nobility, spiritual and temporal, and all the Chief-



tains and lords of the said countries and baronies, and in lieu of the uncertain 'cess cuttings and spendings,' to compound after their best discretion, and to devise and lay down all things that shall tend to the real good and quiet of that country, which, after the passing of the same by indenture, is meant to be ratified by Act of Parliament." Therefore, in pursuance of the above, the following proposals were made by the Commissioners :—"The Chieftains of countries, gentlemen, and freeholders of the province of Connaught (Clare being included) to pass unto the Queen's Majesty, her heirs and successors, a grant of ten shillings English, or a mark Irish, upon every quarter of land containing one hundred and twenty acres, manured or to be manured, that bears either horn or corn, in lieu and consideration to be discharged from other cess taxation or challenge, except the rising out of horse and foot for the service of the Prince, and state such as should be particularly agreed on, and some certain days' labour for building and fortification for the safety of the people and kingdom." Sir Richard Bingham and the other Commissioners, having left Dublin for Connaught, in the first place proceeded to the Franciscan Monastery of Ennis, where they held a sessions. Amongst other things they enacted that ten shillings should be paid to the Queen out of every "quarter," or 120 acres of land, whether possessed by laymen or ecclesiastics. They took the barony of Inchiquin from the Earl of Thomond, and gave it to Murrough, Lord Baron of Inchiquin. They also ordered that the rents of the Manor Court of Corcomroe should be given to Torlough, son of Donal, the son of Conor O'Brien. They deprived every Chieftain of a "pobal," a district or clanship, and every lord of a "Trio Chad Cead," or barony, throughout the county, of the rents and titles which they enjoyed under the law of Tanistry (52). In 1601 Donough, fourth Earl of Thomond (who became Governor of Connaught after Sir Conyers Clifford was slain by Red Hugh O'Donnell), held a general jail delivery on the Feast of St. Bridget, which was the 2nd of February, in the Monastery of Ennis, it being necessary owing to the great increase in the number of prisoners. His court sat for fifteen days, and during that time sixteen persons were hanged in Ennis.

In 1602 at the request of the said Earl of Thomond, Queen Elizabeth re-united the county of Clare to the province of Munster, and it never afterwards formed part of the province of Connaught. Her Majesty's instructions to the Lord Deputy of Ireland on this memorable occasion were as follow :—"Forasmuch as our county of Clare was of ancient time within the government or precinct of our province of Munster, until of late annexed to our province of Connaught, which, we understand, was upon some untrue surmise made by our Commissioners for

Connaught, to the grievance and dislike of our subjects of that county, our pleasure is, that you, our deputy and council there, shall speedily consider of this information, and if you find it not evidently an hindrance to our service, that then you speedily give order that, by revocation of our former commission and letters patent for government of these several provinces, and by granting new commissions of like authority and effect, and by all other ways requisite in law, you cause our said county of Clare to be re-united and annexed to our province of Munster, and to be reduced under the order and government of our president and council of Munster, which we are persuaded will be for the advancement of our service and the good liking of our loving subjects in those parts." On the 1st of June, 1621, the Franciscan Monastery of Ennis was granted to William Dongan, Esq.

After this digression it is now time to return to Dermot Oge, whose further progress will be detailed in the ensuing chapter.

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## CHAPTER IX.

### LORD CLARE.

AFTER a short delay at Ennis, Dermot Oge and his attendant resumed their journey in the direction of the old convent of Kilowen dedicated to St. John the Baptist, which was founded in 1190 by Donal More O'Brien, King of Thomond, for nuns following the rules of St. Augustin, and of which Slaney, daughter of Donough Cairbreach O'Brien, King of Thomond, was Abbess. This lady, who died in 1260, is said to have excelled all the women of her time in Munster, for "learning, piety, alms-deeds, and hospitality." Her memory was long revered in the kingdom of Thomond, particularly by the people of Ennis, during the early Catholic times. Having passed this religious house, so renowned in olden time for the piety and industry of its inmates, the travellers soon arrived at the narrow road which, passing over the high-land, leads to Carriga-hoult Castle, then the seat of the noble and popular Lord Clare. The journey being wearisome since they started from Ennis, and the weather extremely rough, they were obliged to put up by the wayside, on the approach of night, at a country house, which Dermot Oge naturally expected would afford them shelter until morning. A tall, middle-aged man, of respectable appearance, stood at the door, to whom Dermot Oge addressed an inquiry as to whether the house was an inn or not.

"Yes, sir," replied the person spoken to, "this place of mine affords refreshment and rest to all travellers, as far as my humble means permit. My name is Denis O'Dea, and I shall take every care of you, your servant, and your horses, if you dismount."

On hearing this Dermot Oge got off his horse, entered the house, and was soon seated before a cheerful fire.

Large fitches of bacon were suspended from the ceiling, and some pots were boiling over the fire. The apartment was large and neatly furnished, and from its appearance it struck Dermot Oge that the host was a man of taste, and had known better days.

"It is too late for me," said he, addressing O'Dea, "to travel as far as Kilrush to-night, so I must remain with you until morning."

"You are welcome, sir, and I hope you will find everything comfortable. But perhaps you may have journeyed far, and are hungry, while I am uselessly talking. Here, Margaret," continued O'Dea, addressing a tidily dressed young girl, "dish up the dinner immediately. This gentleman looks weary, and, I think, must have a good appetite after his ride."

In a short time the table was spread with a plentiful supply of boiled mutton, which was fed on the Burren mountains, fried bacon, eggs, and home-made bread.

Dermot Oge requested the host to dine with him, who complied, and when they had both partaken heartily of dinner, Margaret placed on the table a large bottle of usquebaugh and a jug of hot water.

"Come, O'Dea," said Dermot Oge, "fill your glass. I hope this is not the last time we are to meet. May I ask how long have your family been settled here, for the name does not belong to this locality?"

"My father," answered Denis O'Dea, "possessed a small property previous to the late civil war in this county, which he was banished from in 1651. In that year the barony of Inchiquin was completely ravaged by the inhuman Colonel Henry Ingoldsby's soldiers (53), who killed over a thousand men, women, and children, though they were all under protection in Inchiquin and Corcomroe. By timely flight my poor father saved himself and his family. When the times became more peaceable he settled here, renting this humble dwelling and some few acres of land up to the time of his death."

"I well remember the bloody massacre you allude to. Your father's claim, I suppose, was not heard by the Court in 1662."

"No, sir," replied O'Dea, "it was not; so he never recovered his property."

The host appearing to be much affected by these melancholy reminis-

cences of his youth, Dermot Oge changed the conversation by asking if there was a good road leading to Carrigahault.

“Pretty fair, sir,” replied O’Dea. “You are going to see the good Lord Clare, I suppose; a kind, brave nobleman he is, and not above sitting down at this table whenever he passes the way. His Lordship is now very busy preparing for the war. Many of our young men have already joined his dragoons and the other regiments that are now being recruited. Come, sir, we will drink his health.”

Dermot Oge complied, and, as five or six healthy young children had entered the room, the host remarked—

“I hope you are not annoyed by those noisy little ones crowding about you. The fact is they are surprised to see a stranger. Here is a jug of punch for you,” he continued, addressing the retainer who had accompanied Dermot Oge, and who was snugly seated in the huge chimney-corner.

Several of O’Dea’s neighbours, from the adjacent hills, now came in, amongst whom was a learned professor, who, being a Catholic, was compelled to take out his degrees at a college in France. This personage was tall, thin, and of a sallow complexion. He wore a long, black threadbare coat, and his countenance was mild and intelligent, though furrowed from care and mental anxiety. Having been invited to do so, he took a seat at the table and filled his glass.

After the lapse of some time the conversation was resumed by Doctor O’Fynn, as O’Dea and his friends styled him, saying that he hoped all was now about to move with method, as the King had arrived from France. “For my part,” continued the Doctor, who was evidently a man of deep research, “I am most anxious for his Majesty’s success. A few years ago I was, as O’Dea knows, frequently hunted like a wild beast through mountain and glen; I was obliged to hide in bogs and caves, and even on one occasion had to fly into the distant wilds of Iar-Connaught, until the wicked tyrant who instigated such harsh and unchristian proceedings against me died. I was, however, despite his unmanly persecution, the means of diffusing a knowledge of both Euclid and Homer, Horace and Virgil, amongst the hospitable inhabitants of Connemara and Partry, and of instructing them in the history of their hitherto enslaved country; and that was a consolation to me during my sufferings, and reminded me of the Spanish proverb, *Contra fortuna. no cale arte ninguna*. It was really too bad that I, a peaceable man, should be thus outlawed and hunted, with a price set upon my head, as if I was a common malefactor, for merely teaching the ignorant and instructing my fellow-countrymen.”

Dermot Oge was deeply touched by this distressing story, and, placing a large bottle before the Doctor, told him not to be sparing of its contents.

“Certainly,” resumed the Professor, “we are all much indebted to the worthy Master William Caxton, who, in the reign of King Edward IV., first introduced printing into England, for by this means we have been made acquainted with the discoveries and researches of the great and learned professors of old, and thereby will be enabled to transmit our ideas and opinions to posterity.”

“It is, indeed, Doctor, wonderful,” replied Dermot Oge, “that an invention which affected the social comforts of all previous ages should have remained for such a length of years unimproved. It was introduced, I understand, from the Netherlands.”

“Yes,” said Doctor O’Fynn, “and the enterprising Master Caxton, who was a mercer by trade, erected the first printing-press in the Sanctuary at Westminster Abbey, in the year 1473. The first work which was printed was of little use to literary men, but was highly prized by the merry King Edward, of gallant memory, and his fantastically-attired courtiers. It was entitled ‘The Game and Playe of the Chesse,’ and appeared in 1474. However, the first book printed in the English language was a translation by Caxton of ‘The Recuyell of the Hystories of Troy,’ executed at Bruges, in Flanders, in 1471. This valuable art was not introduced into Scotland until 1508, and into Ireland until 1551.”

Here the conversation turned on different other subjects, and the Doctor, who was an ardent admirer of the ancients, delivered a long dissertation in praise of the philosophers of old; and, to illustrate their cleverness, he alluded to Julius Pollux, whose proper name was Polydeuces, a renowned grammarian and teacher of rhetoric, who was born at Naucratis, in Egypt, in or about the middle of the second century of the Christian era, and should not be mistaken for Julius Pollux who lived in the end of the tenth or the commencement of the eleventh century of the same era, and author of a “Chronicle,” or “Universal History,” from the foundation of the world to the time of Valens. Polydeuces wrote several works, the most important of which, in the Doctor’s estimation, was “The Onomasticon,” or Dictionary of Greek words, “which though not arranged,” said he, “in alphabetical order, nevertheless was not compiled with irregularity, as the work is divided in accordance with the subjects it contains. This dictionary, which comprises ten books, and was dedicated to Commodus, during the life of Aurelius, is not, as one unacquainted with it might at first imagine, a

mere uninteresting catalogue of words, but contains copious and valuable quotations from the Greek writers, and abounds with interesting information regarding the earlier ages."

Dermot Oge, having inquired if this work was ever printed, Doctor O'Fynn replied that it was published for the first time at Venice, in the year 1502.

Dermot Oge remained up with O'Dea and the Doctor, conversing on Irish antiquities, sacred and profane history, mathematics, and the coming war, until it was rather late. He slept soundly, being fatigued after his journey, and was roused at an early hour by the retainer, who, tapping at his door, said it was daylight, and that his morning meal was already prepared. Dermot Oge quickly arose, and, having breakfasted, mounted his horse, and proceeded on his journey.

After travelling several miles, over heathy hills and through lonely valleys, he at length reached the summit of a height, from which he beheld the town of Kilrush in the distance. He was not long reaching it, and, after taking some refreshment, continued on his way, and shortly after arrived at the village of Carrigahault. Passing through this neat and prospering little hamlet, he soon came in view of the tall and ancient Castle of Carrigahault, standing near the waters of the noble Shannon, which here mingle with the vast Atlantic Ocean, and, afar off, the lofty peaks of the Kerry mountains were visible. Before the gate leading to the Castle were two mounted dragoons, of whom Dermot Oge inquired if Lord Clare was at home.

"Yes, sir," replied one of them, "he is just after inspecting his regiment, and, as you may perceive, here they come, returning to their tents."

Dermot Oge now saw the regiment approaching towards the gate, from the direction of the castle, and they were not long passing him in martial array, with kettle-drums, trumpets, and hautboys, playing a lively march, and as each squadron advanced he was much struck with the warlike appearance of the troops. Their forms, without exception, were tall and robust, and their countenances showed a spirit and determination worthy of the courageous race from which they had sprung—the fiery Dalcassians, the conquerors of Clontarf, who were the "first in battle, the last in retreat." Their bright swords gleamed in the red glare of the descending sun, and their regimentals, with yellow facings, showed their manly figures to the best advantage. Their horses, which were strong and active, pranced and curveted to the martial sound of the music, and some required the tightened rein of their riders to restrain them in the ranks.

When the last troop had passed, Dermot Oge rode up to the castle, and



was met at the door by Lord Clare, William O'Shaughnessy, and most of the officers of the Yellow Dragoons.

This distinguished nobleman was the Right Honourable Colonel Daniel O'Brien, third Lord Viscount Clare, of Carrigahoult Castle, Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Clare. He was a staunch adherent of the Royal House of Stuart, and followed the fortunes of King Charles II., to whom he was personally much attached, in his exile, during the usurpation of Cromwell. He served his Majesty most zealously and faithfully until his restoration to the throne in 1660, when, in consequence of his services and those of his father, the King was graciously pleased, on the 11th of July, 1662, to confer the title of Viscount Clare, in the county of Clare, on his grandfather, Sir Daniel O'Brien, Knight of Carrigahoult Castle and Moyarta, third son of the Right Honourable Conor, third Earl of Thomond, and Chief of the sept of O'Brien, who died in 1580. On hearing that the English had rebelled against King James, Lord Clare formed the resolution of assisting him to the last against the Prince of Orange, as he had assisted his brother King Charles against Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England. Accordingly, his Lordship, at his own expense, raised for the royal service a regiment of dragoons, of which he was Colonel, and two regiments of infantry, the command of which he entrusted to his sons, the Honourable Daniel and the Honourable Charles O'Brien. Lord Clare was married to the Honourable Philadelphia Leonard, eldest daughter of the Right Honourable Francis Lord Dacre of the South, and sister of Thomas, Earl of Sussex. His Lordship looked well in his handsome uniform, and from the colour of its facings his regiment was popularly known as the "Yellow Dragoons." His noble and open countenance beamed with delight when he beheld Dermot Oge, and, grasping him by the hand, he cordially bade him welcome to his castle, after which the latter affectionately embraced William O'Shaughnessy.

"It is," said Lord Clare, "a long time since I saw you last, Cloran. How is my sister and O'Shaughnessy?"

"I am glad, my Lord, to say Lady Helena and the Chieftain are well," replied Dermot Oge. "When you are at leisure I have a message for your Lordship and William."

"We will hear what it is after dinner, my friend," said Lord Clare. "But allow me to introduce you to my friends—Captain Mac Donnell, of Kilkee; Captain O'Brien, of Ennistymon; Captain Fitzgerald, Lieutenants O'Hogan, Barry, and O'Hehir; and Cornets Archdeacon and Neylan, this gentleman is Dermot Oge Cloran, of Lissine, in the county of Galway, a most particular friend of mine."



"Cloran," he continued, "how is Captain Forster, of Clooneene? I suppose, like myself, my old friend is busy making preparations for the war, which is likely to be a very bloody one."

Here an attendant announced that dinner was ready, and Lord Clare, addressing his guests, said—

"Come in, come in; we had better not delay; the times are so unsettled we may not live to enjoy many dinners together."

On entering the large banquetting hall of the castle, which was tastefully decorated, Dermot Oge beheld the long tables covered with the choicest viands; and when all were seated, the two old minstrels, who had been in the service of the family since the time of the present Peer's grandfather, commenced to play the most popular national airs.

After some hours were convivially passed over in drinking and pleasant conversation, Lord Clare arose and retired, followed by his nephew and Dermot Oge. His Lordship, on reaching the door, addressing them, said—

"Follow me to my private apartment, where I will hear the message which you bear from my brother-in-law."

Mounting a narrow stone stairs, they entered the study, where Lord Clare continued—

"I suppose, Dermot Oge, you are come about this debt I so long owe O'Shaughnessy. I cannot, and indeed it pains me to say so, pay it at present, owing to the great expense I am at in fitting out my three regiments which I have raised for the King's service."

"I have not come," said Dermot Oge, "for the purpose of asking payment at present of the bond and interest, as O'Shaughnessy must wait until the times are more settled, nor would he like to press your Lordship now, when you are devoting your wealth and influence to the service of our king and country. I have come altogether on a different, though I regret to say a sorrowful mission."

Dermot Oge then informed Lord Clare of the nature of his business, and concluded by saying that early on the following morning he should return to Gortinsiguara with his Lordship's nephew.

During Dermot Oge's discourse, William O'Shaughnessy seemed deeply affected, and when he concluded, with great emotion, addressing Lord Clare, he said—

"Uncle, this message surprises me very much. I always thought I would be allowed to accept a commission in your regiment, and prove on the battle-field that I am worthy of my brave ancestors."

"My dear nephew," said Lord Clare. "Dermot Oge, who is a staunch friend of your family, has stated clearly, though briefly, the very good

reasons your father has given for sending you on the Continent ; and no true friend of his would advise him to rashly peril the life of his only son in the coming war, particularly as there is no want of men on our side. Obey, therefore, the just command of your father."

Many other observations of this kind were made by his Lordship, until at last William, who was a high-spirited youth, very reluctantly consented to accompany Dermot Oge, next morning, to Gortinsiguara.

"We will now return to the hall," said Lord Clare, "as we have this matter arranged."

On entering this apartment they found the guests earnestly engaged in discussing the probable result of the war which was now so near at hand. Some of the officers seemed to think that dispatching a small force, badly armed, and unfurnished with a proper supply of ordnance, to the North was impolitic ; while others maintained that much resistance could not be anticipated from the Williamites there, as Londonderry was the only fortified town.

"Come, gentlemen," said Lord Clare, "let us not fret about the matter ; whatever the result may be, there is but one course for us to pursue, and that is to fight boldly in defence of our altars and our homes. In a few days we march from here to the North."

"When you, Clare," said Captain Mac Donnell, "venture your vast estates in the cause, we certainly should not hold back. We all hope that Louis XIV. will supply the King with arms and ammunition ; for, unless aided by France, our soldiers cannot meet such a powerful army as will be opposed to them, under the command of the Dutch Prince, with any chance of success."

"Promises, I understand, Mac Donnell, have been given to that effect. My dragoon regiment is, I have been informed, to be placed, with others, under the command of my friend the Honourable Justin Mac Carthy, General of the King's troops in Munster. But now my minstrels will play for us while we spend another pleasant night, ere we march, in the old hall of Carrigahoult Castle."

The music soon resounded through the room, and the wine circulated freely, until some of the officers repaired to where the Yellow Dragoons were encamped, and the remainder retired to rest, leaving Lord Clare, William O'Shaughnessy, and Dermot Oge alone.

"Dermot Oge," said his Lordship, "I intend marching to Athlone by Gortinsiguara, and hope I will meet you there."

"You undoubtedly shall, my Lord, and we will provide refreshments and every other requisite necessary for your regiment," said Dermot Oge. "I am sure their march through the country will arouse the

martial spirit of the peasantry, and cause many of them to take up arms in the cause of their King."

"The thought," said Lord Clare, "of leaving this my castle, perhaps for the last time, recalls to my mind sad reminiscences. Once bold Mac Mahon dwelt here in feudal state, until he joined Red Hugh O'Donnell and the Spaniards, commanded by Don Juan de Aquila, who landed at Kinsale, in September, 1601. The important battle fought there put an end for ever to his ambitious hopes, and he had to fly from here and become an exile. His extensive territory became the property of Sir Daniel O'Brien, my ancestor, who fought for Queen Elizabeth, owing to the Earl of Thomond, his feudal Chief, having joined Sir George Carew, Lord President of Munster; but Sir Daniel was not the only Catholic who drew his sword for her Majesty. About half Lord Mountjoy's army, at the battle of Kinsale, were Irish Catholics. Clanricarde was on her side, as well as Thomond, on that very day; but the present Earl of Clanricarde, who is now in arms for the King, is not one of his descendants, as Sir Richard of Kinsale's line has failed in heirs male(54). Even Sir Charles Coote's army, in 1652, was composed mostly of Irish Catholics. I remember when Ludlow took this Castle, and the banishment of my father, the late Lord Clare; also the frightful massacre of several families in Moyarta, by those cruel ruffians, Stase and Apers, under the notorious Colonel Ingoldsby's command, although they were then under protection. The recollection of those fell deeds now rouses our men to join the army, to prevent a recurrence of similar scenes."

"No doubt it does," said Dermot Oge, "and I entirely concur in your Lordship's opinion; but as William and I will have to commence our journey at an early hour, I must now wish you good night, my Lord."

Early next morning Dermot Oge was aroused by the sound of the trumpets, as the Yellow Dragoons were paraded before the Castle, and, hastily dressing himself, he descended to the breakfast parlour.

After some time, having dismissed his men, who cheered loudly, Lord Clare and his nephew, accompanied by the officers, entered the room. Observing Dermot Oge, Lord Clare said—

"I hope you rested well during the night, Cloran? My nephew has been taking farewell of the regiment, with whom he is a great favourite, and they all deeply regret his departure. But come, gentlemen," he continued, "be seated; soldiers have always good appetites, and are never in humour when they are hungry, as I have cause to remember; for, under the merry King Charles, during his exile, while he resided in

Cologne, the fine old city of Bruges, and Brussels, in which places he suffered most, his adherents were always discontented when they were not well fed."

After breakfast William O'Shaughnessy bade the officers farewell, and, having embraced his uncle, himself and Dermot Oge started off at a quick pace. In a few hours they arrived at Denis O'Dea's house, and alighted to feed their horses. On entering, they found Doctor O'Fynn sitting by the fire, reading a book. He laid the volume aside, and, shaking Dermot Oge by the hand, said—

"I was poring over the pages of Polybius. I suppose this intelligent-looking youth who accompanies you has read that learned work?"

"Yes," said William, "I have read the first five books, and have also seen an edition in Latin."

"This young gentleman," said Dermot Oge, "is O'Shaughnessy's heir."

"I am rejoiced to see him," replied Doctor O'Fynn; and, addressing William, he continued, "Sir, I humbly request the honour of shaking hands with you. I once spent some pleasant days at Shanaglish, with a learned confrere there, and was often hospitably received at Gortinsiguara and Clooneene. I hope, sir, your father, and my venerated friend Captain Forster, are well. I intend, if it should so please Providence, doing myself the favour of again soon visiting them. When last at Shanaglish my cruel enemies, having by some stratagem obtained information of my whereabouts, were on the *qui vive* to arrest the 'Popish usher,' which inappropriate cognomen they were pleased to bestow on your humble servant: so that I was seldom, if ever, permitted to remain more than one night in any certain house. However, sir, the virtue of the people is such that, notwithstanding the large rewards repeatedly offered for my apprehension by those true successors of the Goths and Vandals, I was never betrayed. But you know *vilius argentum est auro virtutibus aurum*."

The horses being fed, Dermot Oge and William O'Shaughnessy bade Doctor O'Fynn and O'Dea good-bye, and then proceeded to Ennis. At a late hour that night they reached Gortinsiguara, and early next morning William O'Shaughnessy embraced his parents in the halls of his ancestors.

## CHAPTER X.

## MARCH OF THE YELLOW DRAGOONS.

At an early hour next day all were astir at Clooneene. It was a beautiful, clear morning, and the sun, as it gradually ascended, reflected the armorial bearings of the stained-glass window on the walls and floor of the breakfast parlour, lending to the room an air of quaintness that at once awoke in the mind of the meditative beholder reminiscences of heroes whose names adorn the pages of Irish history.

The Chief of Clooneene, after breakfast, taking his walking-cane in his hand, and accompanied by his grandson John, and the Chevalier de Tourville, went to visit the elder Donal Bran. While passing by the offices he saw Nicholas Power dismounting from his horse, who apologised for not having called on him sooner.

“My father,” said the dragoon, “wished me to stay as long as possible with him.”

“And, like a good son, you obeyed,” replied the Chieftain. “I hope your horse was well cared while you were at Park-na-attinagh.”

“You have only to look at him, sir, to see that he was,” said Power. “I would consider myself neglectful of my duty as a soldier if I did not look after the comforts of my good charger.”

The Chief directed him to leave his horse in one of the stables, and take up his quarters in the retainers’ hall until the young Captain would have returned to Clooneene, and then walked on to Donal Bran’s house at Ballinascagh, which was a well-thatched, comfortable dwelling.

On entering he found the old man seated, in an arm chair made of plaited straw, beside the large fireplace. His aged wife sat opposite him, while Nora, their daughter-in-law, was tidily arranging various household articles on the “dresser,” and the industrious young Donal, her husband, attentively engaged repairing a saddle.

On the entrance of the Chieftain and the gentlemen who accompanied him, he laid aside his work, and placed some chairs before the fire for them, saying he felt highly honoured by their visit.

Turning to old Donal, the Chieftain kindly inquired after his health.

“Indeed,” said the invalid, “I am happy to say I feel much better ; but there was a time when rumours of war such as are at present in circulation would have inspired me to take up arms in defence of my country, but now I am old and feeble. I was not so when I served under

you; and I remember well you were then a brave, athletic young gentleman, and took good care of me. In return, all I can do now is to permit my son to join your grandson's regiment—that is, provided the young Captain accepts of him.”

“I hope, Donal,” said the generous Chieftain, “that you do not want for anything.”

“Many thanks, my noble Chief,” returned Donal; “the two cows I have supply us with plenty of milk and butter, the ‘coramore’ is filled with meal, and wine is not wanting from your cellars to nourish me; so, you see, I have all I can desire.

“Nora,” the veteran continued, “bring some cups; our Chief, surely, will not leave my house until he tastes some of his own good wine.”

Rather than displease Donal, who had served him so faithfully through life, he accepted the proffered cup, and then departed with the others, bearing with him the kind wishes of the whole family. They had not proceeded far when they were overtaken by young Donal. He was of stalworth mould, and very active, having jet black hair and piercing grey eyes. His movements were agile, and few, if any, in the neighbourhood could outstrip him on foot. As a marksman he was considered among the best in the county, and even Kelly of Loughcutra declared he was the best shot he ever knew. To his other accomplishments was added music, as he was a first-class performer on the violin and bagpipes.

“Well, Donal,” said the Chief, “do you require anything from me?”

“Only the loan of a gun, sir, to keep my hand in practice shooting hares at Cahirbroder.”

“That you must have; and when I get a supply of arms from this gentleman,” meaning the Chevalier de Tourville, “I expect you will make yourself useful in drilling the boys of Ballinascagh.”

When they arrived at the mansion, John proposed that De Tourville and De Merville should ride with him to see Clonuan, Martin D’Arcy’s residence. After a short time they reached the gate, and before them lay the ruins of the castle. De Tourville suggested riding on to view it.

The western side of the old pile was levelled to the ground, while the eastern portion was still perfect, and stood in lofty grandeur amidst the vast extent of craggy rock and wood by which it was surrounded.

“Who anciently possessed this castle?” said De Merville.

“A branch of the sept of O’Brien, a tribe of the Dal-Cais, or Dalcassian race, in Thomond,” said John. “Mahon O’Brien held it in the bloody reign of Elizabeth. In the year 1569, Sir Henry Sydney, while



on his march from Limerick to Galway, after suppressing the rebellion of the Fitzgeralds, took possession of it. He also took possession of the Castle of Ballyvaughan, in the county of Clare; but O'Brien recovered the Castle of Clonuan again. When the Desmonds rose in arms, the persecution of the Catholics was wanton and inhuman. David Wolf, the Legate of his Holiness Pope Pius IV., and his successors Pius V., and Gregory XIII., who was in Limerick, fled to this solitary castle for safety. He was kindly received by the Chieftain, but the inhabitants of the castle, being at war with their neighbours, plundered all the provision they had in their possession, which the clergyman, discovering, scrupulously refused to eat, and preferred dying of hunger."

"*Mon Dieu !*" exclaimed De Tourville, "certainly it was an odd resolution, but *chacun à son goût*. I cannot boast of being such a good historian as you are; but, if I am not mistaken, Pope Pius V. was the illustrious Pontiff whose name is inseparably associated with the glorious naval victory of the Curzolari, or of Lepanto, won by the combined Christian fleet in September, 1571, when the brave sailor Marc Antonio Colonna, commander of the Papal galleys, totally dispersed the Turkish armament, and was honoured with a triumphal entry into Rome—an achievement which recalled to the minds of the exulting citizens and the sainted successor of St. Peter the imperial glories of the Eternal City. But, pray, who was David Wolf?"

"He was the Apostolic Nuncio, and arrived in this country as such in August, 1560. He was a native of Limerick, and a Jesuit. He styled himself *Commissarius*, but some writers have called him *Pope's Nuncio*. After his arrival in this country he resided at Limerick, until the month of March, 1565; but, whatever his proper title may have been, his power extended over all Ireland, *ad illustrissimos principes et universum Hibernie regnum*. In March, 1586, Sir Richard Bingham, the then Governor of Connaught, determined to exterminate Mahon O'Brien, who was a firm Catholic. He collected 100 men and some irregular troops, and with this force besieged the castle for about a week, when he finally ordered a fierce assault. The miners broke down the outer defences, and approached the castle to undermine it, but the garrison defended themselves valiantly, firing from their port-holes, and throwing down missiles from the battlements, where Mahon O'Brien stood with a large stone in his hand, but before he had time to hurl it on the enemy he was shot through the head by one of Bingham's marksmen, and fell dead. Seeing their Chief was no more, the besieged party surrendered themselves prisoners to the cruel Bingham, who allowed them but a short time to exist. He merci-



lessly caused them to be hanged on the surrounding trees, plundered all their goods, and levelled half the castle."

"By the *Oriflamme*," exclaimed De Tourville, warmly, "the unfortunate garrison deserved a better fate from the ruffian."

"In the reign of James I.," continued John, "Martin D'Arcy, ancestor of the present proprietor, who is now in Galway, took a lease of the lands about here from the Earl of Thomond. But it is now full time, I think, for us to return."

They arrived just in time for dinner at Clooneene, and found the Chief in his wonted good humour. During the evening they kept O'Donoghue engaged at his harp, and, to promote more hilarity, ordered Donal Bran to be called up with his pipes. Donal played several jigs and reels in good style, and danced a hornpipe so well that he was applauded by the company, and was then handed a tankard of brandy by Shane O'Halloran.

"What an agile and intelligent race the Irish are!" said De Tourville. "No nation in Europe can excel them in feats of activity and strength."

"That is a fact," said the Chief; "and Sir William Petty, the Surveyor-General of Ireland in the time of Cromwell, and author of the celebrated 'Down Survey,' relates that before the commencement of the late war no people could surpass them in 'footmanship,' but after the struggle they appeared to decline in vigour. No wonder their spirits collapsed, oppressed by tyranny and misrule; but now they are fast recovering from their depression."

"There are some Irish lads on board the Flying Eagle," said De Merville, "and I can assure you they are De Tourville's best sailors."

Captain O'Brien now asked Donal if he would accompany him as a guide to the North, who replied that he hoped to be taken in young Captain Forster's troop, and therefore could not make any such promise.

They were all here agreeably surprised by the sudden and unexpected entrance of Major James Forster, of Rathorpe, the High Sheriff of the county, accompanied by Sir Toby Butler, both of whom had just returned from the Galway Assizes.

The High Sheriff was somewhat above the middle height; his countenance was handsome, and his rich brown hair fell in profusion over his broad and well-proportioned shoulders. He wore the usual dress of a person of rank of that period, and had a sword richly inlaid with gold suspended at his side; while a pair of gold spurs ornamented his long

boots. The Major advanced towards his father and embraced him, and, after being welcomed by his son John and the guests present, he said—

“I have concluded all my business at Galway for the present, and, knowing you would be anxious to hear how the trials were disposed of, I thought it better to come here before I returned to Rathorpe. Sir Thomas Southwell, the two Blennerhassetts, and the other gentlemen indicted for High Treason, pleaded guilty (55). I had impanelled a jury of the principal freeholders in the county, taken from the roll as it stood, without selecting particular persons to try the accused, as was often done, to the perversion of public justice and infringement of the right of impartial trial by jury, that great safeguard of the liberty of the subject.”

“That noble institution of the great and good Alfred, our illustrious ancestor,” said the Chief, “should be always upheld with impartiality; and I felt sure, my son, you would disdain being guilty of any act that would corrupt justice, and that you would carry out the responsible duties of your office in a manner that would reflect the highest credit on yourself, and of which our descendants hereafter may feel proud. Sir Toby,” he continued, “I hope you were not idle during your stay at Galway.”

“Indeed, I cannot say that I did much in my way,” said the counselor, “as I had only one or two records. However, I spent a very pleasant time there, and cannot complain. The old city is really worth looking at. Its ancient and princely buildings, with their arched doors, square courtyards, large windows, numerous armorial bearings, and handsome though quaint heraldic devices, are very curious, and well worthy of the antiquarian’s attention, as, I am sure, my friend John often thought. The town is regularly Spanish in its appearance, and a walk along the city walls, glistening with cannon in the evening, is delightful; while the streets are crowded by the stalworth fishermen of the Claddagh, and the great number of strangers that visit the town during the Assizes, together with numerous curiously-clad individuals from the Islands of Arran, which were once so celebrated for their saints and holy men. Our friend Peter Martin, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, opened the Assizes in great state, and, with his usual taste for humour, on his way to the court-house was preceded by a piper, instead of a trumpeter, which was the custom with the judges on all previous occasions (56). He was also met by the High Sheriff, who was followed by his men carrying javelins, and dressed in handsome liveries of green and gold. The Mayor, Dominick Browne, who is a right good fellow, and the Corporation, gave a grand entertainment, and I must say that the wines were of the best Spanish vintage—in fact, they were superb.”

"I hope," said the Chief, "that the sentence of death passed by Martin on Sir Thomas Southwell and the other state prisoners will not be carried into effect, particularly as they pleaded guilty, and threw themselves on the mercy of the court. Sometimes, during civil wars, acts are committed which are afterwards a source of deep regret; therefore, we must take care that no crimes of sanguinary revenge stain our good and justifiable cause."

"I agree with you in every word," said Sir Toby. "The ignorant and cowardly always cry out for blood, blood; but it is the duty of the learned and brave to temper justice with mercy. However, Judge Martin has promised to obtain the King's pardon, and I shall be happy, when in Dublin, to support his representations on that subject."

The gentlemen present here told the erudite Sir Toby that he could attach their names to any memorial that might be presented to the King in favour of the prisoners.

"The people of Galway," said Major Forster, "appear to commiserate the unfortunate prisoners in their distressing position, and I allowed them every indulgence in my power, and permitted them to have lodgings in the town, instead of confining them in the common prison, which I could have done."

"I perceive, Captain," said Sir Toby, addressing the Chief, "that your mansion in Cross-street is let."

"Yes," replied the Chieftain, "I have let it to the nuns of the Order of St. Dominick. When Galway was taken by the Cromwellians, commanded by Sir Charles Coote, the infamous Colonel Stubbers banished them to Spain, and their convent was destroyed. Three years ago their survivors, two aged and venerable ladies, returned to their native town, and, seeing them homeless, I let them the house. Oh! what terrible persecution existed in those evil days, when even helpless women were considered enemies of the state, and their banishment necessary to maintain Protestant Ascendency in this country."

"I entirely agree with you," said Sir Toby, "and you could not have done a more praiseworthy and humane act than to succour those religious ladies in their distress; however, I am happy to say if the King succeeds in the coming struggle for his crown—which I sincerely hope he will—Catholics will be no longer subject to persecution. But, speaking of his Majesty's success makes me anxious to know how the preparations for the war are going on. O'Brien," he continued, "has your kinsman, our noble friend Lord Clare, raised many men latterly?"

"Six troops of sixty men each," replied O'Brien, "comprise his Yellow Dragoons. His two infantry regiments consist of thirteen com-

panies, each sixty-three rank and file. The Honourable Daniel O'Brien, his eldest son, commands one, and his second son, the Honourable Charles O'Brien, commands the other. They are now garrisoned at Clare Castle and Limerick, and impatiently await the commencement of hostilities."

"The wine stands before you, Sir Toby," said the Chieftain. "I suppose the taste of the famous Galway wines makes you think mine inferior."

"I will vouch," interposed De Tourville, "that it is not. I never bring over from France any but the very best."

"Well, I ought to be a good judge, though I have not been yet raised to the bench," said the witty Sir Toby; "and I think, Captain, I have given you ample proof, by the number of goblets I have already taken, that I consider your wine of first-rate vintage, and I am certain it could be drunk at the table of the King. I hope, De Tourville," he continued, "you will not leave the country without visiting me at Sragh-nagalloon."

"You know, Sir Toby, time and tide wait for no man," replied the Chevalier; "and I suppose my second officer, De Trushnot, has by this time arranged all my affairs, so to-morrow I return to Gortinsiguara. Nevertheless, I feel grateful for your kind invitation."

"I am sorry you cannot come, but on your next visit to this country, De Tourville, you will oblige me by shipping, for my own particular use, some cases of the oldest wine and best brandy."

The Chevalier having promised to do so, Sir Toby thanked him, and then requested De Merville to sing a song and give a toast before retiring for the night, which the First Lieutenant of the Flying Eagle readily acceded to, and sung, in a bold voice—

#### THE ROVERS OF THE SEA.

All our sailors are strong and brave,  
Oh, rovers of the sea !  
Tho' they may sleep beneath the wave,  
Oh, rovers of the sea !

But tho' our flag it flies so gay,  
We must be sailing fast away  
Before the dawning of next day,  
Oh, rovers of the sea !

If we meet the Dutchman's cutter,  
Oh, rovers of the sea !  
Our green flag will proudly flutter,  
Oh, rovers of the sea !

## THE IRISH CHIEFTAINS; OR,

We will give him the cannon's blast,  
Nail our bold colours to the mast,  
And fight him bravely to the last,  
Oh, rovers of the sea !

We will bring silks and brandies old,  
Oh, rovers of the sea !  
And the rich merchants will have gold,  
Oh, rovers of the sea !

For in the Citie of the Tribes  
They are most careful of our lives,  
And fear not either sneers or gibes,  
Oh, rovers of the sea !

Our gallant men will cut a dash,  
Oh, rovers of the sea !  
If they only get the cash,  
Oh, rovers of the sea !

And the merchants will soon be told,  
When the strong brandy is all sold,  
That they must then launch out the gold,  
Oh, rovers of the sea !

What for William and his castles,  
Oh, rovers of the sea ?  
With his petty lords and vassals,  
Oh, rovers of the sea !

They say they will take our fair land,  
With their cannon, sword, spear and brand,  
And have our good priests all hanged,  
Oh, rovers of the sea !

But I will now propose a toast  
Oh, rovers of the sea !  
That no man flinches from his post,  
Oh, rovers of the sea !

Therefore, our goblets we will fill,  
And drink long life to De Tourville,  
For the base Dutchmen he will kill,  
Oh, rovers of the sea !

But you may not have heard the news,  
Oh, rovers of the sea !  
We are going to have a cruise,  
Oh, rovers of the sea !

For old Clooneene we all will sigh,  
 For Captain Forster we would die,  
 Tho' we must bid that Chief good-bye,  
 Oh, rovers of the sea !

We will now steer our swift barque to Clare,  
 Oh, rovers of the sea !  
 For O'Brien's clansmen still are there,  
 Oh, rovers of the sea !

And the noble Lord Inchiquin (57),  
 We must now also drink to him,  
 For many battles he will win,  
 Oh, rovers of the sea !

Lieutenant de Merville, having concluded, was loudly applauded by the company ; and, to show the high feelings of regard in which he held his friend the Earl of Inchiquin, who was brought to his recollection by the song, the facetious Sir Toby drank his Lordship's health twice, and said he trusted they would yet have his valuable support in the King's cause.

Shane O'Halloran now appeared, and intimated to the High Sheriff that his horse and attendants were at the door, who then returned to Rathorpe, and the remainder of the company soon afterwards retired to rest.

On the morning succeeding Dermot Oge's return from Carrigahoult Castle, the Chief of Clooneene received a letter from the Chief of Cineal Aodh, stating that Lord Clare and his Yellow Dragoons were to arrive at Gortinsiguara, and requesting him and his family and friends to dine at the mansion the following day. The Chief returned an answer accepting the invitation, and desired O'Halloran, who attended at the breakfast table, to tell his agent that he wished to see him immediately, while one of the retainers departed for Rathorpe to acquaint the High Sheriff with the purport of O'Shaughnessy's letter. When Costellan made his appearance his Chief, addressing him, said—"Order wine, brandy, and ale sufficient to supply Lord Clare's regiment, as they pass at Crushnahawn to-morrow, and take care to have a wholesome repast prepared for the officers at the house there. Kelly, Power, O'Halloran, Donal Bran, and others will assist you in carrying out the necessary arrangements."

"I shall have everything done to your satisfaction," replied Costellan, "and I have already sent to Leonard, your steward at Inchoveagh Castle, for some fat cattle, as we may require them here. I have sown more corn this year than usual, as I anticipate it will be required."

“Spare no labour in cultivating it,” said the Chieftain. “Money is valuable at all times, except when there are no provisions to be obtained for it; but, at all events, the country that cannot supply itself with corn is always at the mercy of some other. Therefore, take care to have all my granaries filled this year, and spare no expense. I will now proceed to your office, and remain until dinner-hour looking over the accounts.”

In the afternoon of the next day the Chief, accompanied by his guests, proceeded to Crushnahawn, where they found Costellan, O'Halloran, and Power attentively engaged in broaching casks of wine and ankers of brandy, and making other necessary preparations for the reception of the troops. They remained in the house until the shouts of the peasantry, who had assembled in great numbers, announced the approach of the popular Lord Clare and his regiment. In a few minutes the sound of martial music was heard, and the Chief and his guests hastened to the hall-door. Lord Clare rode up on a dashing white horse, at the head of his dragoons, and, on beholding his friend, gave the order to halt; and, giving his horse in charge to his orderly, advanced, saying—

“My dear friend, how rejoiced I am to see you looking so well,” at the same time shaking him warmly by the hand.

He then greeted all his other friends, and the Chief, addressing his Lordship, said—

“Clare, I have prepared a repast in this house for yourself and your officers, knowing it would be out of your way to turn down to Clooneene.”

“I feel grateful, indeed,” replied Lord Clare, “for your kindness.” And, turning to his officers, he desired them approach, all of whom were well known to the Chieftain, who was rejoiced to meet them.

“I find,” continued Lord Clare, “that I will have to give the men an hour's rest here, as I perceive by these large vessels that you have not forgotten them. Please, Captain Magrath, give them the order to dismount while we retire.”

In a short time the dragoons were gathered in groups around Costellan, Power, O'Halloran, Donal Bran, and the others, who plentifully distributed amongst them the brandy and ale. When luncheon was over, Lord Clare, looking through one of the windows, said—

“Captain, I fear my men are a source of great trouble to you.”

“Not at all,” replied the Chief, “I am delighted to have an opportunity of assisting in anything that can be of service to the King's troops.”



"I perceive a dragoon very busily employed among mine filling their cups," said Lord Clare; "and a dashing-looking young fellow he is indeed."

"That is Nicholas Power," said John, "and one of my brother's troop."

"If all his dragoons are like him," returned Lord Clare, "he should, indeed, feel proud of being their Captain."

After some further conversation they left the mansion, and Lord Clare, addressing the Chieftain, said—

"As my men have now fully partaken of your generous hospitality, and have enjoyed their smoke, it is my duty to take care that they do not exceed the bounds of sobriety; so, Captain Bourke, direct them to fall in."

In a moment the trumpets sounded to horse, the dragoons mounted, and Lord Clare, accompanied by the Chief, inspected them. The Captain highly complimented his Lordship on the fine appearance of his men, who, after expressing his thanks, placed himself at the head of his regiment and proceeded on his way; not, however, until both officers and men united in giving three hearty cheers for the Chief of Clooneene, who, taking off his cocked hat, acknowledged the compliment.

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## CHAPTER XI.

### THE FAREWELL BANQUET.

THE announcement that Lord Clare and the Yellow Dragoons were to arrive, caused the greatest excitement all day in the neat little hamlet of Gortinsiguara. The comfortable houses, which were newly whitewashed, were ornamented with evergreens, and many of the older ones were covered with luxuriant ivy. All the musicians for miles around were collected, and vast crowds assembled from different parts of the county to greet the soldiers, and when they appeared entering Gortinsiguara, by the Tubberindony road, the great concourse rushed forward to meet them, and, cheering loudly for Lord Clare, accompanied them until they halted at the gate of the mansion of Gortinsiguara.

The officers, on dismounting, were received by O'Shaughnessy and his son.

"You need not trouble yourself, Clare, by waiting to see your men

billeted," said the Chieftain ; " Taggert and Clayton will arrange that matter without difficulty. All my stables are at your service, and whatever horses we cannot accommodate will be taken care of in the town and neighbourhood."

Lord Clare was very glad to find his favourite sister, Lady Helena, in such good health, and held a long private conversation with her on family affairs, while O'Shaughnessy went to show the officers the Castle of Gortinsiguara, which stood on one of the islands.

As dinner hour approached several of the neighbouring gentry began to arrive at the mansion, amongst whom was a party of horsemen, at the head of which rode the Chief of Clooneene, his son, the High Sheriff, John, Cuthbert, and Kelly, with many others following. Next came Charles O'Shaughnessy, of Ardemilevan Castle, accompanied by Oliver Martyn, of Tillyra Castle, who was on a visit with him ; Pierce Lynch, of Rafiladown ; Thomas Butler, of Bunnahow ; and Pierce Butler, of Ballygegan, with his son Theobald. This party was followed by Martin D'Arcy, of Clonuane Castle, son-in-law of Sir Richard Blake, of Ardfry, Speaker of the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics of Ireland. Then came the Burkes of Corker, Tiernevin, and Lisbrien ; Captain D'Arcy, of Kiltulla, near Athenry, who was accompanied by his four accomplished daughters, and his eldest son, Hyacinth. Another party consisted of Dominick Browne, Mayor of Galway ; Francis Blake and Dominick Bodkin, the two Sheriffs of the county of the town ; and Thomas Fitz Isadore Lynch, the Recorder ; Ulick Burke, of Ower, beside whom rode Lord Athenry, Premier Baron of the Kingdom of Ireland, a Captain in the Earl of Clanricarde's Infantry regiment, and nearly related to the Chief of Cineal Aodh ; Captain Redmond Dolphin, of Corr ; James Lally, of Tullinadaly, Sovereign of Tuam ; and several of the D'Arcys. O'Hynes of Kinvara and his family next appeared, and were shortly after followed by Colonel The O'Donnellan, of Ballydonnellan ; The O'Kelly, of Mullaghmore ; Colonel Burke, of Tyaquin ; Marcus Ffrench, of Duras ; the Stacpooles, and many ladies and gentlemen from the neighbourhood of Corofin, in Clare, amongst whom were the O'Hogans and O'Briens. The most conspicuous among the latter was Sir Donough O'Brien, Baronet, of Lemenagh Castle and Dromoland. In fact, all the relatives and friends of the O'Shaughnessy sept, in the counties of Galway and Clare, were present on this occasion. The numerous guests were all most graciously received by the Chief of Cineal Aodh and Lady Helena, with every manifestation of welcome, and were soon seated in the large banqueting hall.

After dinner, O'Shaughnessy, addressing his guests in respect of the

intended departure of his son, said it was a cause of pleasure to him that William could pass the eve of his departure among so many friends and relatives.

Lord Clare, who proposed William's health, advised him to bear manfully his exile, and said he hoped it would not be of long duration.

William O'Shaughnessy, who appeared deeply affected, thanked his noble uncle, and said that many sad emotions, no doubt, filled his breast at the idea of leaving the home of his forefathers, particularly when he saw the great danger they were placed in. His thoughts, he assured them, would always revert to the dear old land of his birth while abroad, and he would anxiously expect letters from home. He requested his friends not to grieve for him that night at all events, but to enjoy themselves, as of old, in the festive halls of Gortinsiguara.

Many were the toasts which were drunk during the night, and both Mac Brody and O'Donoghue exerted their utmost skill in performing on their harps, which added much to the amusement of the guests, who did not break up until it was very late.

Early next morning the Yellow Dragoons were aroused by the sound of the trumpet, and assembled in the broad street of Gortinsiguara. Lord Clare and his officers, having taken leave of their friends, soon after departed on their way to Athlone. Some few hours afterwards, crowds of the O'Shaughnessy clan collected at the gate of the mansion, to witness the departure of their Chief's son and heir, who ordered several casks of ale and spirits to be distributed amongst them; but they felt no inclination to partake of the refreshment which was so generously supplied, so intense was their sorrow. For some time, William O'Shaughnessy remained secluded in a room with his sorrowing parents. Although his heart was troubled, still he endeavoured to conceal his grief. He was not a person calculated to droop under difficulties, and now began to display those qualities of determination and firmness which distinguished his after life.

"My parents," said he, "give me your blessing ere I depart. Comfort my sister, and pray for me."

Kneeling down, he received the benediction of his disconsolate father and mother, and continued—

"Nothing now remains for me but to depart; yet, ere I do so, let us descend to the hall, and take the stirrup cup with our friends."

In the hall, they found young Moylan and his uncle, who had just come from Laughtyshaughnessy. Taking Father Moylan with him,

William and he held a short interview in an adjoining room. After some time, they returned to the hall, where William called on those assembled to drink to his speedy return, and, having wished them every happiness in life, and success in the coming war, he said—

“Come, now, De Tourville, I will not detain you any longer from your ship.” So saying he led the way to the hall-door. On seeing him, the crowd who were waiting outside gathered round him to grasp his hand, and bid him farewell, and long he continued to give each a kind word, but at last mounted his horse, and, accompanied by his father and friends, amid the wailing of his clan, rode off from Gortinsiguara.

After some hours, they passed through Kinvara, and soon entered the great wood of Duras. Leaving behind them the Druid Altar, which was on their right, and the fine old ivy-clad residence of the Ffrenchs, on the left, they arrived at that part of the coast of Duras where the Flying Eagle lay at anchor. The ship’s boats were busily engaged in taking ashore the sailor’s friends, who had come on board to take leave of the crew.

The Second Lieutenant, Léopold de Trushnot, a stout, blackhaired Breton, of gentlemanly appearance, stood on the beach, and was introduced by De Tourville to his friends.

“*Savez-vous des nouvelles ?* We expected you before this, Captain,” said the Lieutenant. “*Dépêchez-vous je vous en prie*, no time is to be lost : the tide serves, and the wind is favourable.”

William now bade all his friends adieu, and embraced his father, whose grief was truly heartrending. O’Shaughnessy then unclasped his sword, and handed it to his son, saying—“This sword was used by your ancestors ; never let it be drawn in a bad cause ; and when you return, if necessary I hope you will be ready to unsheathe it in behalf of your country.”

William once more embraced his father and friends, and then, accompanied by Moylan, stepped into the boat.

“*En avant !*” said the Chevalier de Tourville, who steered, and soon the stalworth seamen brought the light craft alongside the Flying Eagle. After mounting the companion, De Tourville left his friends on the quarter-deck, and exclaimed—“De Merville, load three of the starboard guns, and fire a farewell salute.” The Lieutenant immediately obeyed, and in a few minutes the loud report of the heavy cannon was heard reverberating until it was lost in the dark woods of Duras and the neighbouring mountains ; while the standard of the ancient Norman-Irish family of Ffrench, on which was emblazoned the

arms—*Ermine*, a chevron *sable* ; crest, a dolphin *naiant* embowed upon rocks, proper ; motto, *Malo mori quam fœdari*—was quickly hoisted on the highest tower of their residence, to acknowledge the salute.

“Weigh anchor,” said De Tourville, in a loud voice ; “man the yards and set all sail.”

The order was immediately obeyed ; the sailors fell to work at the windlass, and soon brought the heavy anchor on board, and the sails were spread ; while William O’Shaughnessy and Moylan stood on the deck, gazing intently on the mountains of their fatherland. The freshening gale, as it swelled her white canvas, made the vessel move swiftly through the disturbed waters of the broad Atlantic, the white foam dashed over her bows, and after the lapse of a short time the Flying Eagle stood well out to sea. As the spectators caught the last glimpses of her hull they observed De Tourville, De Merville, O’Shaughnessy, and Moylan standing on the quarter-deck, waving their hats.

When the ship’s boat had taken the exiles on board, a deep melancholy seized their friends. The grief of O’Shaughnessy, as he gazed with straining eyes on the fast-receding vessel, was silent, though most intense, and was fully participated in by the Chief of Clooneene ; while the followers of the O’Shaughnessy sept gave vent to their sorrow in loud lamentations. When the Flying Eagle had vanished in the distance, the Chief of Cíneal Aodh became extremely weak. Dermot Oge earnestly endeavoured to console him, and at length all mounted their horses, and sorrowfully rode back to Gortinsiguara, most of them, in consequence of their friend’s grief, having declined the hospitable invitation of the Chief of Duras. Here the Captain remained until evening, and then returned to Clooneene, accompanied by his party.

When alone with O’Shaughnessy, Dermot Oge said, “You must learn to forget your grief, as it is a duty you owe your family to attend to the proper management of your affairs. For the next month great efforts should be made to cultivate the lands, as it is more than probable provisions will be very scarce during the war, which is certain to be a desperate one, from the great preparations that are being made on both sides.”

“I leave that in your hands,” said the Captain, “and give you full authority to act in all matters as you may deem proper.”

Dermot Oge replied that he would primarily use the power invested in him, and shortly after departed for Lisheen, where he was kept busily employed during the greater part of the ensuing month in agricultural pursuits.

## CHAPTER XII.

## THE ENROLMENT.

AFTER the Chief of Clooneene returned from Gortinsiguara, a fortnight was passed in quietude, no event worth recording having taken place; but at the expiration of that period further intelligence was received from Dublin of the entry of the King into that city, and also of five proclamations having been issued by his Majesty, one of which was to summon a Parliament; and that the Duke of Tyrconnell, Captain-General of the forces in Ireland, was using every exertion to raise an army to take the field, and that the Catholic nobility and gentry were requested to enrol their tenantry to form a force sufficient to defend the King's authority in Ireland. A letter was received from young Captain Forster, stating he would soon have the pleasure of visiting his relatives, and that he was sorry to say, although the Irish were heart and soul in the cause of their religion and country, he feared it would be impossible to enrol the entire of the number of patriotic volunteers who daily offered their services, in consequence of the Government not having a sufficient quantity of arms, clothes, and ammunition at their disposal to supply them with. It also stated that the King had formed a council in Dublin, consisting of the Duke of Tyrconnell, Count d'Avaux, the French Ambassador, and the Earl of Melfort, and that the latter was directed to report upon the condition of the magazines throughout the country; the result of which was very unsatisfactory, as it was found that there were only 6 mortar pieces, 188 guns mounted, 79 guns unmounted, 399 barrels of powder, 196 barrels of ball, 421 bundles of matches, 878 serviceable muskets, 896 unserviceable, 1,152 pistols in pairs, 1,029 carabines, 2 petards and covers, 7 waggons, 9 tumbrels, with 1,449 cannon ball, 190 tents for horse, 335 for foot, 100 pickaxes, 100 shovels and 100 spades, 5 hand-screws, 200 baskets, 145 wheel-barrows, 170 hand-barrows, 1,398 pikes, 138 yards of caddows, 54 yards of canvas, 12 axle-trees, and 789 iron balls. The efforts of the Duke of Tyrconnell to recruit the army were eagerly responded to by the people, and 100,000 men offered their services; but, unfortunately, only about half could be furnished with arms, and even that number with a very inferior description.

In a few days after the receipt of this rather discouraging intelligence the Chief of Cineal Aodh and Dermot Oge came on a visit, and while



sitting in the drawing-room, on the evening of their arrival, with the Chief of Clooneene and John, they were agreeably surprised by the unexpected appearance of the Chief of Moyriesk, and his relative Captain, Florence Mac Namara.

"I have brought you pleasing news, my friends," said the former. "A complete victory has been gained by our soldiers at Dromore-Ivagh, where Brigadier-General Richard Hamilton, the son of Colonel Sir George Hamilton, of Donnalong, at the head of about 2,500 men, totally defeated, with great slaughter, 8,000 Northern Williamites, and then advanced, with little or no opposition, to Hillsborough. The garrison of this place was so terrified, on hearing of his victory and rapid approach, that although they well knew Sir Arthur Rawdon was marching from Lisburn, at the head of a force consisting of about 4,000 men, to reinforce them, they nevertheless surrendered the town, and were dismissed by Hamilton. When this news spread abroad, Sir Arthur's forces were seized with fear dispersed and fled in all directions, some taking refuge in England, while others quickly submitted to the successful Irish General. Colonel Stewart was seized with the general panic, and fled from Dungannon, while the remainder of the Williamite forces, who were still with difficulty kept together, were compelled to take refuge in Coleraine. General Hamilton, however, having applied to Dublin for an extra supply of troops, to enable him to attack their place of refuge, a reinforcement, consisting of the regiments of Gormanstown, Bellew, Louth, Nugent, and Moore, the Duke of Tyrconnell's regiment of horse, and Captain Burke's troop of horse, with another detachment, were ordered to the North, comprising 165 horse, 100 dragoons, and 560 foot, under the command of our friend Sir Toby Butler's kinsman, Lord Galmoy, and the King has dispatched the Duke of Berwick with an army to the North."

He also said that himself and his relatives had enrolled a great number of their tenantry, but were unable to supply them with the necessary arms.

The discourse was here interrupted by the appearance of Shane O'Halloran, who informed his Chief that a dragoon had come to give notice that young Captain Forster was to arrive in a short time with his troop, on their way to Limerick.

"Shane," said the Chief, "send Costellan directly to me, and when the dragoons arrive take good care of them, and see that all their wants are immediately attended to."

When Costellan made his appearance he was desired by the Chief to provide lodging for the men and provender for their horses, and was told that all who could not obtain beds at Clooneene could be accom-



modated at Ballinascagh and Park-na-crawn, and also to have some ankers of brandy and ale rolled out of the cellars; to have the large brew-pan filled with beef, and the fires ready to cook the dinner.

In an hour after, the sound of trumpets and trampling of horses were heard in the courtyard, and the Chief at once went to welcome his grandson. The young Captain alighted, and hastened to greet his grandfather and brother. His handsome uniform became his manly figure. His lip was shaded by a brown moustache; his curling hair of the same colour, flowed from beneath his helmet; and his whole appearance was that of a youthful warrior, cool, manly, and brave. The Chief warmly embraced him, and was proud of his warlike appearance.

John welcomed his brother with manifestations of delight, and said—

“Francis, I am rejoiced to see you looking so well, and have no doubt but you are greatly pleased with your military life. We have made every necessary preparation for the accommodation of your troop, and you may feel certain that Costellan and O’Halloran will see their wants attended to.”

“I am sure they will do so,” said his brother, “for my men are much fatigued; but by-the-bye, John, how is our cousin Cuthbert? Does he like this country, or has he any intention of returning to Northumberland? If I do not mistake his character, he is a very manly sort of fellow, and will remain to take part in the coming war.”

“Cuthbert is certainly very courageous, and a great lover of adventure. I have lately often heard him consult our grandfather as to whether he ought or not apply to the Lord Lieutenant for a commission in the army. He is now on a fishing tour with our friend Kelly; but your cousins, the Mac Namaras, with O’Shaughnessy and Dermot Oge, who are at present staying here, will be delighted to see you.”

Captain Forster then commanded his troop to dismount, and his grandfather, going amongst them, spoke to each, remarking that he was glad to see them again at Clooneene, and complimented them highly on their soldier-like appearance.”

“Come here, Ralph Malbrough,” said he, to a stout, well-made young dragoon, with laughing blue eyes and ruddy cheeks; “your father was a brave soldier, and I have heard the best reports of your own good conduct.”

“I hope, my Chief,” replied Malbrough, “I shall always deserve your approbation, and that of my young Captain also.”

“Not a better dragoon in my troop than Ralph,” said Captain Forster, “and his skill in all matters relating to horses is very great, while his strong arm shows it will make the King’s foes feel its weight.”

The long tables were now laid in the retainers' hall, which was quickly filled with the dragoons; and the Chief, having desired them to enjoy themselves, left them, and, accompanied by his grandson, returned to O'Shaughnessy and the Mac Namaras, who were delighted to see the young Captain. When dinner was over, he commenced to tell the latest news from Dublin.

"The Duke of Berwick, who displays great military talent," said he, "has taken Coleraine, and the King has advanced to Londonderry, which town has refused him admittance. On the 8th of April, the King left Dublin to join his army in the North, and on the 10th the Duke of Tyrconnell departed from the metropolis to organise and inspect the newly-raised regiments of Leinster and Munster, where, believing that nothing but a large army was essential to forward the speedy success of the royal cause, and trusting for its support to Providence rather than finance, he enrolled more soldiers than there were means to arm or clothe, being under the mistaken impression that, no matter how badly armed they might be, they were still necessary to encounter the difficulties which were hourly increasing in the North. However, the King's ardour soon cooled, and he returned to Dublin; while Marshal the Count de Rosen now commands at the siege. Colonel Sarsfield, who is already a favourite with the army, keeps the Enniskillen Williamites in check, and I am directed by Tyrconnell to enlist all the men I can here, as he has the greatest faith in their attachment to our cause."

"Indeed, all the people in the neighbourhood of Gortinsiguara only require to be armed, and to have themselves disciplined, as they are willing to join the army," said the Chief of Cineal Aodh.

"Hamilton's forces," said Captain Forster, "though so victorious in their engagements with the Williamites, were mostly composed of irregulars, particularly at Dromore-Ivagh. They have taken the name of 'Rapparees,' which is derived from an Irish word signifying a short or half-pike, and are armed some with muskets and pistols, and others only with pikes, spears, and skeins; still they did very good service, and are likely to be of great assistance to the regular army during the war."

"Though the peasantry are poor, they are resolute, and can be depended on," said his grandfather; "but to-morrow you can see how many are willing to enrol their names in the King's service, and, according as they are required, they can join the regulars, or may act as Rapparees."

"How are affairs going on in Dublin at present?" inquired the Chief of Moyriesk.

"All that I have met are anxious for the Parliament to meet without delay, and repeal the Act of Settlement. Our friend Sir Toby

Butler, who is one of the King's greatest favourites, and in higher spirits than ever, has been appointed Solicitor-General for Ireland. It is generally believed he will be soon raised to a peerage and the bench. I need hardly say that he desired to be affectionately remembered to you all."

"Sir Toby, who is very jovial," said Florence Mac Namara, "was always a kind friend, and I am sure now never loses an opportunity of drinking the King's health, particularly as he is such a favourite with his Majesty."

Costellan, who now entered the apartment, was directed to dispatch messengers to the tenantry to attend next morning at Clooneene, as any of them willing to volunteer would be enrolled. The Chief of Cineal Aodh gave similar directions to Dermot Oge, and requested the young Captain to visit Gortinsiguara, and inspect his tenantry. Captain Forster accepted the invitation, and then said he should retire for a short time to look after his men.

The dragoons were well taken care of in the retainers' hall by Shane O'Halloran, and O'Donoghue played several airs for them during the evening.

Having inspected the men, the Captain, accompanied by Ralph Malbrough, proceeded to the stables to see the horses. On his return, Florence Mac Namara said—

"My dear Francis, I hope you will soon apply for leave of absence, and pay me a visit. I am sure a week, at least, would not be refused you by Tyrconnell, and even if any objection was made, a word from Sir Toby would make it all right. But where is Fenwick? I have not seen him since my arrival. Can it be possible he has returned to Northumberland without bidding his friends farewell?"

"Cuthbert," said the Chieftain, "is on a visit with Kelly, at Loughcutra, and I believe they are gone on a fishing excursion, and my son James is at Galway. Being the High Sheriff, it is necessary to have all his arrangements made for the county election, which I wish was over, as it is expected to be a bloody one. I fear, from the number of duels it is said are to be fought, we will lose some of our friends, and I hear that many challenges have been already given and accepted."

After some further conversation on the subject, the Chief of Cineal Aodh asked who were the Generals likely to have command in the approaching campaign.

"Dorrington and Sheldon are considered very good officers," said Captain Forster, "and the Duke of Berwick and Sarsfield are extremely popular with the army. The Marshal Count Conrad de Rosen and the

Marquis de Pusignan are not at all liked by either the officers or the men. For my own part, I would prefer that Irishmen were employed, as they are better acquainted with the country and the troops than the foreigners, who view our soldiers as if they were savages. However, the King, in compliment to Louis XIV., patronises the French, which is very bad policy. Count d'Avaux was made a member of the Privy Council—a man who is a perfect stranger to our wants or wishes. He knows nothing about Ireland, and cares less. It would have been of far more service, and better for us, had Louis given supplies of arms and money to assist in carrying on the war, instead of the few insolent officers he has sent for that purpose, who do nothing but find fault with everything in this country. I see it is utterly impossible for us to do anything without arms and clothing, and it will be too bad if we have to dismiss all the stout men who have already joined our cause. However, I will try on to-morrow how many men will be ready to enrol themselves from this neighbourhood. Tyrconnell appears very anxious for more recruits; but it is plain we cannot arm so many men. I have only to take the names of those who are anxious to join, and then let him act as he thinks proper."

"When the weather improves," said the Chief of Cineal Aodh, "I will join my regiment; it may help to dispel my grief, and prevent me from thinking so much about the difficulties of our position."

The Chief of Clooneene, filling his goblet, said—

"Our duty now compels us to make great sacrifices, and it is with difficulty we can bear them; but 'sufficient for the day is the evil thereof,' and we cannot do more than give all the aid in our power; so, O'Donoghue, let your harp be no longer silent."

"Play 'The King shall have his own again,'" said Florence Mac Namara.

The minstrel complied, and amused the company by performing some of his choicest airs until the hour for retiring had arrived.

Early next day the tenantry, young and old, issued from the numerous hamlets on the estate, and assembled at Clooneene—some to join the army, and others to see their relatives among the dragoons. The troop was drawn up before the hall-door in martial array, and young Captain Forster, having appeared, was received with loud acclamations of joy; after which he proceeded to take down the names of those who wished to be enrolled. When he had done so, Donal Bran having presented himself for admission, the Captain said—

"Why, Donal, I thought you got married since I left home."

"Yes, sir," replied Donal; "but I wish to join our army."

"I certainly," said the Captain, "do not like to reject such an active young man; but I consider it would be a hardship to take you away from your young wife; and we cannot, as you are well aware, arm half the men who have already joined us."

In vain Donal renewed his request; the Captain was inexorable.

"Well, sir," said Donal, "I have a chance yet, and if you require men, I hope you will not forget to call on me."

"Indeed I shall not," replied the Captain; "for there is not a dragoon in my troop whom I believe to be braver than you are."

"Take down my name, sir, at all events," said Donal, "as one ready to fight when required."

The Captain consented, and, turning to Power, said—

"Nicholas, your good conduct entitles you to be made a corporal, and on our arrival at head-quarters you shall be promoted to the rank of sergeant."

The arms which the Chief had received from the Chevalier de Tourville were now distributed amongst his grandson's recruits; after which the young Captain proceeded to Rathorpe, to visit his mother. Next day, he attended at Gortinsiguara, and found all the people in that locality, as he had expected, most enthusiastic in the King's cause. He spent the night at Rathorpe, and next day returned to Clooneene, to join his troop, and proceed to Limerick. His grandfather was much grieved at his departure, and, giving him a parting advice, said—

"My dear Francis, the profession in life you have chosen requires great command of temper. You know the first duty of a soldier is obedience, and you must obey orders, though you may differ in opinion with the officer in command as to their propriety. The soldiers are now badly paid, and you and the other officers must take care to give the poor fellows all the assistance in your power. Whenever you require funds, have no hesitation in calling on me, and I will be happy to supply you. Now, Francis, farewell, and remember my advice."

By this time the troop was drawn up before the door, and the young Captain, amidst loud cheers, sprang into the saddle, and rode off at the head of his dragoons.

In a few days after his departure, the High Sheriff returned from Galway, and informed his father that Sir Walter Blake, of Menlough Castle, and Sir Ulick Burke, of Glynsk, were elected as representatives to serve in Parliament for the county, and that the townsmen were engaged in putting the city into a state of defence, as they were determined to maintain the King's authority to the last, and that though several duels were fought by the county gentlemen, in consequence of the election, only a few had proved fatal.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## THE RAPPAREES.

ON the 7th of May, 1689, the Irish Parliament, which met in Dublin, was opened with considerable pomp and splendour, by King James II., surnamed the Just, in person, and to the great joy of the people repealed the odious Act of Settlement (58). The unfortunate Irish Royalists, who had adhered to King Charles I., during the Civil War, were unjustly deprived of their properties, which were confiscated during the usurpation of Cromwell, and granted to the Parliamentarian or Cromwellian regicides ; and those grants were, strange as it may appear, confirmed by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation passed in the reign of the ungrateful Charles II., to the great indignation of the Catholics of Ireland, who were justly incensed at their countrymen being deprived of their rights. The bill for the repeal of this unpopular measure was drawn up by Sir Richard Nagle, of Aghnakishy, and Carrignaconnny Castle, in the county of Cork, who was one of the Members of Parliament for that county, and Attorney-General for Ireland ; and it is worthy of remark that Sir Stephen Rice, Lord Chief Baron of the Irish Court of Exchequer, was often heard to exclaim previous to his elevation to the Bench, that he could “drive a coach and six horses through the vile Act of Settlement.” The very popular measure of its repeal having now been passed by the Irish House of Commons, the bill was brought up to the Irish House of Lords, on the 2nd of June, by Lieutenant-General the Honourable Justin MacCarthy, Master-General of Artillery in Ireland, the other representative for the county of Cork, and on the next day he was created, by King James, Baron of Castle-Inchy, and Viscount Mountcashel, in that county, and on the 4th was introduced, and took his seat amongst the Peers of Ireland.

The attention of the King was again drawn to military matters, and he directed the equipment of such a force as might, in conjunction with that already stationed in the North, be sufficient to reduce the stubborn and rebellious town of Enniskillen, and he entrusted its command to the newly-created Lord Mountcashel.

The report of the siege of Londonderry, and the advance of Lord Mountcashel, who was, unquestionably, an able general, against the Enniskillen men, having reached Gortinsiguara and its neighbourhood,



created the wildest excitement; and the youths whom Captain Forster had enrolled for active service, seeing that no arms fit to enable them to join the regular army could be supplied, the boldest determined to follow Lord Mountcashel's forces, amongst whom were the famous Yellow Dragoons. Donal Bran was the most zealous in urging on this patriotic and daring enterprise, and, being unanimously chosen leader, proceeded to organise a band of Rapparees (59). On the morning after his election, accompanied by his band, he repaired to Rathorpe, and requested to see the High Sheriff, who ordered him to be immediately admitted to his presence.

From the walls of the parlour were suspended several family paintings, most conspicuous amongst which were that of Sir Reginald Forster, who died in 1156, the eldest son of Sir Hugo Forster, of Northumberland, who marched against and slew Magnus, King of Norway, when he invaded England in 1101; that of Sir Ranulph Forster, who, after having taken part in the principal continental wars of his time, died in 1256; that of Sir Alfred Forster, surnamed the "Generous," who was general in the army of Henry III., received the honour of Knighthood on the field, immediately after the great battle of Evesham, fought on the 4th of August, 1265, and died in 1284; the handsome portrait of Lady Florina Forster, daughter of Lord Wharton, of Wharton Castle, Durham, and wife of Sir Thomas Forster, Lord of Etherston; and that of the celebrated Lady Margaret Fenwick (60), wife of Sir William Fenwick, Baronet, of Wallington, Member of Parliament for Northumberland, and daughter of Sir William Selby, of Newcastle. The portrait of this remarkable lady was brought from Northumberland by Cuthbert Fenwick, who was her maternal grandson, and it was justly admired as a work of art.

On entering the apartment, the Rapparee exclaimed, excitedly, "Sir, flesh and blood cannot stand how our men are bravely fighting and shedding their hearts' blood in defence of our country in the North, without wishing to assist them; so I have come to tell you that myself and my men—for I have formed a band of Rapparees—intend immediately marching to their assistance. I am, however, well aware that, at the head of an armed party, I cannot do so without a pass from you, to show that we are loyal subjects of the King."

"You all deserve many thanks from King James for your patriotic zeal in his cause, and you shall therefore have a pass, under my hand and seal, giving you full authority to wage war on behalf of your King. But where can you procure horses and arms for your band?"

"As for arms," replied Donal, "we have a large number of fowling-



pieces, some swords, pikes, and pistols, and we can also supply ourselves with skians and spears from the armoury at Clooneene. With regard to horses, we can borrow some, and our men can ride double on them while on the dangerous journey to the North. When we reach the enemy's quarters, I hope to obtain all we require by fighting manfully for it. If we succeed, as I am confident we will, in capturing more than a sufficient number of horses, we will be thereby enabled to return the animals we intend borrowing to their respective owners. I have taken possession, sir, of the old cave in Bunnacippaun Wood, which was formerly the stronghold of outlaws; cleared out the accumulated rubbish, and intend leaving some of my men always there; for, as the wood is lonely, we will not be observed coming from, or going to, the cave which has been so long totally neglected."

The High Sheriff then wrote the following pass for Donal:—

"To all Officers, Civil and Military, and all others the King's loyal and dutiful subjects: Greeting.

"Know ye all whom it may concern, that I, James Forster, of Rathorpe, High Sheriff of the county of Galway, and Major in Clifford's Dragoons, raised for the King's service, do hereby certify and notify to you that the bearer of this pass, Donal Bran, of Ballinascagh, is a loyal subject of our Lord the King; and I hereby authorise the said Donal Bran, with whom you are not to interfere, to make war, offensive and defensive, on any person or persons who have espoused the cause of the Prince of Orange, and are, therefore, the enemies of King James, and command you at your peril not to disobey this my mandate, or you will thereby incur the King's high displeasure.

"Given at Rathorpe," &c., &c.

The Rapparee Chief, having partaken of refreshment, which was plentifully provided for him, and having received a sum of money sufficient to defray all his expenses until he would have reached Lord Mountcashel's head quarters, with many thanks departed for the high-land at Clynagal, and then entered the great Wood of Bunnacippaun. A very narrow pathway led through this dense wood, scarcely affording room to pass single file to the cave, which was the appointed place of rendezvous. This cave had from the earliest times been the refuge of a party of daring outlaws, and was situated near an old, ruined, isolated castle, which was once inhabited by a junior branch of the powerful sept of O'Brien of Thomond. The O'Briens erected this strong castle on the borders of the wood to defend that portion of their frontier, as it was only a bow-shot from the O'Shaughnessy territory in Connaught. The

cave, which was of considerable size, was cleared out by Donal's band, and a small space was laid open by cutting away a portion of the timber which surrounded its entrance. A large and cheerful fire blazed in the centre of this subterranean habitation, and Nora, together with many of the other Rapparees' wives, were hastily preparing their homely meal. While waiting for this, their first repast in the cave, Donal and his comrades were active in cleaning their fire-arms and arranging their ammunition, and when they had finished Donal dispatched Torlough O'Nee, in whom he had great confidence, and others of his band, to obtain horses, which he directed them to leave at the old castle, as they could not be conveyed to the cave, owing to the way being extremely intricate. O'Nee returned after having procured the horses, and the entire band of Rapparees cheerfully sat down to their repast. Donal then distributed to each a sufficient quantity of usquebaugh, and after finishing their meal they lit their pipes and commenced to make saddles of straw for those of their party who were not provided with a better description. Nora and her companions now bade their husbands farewell, and returned to their homes. Donal Bran then ordered his band to collect some moss, heather, and branches of trees, and to make their beds of this material. He afterwards took up his bagpipes, and played "Raigh Shemus," "Donal-na-Grana," "The King shall have his own again," and other popular and national airs for them, while they smoked their pipes, and continued to do so until they retired to rest on their rude couches. The Rapparees slept soundly until, at the dawning of day, the loud and shrill whistle of Donal Bran aroused them from their deep slumbers, and, after lighting a fire, they cooked on some iron plates, or griddles, their oaten cakes, which, with some cans of milk, composed their wholesome breakfast, and, having fully equipped themselves, they moved on towards the ancient castle, where their horses were picketed. The Rapparees were dressed in the usual costume of the Connaught peasantry. They wore over all the long cothamore, or great-coat, with loose sleeves which had in former times so much excited the unprovoked ire of the English poet, Spenser, that he styled it "An apt cloak for a thief, a fit bed for a rebel, and a meet house for an outlaw!" They had their skians or sharp-pointed knives, and pistols concealed in their clothes; while the cothamore covered their firelocks, which were taken to pieces until required, and each man had a wallet, in which he carried his provisions. Donal Bran formed his men into line in front of the old castle, and then said—

"My countrymen, as you have done me the honour of electing me your leader, you know it is necessary for you to obey my orders and

those of my sub-officers, Ronald Scott (61), Torlough O'Nee, and Fergus Keating, as I alone am responsible for your actions."

All the men having promised Donal implicit obedience until death, and having solemnly sworn it on their skians, he commanded them to mount their horses, and then the whole band of Rapparees proceeded by Tarmon and the venerable ruins of Kilmacduach on their way to the North.

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## CHAPTER XIV.

### OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN.

On the day of Donal Bran's departure, Fenwick and Kelly returned to Clooneene, and gave the Chieftain and John an accurate account of their adventures during their fishing excursion.

"We rowed, Captain," said Cuthbert, "along the banks of the Lake of Loughcutra, until we arrived near the Castle of Ballyturn, where we landed to visit it. It is now in ruins, and we were informed that in former times it was occasionally the residence of that Chieftainess of the De Burgh family known as 'Nora-na-Cean,' or 'Honora of the Heads.' Being on a certain occasion about to visit Portumna, she left Ballyturn in an open chaise. About a quarter of a mile east of the castle, the horses took fright, ran away, and dashed the carriage to pieces. Nora was flung with great violence against a sharp stone, which fractured her skull; and thus departed a woman whose sole ambition in life was to increase the wealth and power of the Clanricardes in this province, and who, it has been said by tradition, would have willingly sacrificed her eternal salvation for the mere gratification of adding a single estate to their property (62). Her principal servant, whose name was Fitzgerald, seeing that his mistress was killed, speedily returned to the castle, in order to secure her treasure, as he knew where it was deposited. Having packed all the gold coins in a large bag, he conveyed them to a boat outside the castle wall, for the purpose of crossing the lake, and making his escape to the neighbouring mountains. One of the De Burghs, seeing Fitzgerald return to the castle in such haste, and suspecting he had some sinister motive in view, followed him at a distance. On reaching the castle De Burgh saw Fitzgerald in the act of rowing across the lake, and, following in another boat, pursued him so closely that he was obliged to fling the

large bag of money into the lake, for the purpose of lightening the boat, and by hard rowing succeeded in reaching the foot of the mountain. On landing, he crossed the hill, and was never afterwards seen in Connaught. Nora was hastily interred by her retainers on the spot where she was killed, and a large heap of stones marks her last resting-place, which was pointed out to us by Liam Bawn. Before leaving I inquired of the peasantry if they could inform me what the name of Ballyturn was derived from, but they were unable to do so."

"It is," said John, "a corruption of the Irish name Beal-agma-trean, or the Mouth of the Rough Ford."

"Kelly and I," continued Cuthbert, "next visited the imposing ruins of Kilbeaconty Church. It appears to have been well built, and must have been very handsome in its day. It is really lamentable to see how this church and Beach Abbey exhibit the savage work of the despoiler, and dreadful, indeed, must have been the persecution at the period when even those sacred edifices did not escape."

"The Franciscan Monastery of Beach," said John, "was founded in or about the year 1441, and was valued in 1587 at £618. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, mostly all the churches and abbeys in this county were destroyed. The Government troops often used them as barracks, and even as stables for their horses. Sir John Perrott, the Lord Deputy, while on his march from Galway to Limerick, in 1584, lodged the first night at Kilmacduach, and it is very probable that the Abbey was then inhabited by the monks."

Cuthbert resumed—"We afterwards visited Tillyra Castle, which is situated in the midst of a picturesque country."

"It was," said John, "in the year 1628, the residence of Thomas Burke, one of the De Burgh race, whose daughter Sarah married Malby Brabazon, of Ballinasloe, who was father of Captain Anthony Brabazon, one of the Catholic gentlemen who commanded in the Galway army raised by the Catholic Confederation in April, 1643, for the purpose of expelling the brutal Captain Willoughby from St. Augustine's Fort. The Castle of Tillyra suffered during the confiscations of the Cromwellians. It was granted by the late King Charles to Richard Martin, who was Mayor of Galway in 1607, and often afterwards. Though a member of one of the oldest families connected with the town, his first residence in the county was Dunguara Castle, near Kinvara, which he got from the Chief of the sept of O'Hynes."

"We were very hospitably entertained there," said Cuthbert, "by his son, Oliver Martyn, who is the present proprietor—a firm supporter of the King's cause, and one of the representatives for the town of

Galway in the present Parliament. He showed us the cave in the neighbourhood in which, according to tradition, several poor families took refuge during the persecutions of Queen Elizabeth. After being concealed for some time, one of the refugees remarked that there was a woman with an infant amongst them, and that she ought not to be allowed to remain, lest by chance her child might cry, and thereby attract the attention of the English soldiery, who were likely to pass in search of plunder. On hearing this, the unfortunate mother begged earnestly to be permitted to remain in the cave; but all present refused to listen to her oft-repeated entreaties, and violently thrust her out. On finding herself an outcast, she took refuge in a large brake of briers at some distance off. At a late hour on the ensuing night, a party of English troops passed, and, hearing the barking of a dog, rushed to the spot from whence it proceeded. Discovering the mouth of the cave, they entered, and put every individual in it to death; and, as a matter of course, believing the entire of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood had concealed themselves there, they made no further search, and in the morning the poor woman came forth from her hiding-place, and lived many years after to tell the story of her narrow escape. Several black-thorn bushes grow round the cave, and the peasantry assert that their fruit is of a blood-red colour since the time of the massacre. We then returned to Kelly's fortalice, and spent the remainder of our time in fishing the Lake of Loughcutra."

The Chieftain then related the course matters were taking in the political world, and alluded to the departure of Donal Bran and his Rapparees to the North.

Kelly appeared much interested about the state of affairs, and expressed a great desire to obtain a commission in the army, but was advised by his friends to wait until they received more satisfactory information of the fighting in the North, and news would have arrived from England as to the course the Williamites were to adopt.

In a few weeks after, the Chief, accompanied by John and Cuthbert, went on a visit to Gortinsiguara, and while there were surprised, late one evening, to hear that Torlough O'Nee, and some others of Donal Bran's band, had returned, and were outside waiting to see the Chief of Clooneene. O'Nee, on being admitted, informed the company that his commander had overtaken Lieutenant-General Lord Mountcashel and joined his troops. He also stated that Donal's Rapparees had succeeded in capturing some horses and arms, and that the Duke of Berwick had been victorious in an engagement with the Williamites near Trillick. Donal Bran, he said, had sent him home with the borrowed horses, and

gave him orders to take one day's rest and then return. O'Nee, and the few men that accompanied him, then retired to the cave in Bannacippaun Wood, and early next morning returned to the North, which was now the seat of war.

No further tidings arrived from the army until the first week in August, when, late one evening, Donal Bran called on the High Sheriff at Rathorpe.

"Welcome, Donal," said he. "Why this hurry? You look very much fatigued."

"It is no wonder if I do, sir," exclaimed Donal Bran, "as I have not slept since I left Cavan."

"What has happened?" anxiously inquired the High Sheriff.

"We arrived, sir, in good spirits at Lord Mountcashel's camp. In all the skirmishes my band performed their duty well, and seized several horses and a large supply of arms, as, no doubt, you have heard from O'Nee, after whose departure Lord Mountcashel besieged Crom Castle on Lough Erin, severely battered the walls, and would have taken it but for news which he received that the whole Williamite garrison of Enniskillen were on their march to oppose him. His soldiers, including my Rapparees, and others as badly armed, mustered only about 3,600 men; while the Williamites were considerably over 4,000 strong. A party of Lord Clare's Yellow Dragoons, which were under the command of Lord Mountcashel, and about 1,000 foot, were pushed on towards Enniskillen. The enemy lay in ambush in a narrow way backed by a large wood. The brave Major-General Anthony Hamilton, without having any occasion to do so, led forth his men to fight, and, dismounting, headed them in their courageous charge. He received a wound in the foot, and was, consequently, obliged to remount. The next officer in command was also badly wounded, and they had to retreat; but Lord Mountcashel, coming up, forced the Williamites to fall back, and the Irish pressed forward in pursuit. However, about midday the enemy were reinforced by a strong party of men from Enniskillen, which was the head quarters of the supporters of the Prince of Orange, from six different counties. Lord Mountcashel burned Newtown-Butler, and a mile beyond that town drew up his victorious troops. Our cannon prevented the Williamites from passing the road in our front. Large numbers of their dismounted dragoons and infantry crossed the bog for the purpose of capturing our guns, but we manfully stood our ground. The enemy then charged our right, and Lord Mountcashel, observing this judicious manœuvre of theirs, directed some of his troops to face to the *right* and aid us. The stupid officer who was told to give this order,



mistaking it, commanded the men to face to the *right about* (63), and when the Rapparees saw them turning from the fight, imagining that the order to retreat had been given, followed their example by turning also. All our men did the same, and the enemy, rushing forward, took possession of our artillery. Their horse charged ours, who, seeing their own cannon turned against them with effect by the Williamites, retreated to Watling Bridge. Our left wing was cut off, and no quarter shown them; but our soldiers have sworn to revenge their death. Lord Mountcashel was wounded, and is now a prisoner. Only a few of our men were spared by the inhuman foe. Londonderry is not yet taken, and I have heard the siege is raised."

"Where was Berwick all this time?" said the High Sheriff. "Up to this he has acted with prudence and bravery."

"He was engaged at the siege of Londonderry," replied Donal. "If he had remained with Lord Mountcashel we would, most undoubtedly, have gained the day. Even without the Duke's assistance we would not have been defeated were it not for the unfortunate mistake that was made relative to the word of command. But I do not despair yet, sir, and will join again when the King takes the field."

"Where are your men at present, Donal?" said the High Sheriff.

"They have all returned to their homes, sir."

"Well, Donal, you had better take your supper, and after you finish a bottle of wine go to bed, for I could not think of allowing you to leave my house to-night, after all the fatigue you have already endured."

Early next morning the High Sheriff rode to Clooneene, and narrated to his father the sad tidings Donal Bran was the bearer of.

"The tax ordered by Parliament," said the Chief of Clooneene, "went to support the army, but the nation up to this has received no real value for it. It is to be hoped that the King will now act with energy, and not waste his time any longer in making useless Acts of Parliament, but at once assemble his army, and take the field. It is by the sword alone the persevering Dutchman can be conquered. I hear the English fleet under Admiral Herbert was defeated by the French in Bantry Bay, on the 1st of May, so we have only to wait until we hear what has been done in Dublin."

The High Sheriff directly after departed, to hold the Assizes in Galway, and on his return his father presided at a meeting of their friends, held at the mansion of Gortinsiguara, to consult and see what was best to be done under existing circumstances. No sooner had they assembled than tidings reached them of the landing of a large foreign force under the command of the Marshal Duke de Schonberg.



His Grace Frederick Armand Count de Schonberg was created a Duke by the Prince of Orange, after he entered his service. This distinguished veteran, who was an elegant and military-looking man, was eighty-one years of age when he came to Ireland to command the Williamite army, having been born in 1608. He was son of the gallant Count de Schonberg, who was slain at the battle of Prague, in 1620, and, by his mother, was the descendant of illustrious English nobles, she being the daughter of Lord Dudley. He had previously served and distinguished himself in Sweden, Holland, Portugal, Germany, Flanders, and France, in which latter country he won by his bravery a Marshal's baton, and earned a name by his great military achievements not inferior to that of the Prince de Condé or Viscount de Turenne; but as he was a Protestant, and his religion being persecuted in France, he left that country and settled in England, but, before leaving the Continent, he had the good fortune of securing in Holland the confidence of the Prince of Orange, with whom he soon became a favourite. Being invited to Berlin by the Elector of Brandenburg, he was made by that Prince, Generalissimo of his army, and Governor of Prussia. However, when the Prince of Orange was about to invade England, Count de Schonberg received permission to accompany his Highness; and William, who was rejoiced at obtaining the valuable services of such an able general—one who had once compelled him to raise the siege of Maestricht—created him a Duke. The powerful army under the command of the Duke de Schonberg embarked at Chester on the 8th of August, 1689. They were detained for four days longer than they expected, by contrary winds, but were able to set sail on the 12th, and on the afternoon of the 13th entered Belfast Lough, and landed at Bangor, where they lay on their arms during the whole of that night. The garrison of Carrickfergus, on the opposite arm of the lough, immediately prepared themselves to withstand a siege, and on the next day set fire to the suburbs. The Duke de Schonberg having sent out several detachments towards Belfast, and into the surrounding neighbourhood, the Irish quickly deserted those places. On the 17th, the invader, with his entire army, took possession of Belfast, and from that town sent five regiments on the 20th, and two others on the day following, to besiege Carrickfergus. This large army completely surrounded the ill-prepared town, and the Duke, himself, having directed all the necessary proceedings, threw up several entrenchments, and placed many mortars and battering cannon in proper position to open fire on the town.

The Chief of Clooneene and his friends heard with sorrow that the Duke de Schonberg had taken Carrickfergus by capitulation, after a

desperate and determined siege; that the brave Governor, Charles Mac Carthy, Chief of his Name, commonly called The Mac Carthy More, though he had held out until his last barrel of powder was expended, was treated with contempt by his successful enemies, who shamefully violated the treaty made with the garrison; and that even the innocent women were stripped and grossly insulted by the brutal Williamites. This sad intelligence grieved them exceedingly; but their minds were diverted from the unpleasant reflections which would naturally follow by their being kept very busy, owing to the marching of troops by Clooneene and Gortinsiguara to Dublin, where the greater portion of the Royal forces were hourly concentrating to oppose the invaders. The Marshal Count de Rosen's, the Duke of Berwick's, Colonel Sarsfield's, and other cavalry and infantry regiments, marched to oppose the advance of the Marshal Duke de Schonberg's army, which was joined by the whole fanatical force of the North. The Duke de Schonberg having advanced to Dundalk, Captain Forster's troop was ordered by the Lord Lieutenant to proceed from Limerick to Dublin, for the purpose of accompanying the King, who had publicly announced his intention of meeting the enemy at once at the head of his army.

When passing by Gortinsiguara, Captain Forster was joined by the Chief of Cineal Aodh, Taggart, Clayton, and a number of enthusiastic volunteers, and they all proceeded from Dublin with the King and several regiments of his army. The Royal forces marched from the Metropolis for the North, and on the 20th of August reached the ancient town of Drogheda. During the march, King James did not neglect attending to the discipline of his troops, and was exceedingly popular with the whole army. One day he stopped before Clifford's Dragoons, and, after being saluted by the officers, was introduced to them by the Colonel. He eagerly inquired about their families, and when Captain Forster was presented to him, his Majesty said—

“I know several of your name in Northumberland, Captain.”

“My Liege, my family are descended from the Forsters of Etherston.”

“Indeed!” said the King, “I am happy to hear it. They are my most faithful adherents, and only await an opportunity to give me all the assistance they can command. I take as lively an interest, I assure you, in your kinsman, Thomas Forster of Etherston, as was taken in his father, the Colonel, by my Royal brother, King Charles (64). Your troop appears to be composed of good soldiers, Captain Forster—Galway men, I suppose?”

“Three-fourths of them are, my Liege, and the remainder were raised on my grandfather’s estates in Clare.”

“Sire, the Captain’s grandfather,” observed the Duke of Tyrconnell, who accompanied the King, “is an old and tried adherent of your Royal family, and has spared no expense in raising men to defend your Majesty’s just cause. I therefore trust your Majesty will not neglect duly rewarding his many valuable services, when opportunity favours.”

“We shall not forget your zeal, Captain Forster,” said the King; “and should I be fortunate enough to return to England, and regain the throne of my forefathers, the services of your ancestors will not be forgotten.”

Then, having shaken the Captain warmly by the hand, the King rode on.

“What a pity it is, Tyrconnell,” said he, “that proper books are not kept in the Herald’s Office, and duly-authenticated pedigrees printed of all the septs and families of this country. In disposing of places and commissions it would be the best and most reliable guide, and the heralds should be branded with ignominy who allowed false entries to be inserted in the records of the kingdom. A sovereign should be well acquainted with the different families of distinction in his dominions, and can only become so through the medium of such authentic annals.”

“Your Majesty, the heralds complain,” replied the Duke of Tyrconnell, “that they are badly paid, and they are consequently careless.”

“Well,” said the King, “let an Act of Parliament be passed that will allow them proper salaries, and then let them revise their manuscripts, expunge all errors, and have an authenticated book published by authority, that can be relied on as evidence of family descent in courts of law” (65).

By this time they reached Lord Clare’s Yellow Dragoons, in which the Chief of Cineal Aodh held the commission of Captain. The Chieftain and some of the officers having been introduced by his brother-in-law, Lord Clare, to the King, his Majesty slowly repeated the name O’Shaughnessy, and then said—

“I have often heard my brother, King Charles, speak of a Sir Dermot O’Shaughnessy, an Irish gentleman, as one of those who left their homes to share with him his exile, and my Royal brother much esteemed Sir Dermot for his high qualities as an honourable man and a brave soldier.”

O’Shaughnessy was greatly pleased to hear his father so favourably

spoken of by the King in presence of the whole regiment, and having returned thanks to his Majesty for his great kindness, the King continued—

“O’Shaughnessy, I will yet reward you for your fidelity to me; nor shall any who aid me in my present difficulties have cause to complain.”

The King next addressed and complimented the Chiefs of Cratloe and Moyriesk, and the other officers, who all declared that they impatiently wished to meet the enemy in order to show how determined they were to conquer or die in his Majesty’s cause.

The King, who appeared very anxious to fight, having reached Dundalk, where the enemy, under the command of the Marshal Duke de Schonberg, had halted, found that the expected fleet had not yet arrived in Carlingford Bay, with provisions for his army.

The Rapparees were of the utmost service to the Irish forces in cutting off the Williamite stragglers, and preventing the Duke de Schonberg from obtaining food and forage. Donal Bran distinguished himself, in conjunction with Galloping O’Hogan, MacCabe, O’Conor, O’Cavanagh, and others, and the Duke de Schonberg was after a time compelled to repair to a fortified camp. However, the King, who had changed his mind, would not now consent to storm it, though he was informed by his officers that the place was unhealthy, the Williamites wasted by sickness, and his own army most anxious to fight. Count de Rosen, seeing the King’s want of energy, boldly, and with a bluntness unusual in a Frenchman, told his Majesty if he had ten kingdoms, instead of three, he would lose them all by his inactivity; but the King could not be persuaded to order an attack, and after some time the Duke de Schonberg hastily retreated, with his diseased army.

In the meantime, news spread abroad that Sarsfield had taken Jamestown and Sligo by storm, and though the Williamites were again seized with a panic, the King commanded his army, who were more anxious than ever to fight, to proceed to winter quarters. His Majesty then returned to Dublin, accompanied by many of his regiments. Amongst the officers were the Chiefs of Cineal Aodh, Cratloe, and Moyriesk, and young Captain Forster.

On their arrival in the city, they found their merry old friend there, who now figured in society as Sir Theobald Butler, Knight, of Sraghnagalloon, one of the representatives in Parliament for the borough of Ennis, and Solicitor-General for Ireland, with whom they spent much of their time (66). Sir Toby was in high favour with the King, and most popular with the people, and spent some very pleasant evenings

with his friends. Captain Forster told him about the indignation felt by the whole Irish army at the Duke de Schonberg not having been attacked either in his camp or while on his retreat, and the Chief of Cineal Aodh again fell into one of those melancholy moods which he was occasionally subject to before he had joined the army. Shortly after his regiment was ordered to Limerick, when he obtained leave of absence and returned to his home.

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## CHAPTER XV.

### ARRIVAL OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE IN IRELAND.

WHEN the Chief of Cineal Aodh arrived at Gortinsiguara, he received intelligence that the Flying Eagle was anchored off the coast of Duras. He immediately directed Dermot Oge to dispatch a retainer to Kinvara, with a letter inviting the Chevalier de Tourville to the mansion. On his arrival he informed the Chieftain that William had enjoyed the voyage, which was really very pleasant, as the weather was delightful, and that he was most hospitably received by the D'Arcys, at Brest, who prided themselves on doing everything after the good old Irish fashion. He then handed him a letter from his son, the purport of which was that he was in good health and attending college; that Moylan was studying at Douay; and desiring to be remembered to John, Cuthbert, Kelly, and all his other friends.

“I could not return sooner, as I had to attach myself to the fleet, and was only allowed to depart a short time since. I must discharge my cargo as quickly as possible, and then set all sail for France.”

The Chieftain, who was delighted to see De Tourville, sent invitations to his Clooneene and Rathorpe friends, by whom they were accepted. After dinner De Tourville desired them to send to Duras for some excellent wines and brandies which he had brought over from Bordeaux, including a large case for Sir Toby Butler's particular use, and requested in return to be furnished with some fresh provisions for his crew. Having stated the number of beeves he required, Dermot Oge and Costellan were directed to procure them. When he had discharged his cargo, and obtained the necessary supplies, De Tourville was in a few days after on his return to Brest.

No news of any importance reached the neighbourhood of Clooneene

for some time. The Parliament still sat in Dublin, and continued making new statutes, while the army remained inactive during the winter. Young Captain Forster procured leave of absence, and returned to his parents at Rathorpe, accompanied by Sergeant Power and Ralph Malbrough. Donal Bran and his Rapparees had previously arrived at Bunacippaun Wood, and waited impatiently for the spring to open a new campaign. Cuthbert Fenwick was most uneasy, as he had not obtained any intelligence of his family, and endeavoured to while away the time by accompanying John and Kelly on their shooting excursions. Theobald Butler, of Ballygegan, continued to pay his addresses to Helena O'Shaughnessy, and ardently wished for the opening of the new campaign, that he might prove himself by his valour worthy of her hand. One evening the young Captain, who had come from Rathorpe on a visit to his grandfather, remarked that the troops would have fought much better if the King had remained in France.

"No doubt," said he, "King James has not acted judiciously. The people imagined that his very presence would have been enough to make them successful; but I suppose he is waiting for the additional supplies of men and money promised by Louis XIV., and it is to be hoped that during the next campaign he will act more boldly. We are still powerful, our army unbroken, and therefore should not despair. He has only to put himself at the head of his adherents, and act as fearlessly as was his wont when Duke of York, and every other man will follow him to victory or to death."

The winter passed over, and in the eventful spring of 1690 all was again bustle and activity in the Irish army. This year is memorable for being the one in which the formation of the Irish Brigade in the service of France was commenced; and, unaccountable as it may seem, it owed its origin to one of the greatest blunders committed by King James and his advisers, during the war in Ireland. Having several times impressed upon the Government of France the great difficulties he was labouring under in not having a sufficient quantity of arms or money to oppose the Prince of Orange, he pointed out the absurdity of his trying at the head of Ireland alone, which was so impoverished from the effect of the late bloody war of the Cromwellians, to resist the mighty resources of England, Scotland, Holland, Denmark, and Germany, and therefore requested to be supplied by King Louis with a sufficient force of men, arms, and ammunition to resist the power of an ambitious Prince, who wished to force himself on a persecuted people, on whose country he had no claim. King James also represented that there was no fear of the assistance he asked for proving useless, for although they were now



entering on the second year of this sanguinary war, the Irish were not in the least disheartened, and, regardless of pay, would fight to the last, if only properly armed, in defence of their country. The soldiers had the greatest confidence in their officers, and a strong feeling of clanship existed between them since the army was remodelled by the Duke of Tyrconnell.

The Irish certainly acted with undoubted bravery, though subject to the greatest hardships, and probably no other nation, under such trying circumstances, would have been so unanimous in opposing such a powerful enemy. Their conduct during this bloody war has no parallel in the history of nations, except, perhaps, in the determined opposition given by the patriotic Swiss to the rash and impetuous Charles the Bold, of Burgundy, whom they finally overthrew and slew at the battle of Nancy, in 1477.

The French Government having at length complied with the repeated demands of the King for assistance, the regiments of Zurlauben, Merode, Famechon, Forrest, La Marche, Tournaisis, and Courvassiez, comprising something over 6,000 well-armed and able-bodied men, were ordered to Ireland. The passage of this land force, which was placed under the command of the Duke de Lauzun, was to be secured by a squadron of the French navy, consisting of 36 sail of the line, 4 fire ships, and some other vessels commanded by the Marquis d'Amfreville, assisted by the Marquis de Nesmond and the Chevalier de Flacour. This fleet sailed from Brest on the 17th of March, which, being St. Patrick's day, was considered a good omen by the people. It reached Kinsale and Cork on the 22nd and 23rd, and by the 27th landed the Duke de Lauzun and his men, but not until early in April were all the military stores disembarked. By the understanding which had taken place between James II., and Louis XIV., the Irish had to send the latter monarch back in exchange, to France, on board the same fleet which had brought them assistance, 6,000 soldiers, who were the flower of the Irish army; but, on account of being delayed for some time by unfavourable weather, they did not reach France until early in the month of May. This force consisted of five infantry regiments which were commanded by Lieutenant-General Lord Mountcashel, the Honourable Colonel Daniel O'Brien, eldest son of Lord Clare, the Honourable Colonel Arthur Dillon, Colonel Richard Butler and Colonel Robert Fielding. On their arrival in France, this organization was changed, being formed into three regiments, the commands of which were bestowed on Lord Mountcashel, the Honourable Colonel Daniel O'Brien, and the Honourable Colonel Arthur Dillon. Each regiment



contained 15 companies of 100 men, and its Colonel's company. By the arrangement made by Lord Mountcashel with the French Government for the support of these regiments, the officers and soldiers were to receive strangers' pay, which was for the latter a *sol* per day more than the French privates. The Colonels, in addition to their pay, received a *sol* in the *livre*, as well from the appointments of all officers, as from the funds for the maintenance of the respective regiments. Lord Mountcashel received, besides this privilege in his own regiment, a *sol* in the *livre* out of the pay of the two other regiments. These regiments, which received the name of the Brigade of Mountcashel, in compliment to his Lordship, consisted each of two battalions, and were the foundation of the illustrious Irish Brigade which contributed so materially to the military glory of the French nation.

The Duke de Lauzun, who was appointed by Louis XIV., to take command of his Majesty's forces in Ireland, was better known as the Count de Lauzun. This nobleman was by birth a Gascon; and, although chosen to command the army sent to assist the struggling Irish, possessed but little military genius. Having at an early age made the acquaintance of King Louis, he ingratiated himself so much into his Majesty's favour that after a time he became a personage of great importance at Court—so much so, indeed, that he did not consider it presumptuous to pay his addresses to the Princess de Montpensier, who was one of the Princesses of the Blood Royal, being cousin of the King of France. The Count de Lauzun, for such then was his rank and title, seeing his advances were favourably received by the Princess, boldly demanded of the King that they might be married with royal magnificence. Louis XIV., was at first greatly incensed at such audacity in one of his subjects; but, on consideration, offered to create the Count a Duke, Marshal of France and Governor of Provence, on condition that he renounced his intentions of espousing the Princess. This proposition, however, was refused by De Lauzun with as much *hauteur* as the King had at first assumed towards him, which so enraged his Majesty that he ordered the determined nobleman to be at once cast into prison. He was accordingly confined in the Castle of Pignerol, where he remained imprisoned for several years, until his disconsolate wife, the Princess de Montpensier, whom he had privately married, succeeded in winning over to her cause the Duke de Mayence, for the purpose of having him liberated. The result was, that the Count de Lauzun soon after escaped to England, where he remained in exile until the Revolution of 1688, when the consort of King James II., the beautiful and unfortunate Queen Mary Beatrice of Modena, and the

young Prince of Wales, who was then only six months old, were committed to his charge by the dethroned Monarch, while the means of conveying them in safety to France were being prepared. The Count, having accompanied the Queen in her precipitate flight, was, at her Majesty's request, not only fully pardoned by King Louis, but also elevated to the rank of a Peer of France, by the title of the Duke de Lauzun. King James, in grateful acknowledgment of the gallant and faithful services which the Count de Lauzun had rendered him, in so ably conducting the escape of the Queen and the Prince, invested him, on the eve of his expedition to Ireland, with the Most Noble Order of the Garter, in the church of Nôtre Dame. The collar and jewel of the Order were very valuable, being richly ornamented with diamonds. They were highly prized by King James, having belonged to his Royal father, King Charles I., after whose death they were entrusted to the care of the honest and high-minded Isaac Walton, a Jewish merchant of London, who faithfully and conscientiously returned them to King Charles II. Though the appointment of the Duke de Lauzun was unpopular with the ministers of Louis XIV., he received the command of the French troops, at the desire of King James, who had promised to obtain it for him in return for his faithful services.

Shortly after the landing of the French fleet, the Chief of Moyriesk visited the Chief of Clooneene, and told him it was rumoured by many of the officers who had come over with the fleet that the appointment of the Duke de Lauzun did not at all please Louvois, King Louis's Minister of War, who wished that his son Souvray, should have the command of the French troops engaged in the Irish War.

"All the arms which we have received from France," said he, "amount only to 8,000 stand, with 2,000 barrels of powder. The arms are of such a bad description, and the clothing so very miserable, that our soldiers prefer wearing their old attire. Half the 6,000 soldiers who have come to our assistance are French, and the remainder composed of different nationalities, who were made prisoners of war by them. Worse still, 6,000 of our best and bravest soldiers are required in exchange for the newly-arrived Frenchmen, and I hear with sorrow that the Honourable Daniel O'Brien's Infantry Regiment is already ordered to sail for France."

"Can it be possible," said the Chief of Clooneene, "that his father, Lord Clare, will allow him to go abroad while his Fatherland requires his services, and those of all its other patriotic sons? This extraordinary exchange is one of the worst events that could occur. I have yet to

learn that 6,000 Frenchmen, no matter how well disciplined or officered, are superior to as many brave Irish."

"Twenty pieces of cannon," exclaimed the Chief of Moyriesk, indignantly, "have arrived from France; but De Lauzun keeps them attached to his own division. Already the motley crew are sneering at our country, and no good blood exists between our soldiers and them. I must soon return to my regiment, the Yellow Dragoons; but, certainly, I will never volunteer for France, while Ireland requires my services."

The Chieftain was here interrupted by Shane O'Halloran, who signified that Donal Bran, who had been waiting for some time, was anxious to see the Chief of Clooneene. On being admitted, the Rapparee stated that he called to bid farewell, as he had commanded his men to assemble at Bunnacippaun Wood, for the purpose of joining the King's troops without delay.

"Donal," said the Chieftain, "my grandson has told me that you and all your band fought bravely last year."

"Pretty well, sir," replied Donal. "I had only a small party then, but now I can muster 200 patriotic men, as stout and fearless as ever handled a skian, and I will back them against any others in Ireland for the most trying services by day or night."

"I advise you, Donal Bran," said the Chief of Moyriesk, "not to move your men until next month, for I think the King will not take the field until the Duke de Schonberg quits his winter quarters. The curious plan which his Majesty has formed of doing nothing will cause him to wait for the enemies' advance on Dublin, instead of perpetually harassing them, as an able general would do."

"At all events," said Donal, "the King cannot say that the Rapparees were inactive last year. Up early and late, sleeping when we could in woods, bogs, caves, and on the mountains, we harassed the Williamite soldiers. Whatever stragglers or light troops of theirs we came in contact with we cut off, and brought many of their spies and convoys to the King's camp. They may call us Rapparees, or any other name they please; but that shall not prevent us from doing our duty to our country and our religion. What force did the Duke de Schonberg ever move that we did not closely watch, and always took good care that every step of theirs was made known to our army?"

"Your merits are, indeed, well known," said the Chief of Clooneene, "and when the history of this unnatural war is written the bold deeds of the fearless Rapparees shall be proudly recorded in its pages; so,

Donal, discipline your men, and have them ready to take the field next month."

With many thanks for the Chief's kindness the Rapparee departed for his cave.

The Chief of Cineal Aodh and Dermot Oge, meanwhile, were employed in endeavouring to collect some rents from the tenants; but owing to the great scarcity of money in the country, they were forced to accept payment in goods. O'Shaughnessy in the ensuing month rejoined his regiment, which was then stationed in Limerick; while young Captain Forster, Sergeant Power, and Ralph Malbrough proceeded to Dublin. Shortly after arriving in the capital they received intelligence that the Duke de Schonberg had taken the field, and that his Grace had besieged Charlemont, a strong fort commanded by that brave and humorous old knight, Sir Teige O'Regan. This fort was erected by Sir Charles Blount, Lord Deputy of Ireland, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when he was at war with the Earl of Tyrone. It was built near a strong one known as Mountjoy Fort, and was called after the Christian name of its founder, Sir Charles Blount. It stood upon the banks of the Blackwater, which runs from thence, to Portadown, where a great number of Protestants were drowned during the frightful disturbances of 1641. The castle was of great strength, being fitted both by art and nature for defence, and was situated on a piece of firm ground, comprising about four acres, in the middle of a large and dangerous bog. It was approachable on two sides, and all the houses in the neighbourhood, for it was formerly thickly inhabited, were burned down by the garrison before they were besieged. It therefore had many great advantages in regard to strength. It was besieged by a large force of Williamites, including a regiment of Brandenburgers, or Prussians, who had landed in Ireland in the commencement of the month of May. Though old Teige held out resolutely, he received no assistance or provisions from Dublin. However, shortly after the commencement of the siege a daring attempt was made to throw in supplies, which being frustrated, the garrison surrendered on honourable terms.

The witty old Sir Teige was certainly one of the most extraordinary characters of his time, and, though now in his seventieth year, was still one of the King's firmest adherents. Nature, in the distribution of her favours, was undoubtedly most unkind to this doughty knight, for he was small and hunchbacked, and took particular care to make himself still more conspicuous by the remarkable and almost ridiculous costume he invariably wore. His features were sharp, and all but pleasing, and he boasted

of being the ugliest man in Ireland. When introduced to a stranger he took an unaccountable pleasure in distorting his withered features, and in making such ludicrous grimaces that, indeed, the beholder should be possessed of more than ordinary *sangfroid* if he could refrain from laughing. His method of walking was slovenly in the extreme, but he generally bestrode a favourite horse. Sir Teige's dress consisted of a large grizzly wig, a yellow neck-tie, which was styled by his brother officers 'Sir Teige's golden tassel,' a white hat, on one side of which were stuck two enormous red and black feathers, a long scarlet coat, jackboots of formidable dimensions, and a cloak of green cloth large enough for a man of more than twice his size. The Duke de Schonberg, who was himself rather eccentric, on hearing of Sir Teige's character, determined to give him a chance, and, accordingly, sent a messenger to demand the peaceable surrender of the castle, as it would be madness, he said, to obstinately defend a place which undoubtedly should eventually surrender.

Sir Teige received the trumpeter with the greatest indignation, and said—"You knave! go tell your master, from Teige O'Regan, who is a loyal Irish gentleman, that he is an old Williamite knave, and by St. Patrick I shall not surrender this town to him."

When the Duke de Schonberg heard this reply, he smilingly remarked—"By St. Patrick I will give old Teige greater reason to be angry with me in a short time."

Five hundred Irish who had brought the garrison of Charlemont a large supply of ammunition and food were refused admittance by Sir Teige, on the plea that the provisions would be altogether useless to him if he allowed the hungry rogues, as he called them, in to eat it. He then told them, if it was pleasing to themselves to cut their way back through the English army, they had his permission to do so. In attempting this the unfortunate men failed, and their sufferings may well be imagined, exposed to the galling fire of an unsparing and infuriated enemy. At length all his provisions being exhausted, Sir Teige, on the 12th of May, sent a trumpeter to the Duke de Schonberg, to say that he would now surrender on condition that the garrison was allowed to march out with all the honours of war. His Grace, having consented, gave orders that until the treaty was signed the Irish officers were to be treated with civility, and particularly impressed upon his own officers the important necessity of countenancing the whims of the humorous governor, Sir Teige O'Regan. The garrison marched out with colours flying, drums beating, matches lighted, and bullet in mouth, with the governor at their head, mounted on his celebrated charger, which was known as 'Sir

Teige O'Regan's War Horse.' After they advanced half a mile they drew up in two divisions, each comprising about 400 men, and in the centre were placed the women and children, who numbered 200 at least. Here they waited until the Duke de Schonberg arrived. On his approach he found it utterly impossible to refrain from laughter when he beheld the comical Sir Teige, who was mounted on his formidable war horse. This nondescript quadruped, so much prized by its owner, like the Cyclops, had but one eye, the other having been accidentally knocked out. It was spavined and lame, had ringbones and splints, with many other diseases that well might puzzle the most accomplished veterinary surgeon to describe. Its temper was of such an unusually vicious character that it continually amused itself by kicking up its heels most unmercifully, and neighing in a manner calculated to frighten any one except the gallant knight who bestrode it. Sir Teige's sword, which was of huge dimensions, kept dangling about in such a manner, from the untiring gymnastics performed by his steed, that the Duke de Schonberg's merriment was greatly increased, although he feared very much it would come in contact with the Knight's enormous spurs, which measured at least over nine inches, and thereby cause him to be thrown. On observing the Marshal, Sir Teige quickly advanced to meet him, but had barely time to salute his Grace when the famous war horse, probably wishing to show off before the Duke, recommenced its antics so earnestly that the bold Sir Teige had to rein in, and, turning to one of his officers, said, within hearing of the Marshal—"Is that Sham-bear, that we all heard so much talk about? By St. Patrick he is so quiet that he is really a sham-bear." The Duke, not noticing this remark, said, with a smile, to one of his Aide-de-camps, "Old Teige's horse is very mad, and old Teige himself is very drunk." The Marshal then reviewed the Irish ranks; and, observing such a large number of women and children, asked Sir Teige why he had kept them in the garrison, as they must have necessarily helped materially to lessen his store of provisions. Sir Teige replied that his countrymen were so warm-hearted and attached to their families that they would not fight without them. To this the Duke de Schonberg responded—"Oh, Tiege, there was more love than policy in their not doing so."

While on the march to Armagh Sir Teige's chaplain entered into an argument with an English soldier on the subject of Transubstantiation. The soldier was a staunch Protestant, and, not wishing to be convinced, gave the clergyman a sound thrashing. Some of the Irish, annoyed at this violation of the articles of surrender, complained to Sir Teige of the dragoon's conduct, who quietly listened to their narration, and then,



judging it was wiser not to quarrel with the Duke de Schonberg, placidly remarked—"By St. Patrick the fellow served my chaplain right! Why the deuce should a priest argue religion with an ignorant dragoon?" Thus what might have caused serious altercation and bloodshed was averted by Sir Teige's coolness.

Up to this the Duke de Schonberg was not attacked by King James, and in the month of June the great park of artillery which belonged to the Williamite army was landed in Ireland.

On Monday, the 5th of November, 1688, William Henry de Nassau, Prince of Orange, and hereditary Stadtholder of the United Provinces of the Republic of Holland, and ultimately King of England, landed at Torbay, in Devonshire. This Prince, who was born at the Hague, in Holland, in November, 1650, was the posthumous son of William II., Prince of Orange, by the Princess Mary, daughter of King Charles I., of England, and his wife, Queen Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV., King of France. As William II. was the eldest son of the Stadtholder, Frederick Henry, who was the youngest son of William I., surnamed the Silent, the favourite of the Emperor Charles V., by his wife Louisa, daughter of the famous Admiral Coligni, William III. of England was the great grandson of the founder of the Dutch Republic, and was also lineally descended from the Leader of the Huguenots, or French Protestants, and nephew of the deposed James II., King of Great Britain and Ireland. He was also son-in-law of that Sovereign, being the husband of the Princess Mary, the eldest daughter of that King, by his first wife, Lady Anne Hyde, daughter of the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Clarendon, surnamed, from his knowledge of mankind, the Chancellor of Human Nature, Lord High Chancellor of England, whom he espoused while Duke of York and Lord High Admiral of England, during the reign of his brother, King Charles II., whom he afterwards succeeded on the throne.

The fleet of the ungrateful Prince of Orange consisted of 50 men-of-war, 25 frigates, and as many fire-ships, with nearly 400 victuallers and other vessels, making in all a total of 635. His forces numbered about 10,692 foot and 4,000 horse. The principal persons who accompanied the Dutch Prince were Count, afterwards the Duke de Schonberg; Count Charles de Schonberg, his son, afterwards created Duke of Leinster, by William III., when King of England; Monsieur de Callimont, younger son of the Marquis de Ruvigney; the Earls of Shrewsbury and Macclesfield; the Lords Mordaunt, Wiltshire, Paulet, Elan, and Dunblane; Sir Rowland Gwynn, Major Wildman, Colonel Sydney, Mr. Russell, Mr. Herbert, Mr. Herbord, Mr. Ferguson, Admiral



Herbert, who led the van of the fleet; and Vice-Admiral Evertzen, who brought up the rere. He was also accompanied by the noted Doctor Burnet. The Prince of Orange commanded the main body of his army, and from the frigate of 30 guns on which he was on board waved a flag bearing his arms. Over the armorial bearings was this inscription—"The Protestant Religion and Liberties of England;" and beneath the motto of the House of Nassau—"Je Maintiendrai"—"I will maintain." The day previous to his landing was the anniversary of his thirty-eighth birthday.

When he first put his foot on English soil, the Prince remarked to those around him :—

"Gentlemen, I have come for your good—indeed for all your goods."

This way of expressing himself was owing to his being unacquainted with the English language; but when the innumerable confiscations that were afterwards made are considered, one must conclude that these words of the invader were very prophetic.

In character, William of Orange was cruel and rapacious, hard-hearted, and inanimate to every feeling save that which contributed to his own comfort and pleasure; an unbeliever, yet in worldly matters a man of considerable judgment and experience, and one of the greatest generals of his day (67).

On Saturday, the 14th of June, 1690, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the Prince of Orange landed at Carrickfergus, in Ireland, to lay claim to a crown to which he was in no way entitled. He was accompanied by his brother-in-law, Prince George of Denmark, who was the husband of the Princess Anne of England; the Duke of Ormonde, the Earls of Oxford, Portland, Scarborough, and Manchester; and the Lords Overkirke and Sydney. He brought over an army of 36,000 men—Dutch, Danes, Germans, Huguenots, Brandenburgers, Swiss, Saxons, Hanoverians, and others—who had formed part of his forces during his wars on the Continent. He was, of course, immediately joined by all the Northern Williamites, who were a savage, fanatical, undisciplined body, whose chief object was rapine and murder; and who, with a cry of 'No Popery,' believed it a duty incumbent on them to slay their Catholic countrymen. The addition of these forces, whom the Prince of Orange secretly detested, raised his army to considerably over 50,000 effective men.

When the Irish army then stationed at Dundalk heard of Prince William's advance, they retreated to Drogheda, for the purpose of awaiting the arrival of King James with reinforcements, as it was his Majesty's intention to take the command in person. The King, who was

in Dublin, on hearing of the Prince's arrival, immediately called a council, in which he strongly expressed his desire to proceed without delay, and meet the advancing foe. Some of the Irish officers objected to this course, and gave their opinion that it would be far more prudent to prolong the war by crossing the Shannon; that the army of the Prince of Orange would, like that of the Duke de Schonberg, dwindle away from disease; and that his Majesty would, in the meantime, receive additional and better assistance from France. However, the martial spirit of the King was aroused, and he wished to fight for his crown in a manner worthy of a Stuart; and, accordingly, every preparation was made to advance and check the progress of the invader. The Irish army was, therefore, ordered to prepare to march from Dublin.

When this order was received, Captain Forster, after inspecting his troop, to see that they were in readiness to take the field, visited his old friend, Sir Toby Butler, the Solicitor-General. Here he found Lord Clare, the Baron of Danganmore (68), the Chiefs of Cratloe and Moyriesk, The O'Donnellan of Ballydonnellan, The O'Kelly of Mullaghmore, the Honourable Colonel Charles O'Brien, Colonel Burke of Tyaquin, and other officers. After luncheon, Sir Toby took the Captain aside, and said—

“The King was speaking to me about you, and directed me, as there is to be a drawing-room held at the Castle to-night, which you are expected to attend, to bring you into his presence. Therefore, watch; and when his Majesty retires follow me.”

Captain Forster, having agreed, returned to his barrack, and, after inspecting his troop, prepared himself to attend the drawing-room about to be held by the King, in Dublin Castle.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

### THE KING'S LAST DRAWING-ROOM IN DUBLIN CASTLE.

WHEN Captain Forster proceeded from the barrack towards the castle, the shades of twilight were fast deepening, and soon after merged into night. But it was one of those fine nights which, in our own genial climate, are invariably fraught with all the balmy loveliness so peculiarly characteristic of the leafy month of June. Scarcely a passing zephyr

disturbed the stillness of the ambient air ; while the ascending moon's silver rays, together with the light of the brilliant little stars, which here and there peeped out from the blue ethereal dome above, shed a halo of mystic brightness over the tall spires and quaint buildings of the ancient city, which on this occasion presented a scene of unusual bustle and activity. As he crossed the Old Bridge, which was erected by the Dominican Friars, in 1428, he paused for a time to contemplate the magnificent aspect which the Liffey presented. This splendid river, on which the capital of Ireland is seated, takes its source amidst the wild fastnesses of the picturesque mountains of Wicklow, and pursues its serpentine course through the city until it reaches Dublin Bay, where it terminates. Its placid waters were now illumined by the many-coloured lights which were prominently placed in the bows of the numerous barges that were conveying the Jacobite aristocracy from the adjoining counties to the city, who were anxious to embrace the opportunity of paying homage to their King before he would have left to open the campaign. As the Captain again moved forward he found it momentarily becoming more difficult to make his way through the vast crowds which thronged the streets beneath the shelving outlines of the grotesque wooden houses, whose upper stories leaned forward towards each other until they nearly met and seemed ready to tumble down and crush the great concourse of people beneath. On reaching the neighbourhood of the Castle, he found it almost impossible to proceed further, so thronged were the streets with citizens, carriages, and sedan chairs. In fact, it would almost appear the worthy burgesses had turned out *en masse* to behold what was to them an unusual occurrence, as none of King James's predecessors had ever held a court in Ireland since the days of Richard II. (69). As those who were known to them alighted from their carriages and other vehicles, they were heartily cheered by the numerous spectators who surrounded the entrance to the Castle.

When Captain Forster arrived at the Castle, he found the magnificent suite of apartments crowded with the nobility, gentry, and officers of the army then staying in town. Here he recognised several of his relatives and friends, amongst whom were the Earl of Limerick, Lord Clare, Lord Kilmallock, Viscount de Flacour, the Baron of Danganmore, Lord Henry Howard, Judge Martin, Sir Patrick Trant, Sir Ulick Burke of Glynsk, the Chief of Moyriesk, Colonel Sarsfield of Lucan, Colonel Clifford, The O'Donnellan of Ballydonnellan, and Captain Dolphin of Corr. He was also pleased to meet his brother-in-law, Captain O'Brien, his uncle-in-law, The O'Kelly of Mullaghmore, and his uncle, Colonel Burke, of Tyaquin, who wore the decoration of the

*Ordre Militaire de St. Jacques de l' Epée*, of which he was a chevalier. After having conversed for some time with many of his acquaintances he was joined by Sir Roger Strickland, Sir Paul Rycout, and Sir William Jennings. Shortly after the King appeared, accompanied by the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, Primate of Ireland; the Duke of Tyrconnell, the Duke de Lauzun; Count d'Avaux, the French Ambassador; Judge Daly, of Carrownakelly; the Earl of Abercorn, the Earl of Westmeath, the Earl of Clanricarde; Sir Richard Nagle, Attorney-General; Sir Toby Butler, Solicitor-General, Sir Henry Bond, Receiver-General, Sir Stephen Rice, Chief Baron of the Exchequer; Sir Neill O'Neill, Sir Edward Herbert, Sir Edward Vaudry, Sir Charles Murray, and several other distinguished personages.

The King, who was dressed in the military costume, though he appeared rather care-worn, endeavoured to look cheerful, and addressed the different persons presented to him with the greatest ease and affability. At his side was suspended the beautifully-ornamented sword which was presented to him before leaving France, by his cousin, the great King Louis Quatorze; and his Majesty could not have chosen a better one for the occasion, as most of his adherents placed their reliance solely on the French Monarch. He wore no jewels on his hands, except his coronation ring, which he prized very much, but was decorated with the golden collar of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, from which was suspended the St. George, or Badge of the Order, which was richly enamelled and set with diamonds (70).

The band of the King's Royal Regiment of Infantry now struck up a lively national air, which was taken up by the native minstrels, and the spacious and lofty hall was soon filled with melody. Immediately afterwards, Lord Bellew made his appearance, accompanied by Sir Brian O'Neill, one of the Justices of the King's Bench; Sir Henry Lynch, one of the Barons of the Exchequer; Sir William Talbot, Master of the Rolls; Buno Talbot, Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Hugh O'Reilly, Clerk of the Privy Council. They were immediately followed by Marcus Bagot, First Sergeant-at-Arms; Francis Stafford, Clerk of the Pipe; and Patrick Kennedy, Comptroller of the Pipe. The scene was most imposing. The numerous and brilliant wax lights produced a grand effect, while reflected on the gorgeous and expensive costumes of the beautiful and fascinating ladies, the rich uniforms of the Irish and French military and naval officers, many of which sparkled with diamonds, and the costly robes of the judges and other high officials, as they gracefully moved through the hall.

The native Irish here met amicably the descendants of the Norman,

the Flemish, the Italian, the Norwegian, the Swedish, the Danish, and other races who had settled in this country, and become *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores*. Sir Randal Mac Donnell, and his cousin, Captain Mac Donnell, of Kilkee, held close conversation with a Fitz-Gerald, a Fitz-Eustace, a Preston, and a Barnewell of the Pale, notwithstanding that their ancestors had met in fierce and deadly conflict at the Yellow Ford (71). The Milesian O'Neills conversed freely with the Danish Plunkets and the Norman Seagraves, forgetful that their forefathers, during Queen Elizabeth's tyrannical reign of mischief and misery, had drawn their swords with vengeance against each other, on that memorable day when Marshal Bagnal's well-trained troops fell beneath the native Northern spears, and his own heart's blood stained the green banks of the Blackwater; while an O'Ruarc of Brefney associated with a Hamilton and a De Lacy. The warlike Sarsfield here grasped the hand of Sir Charles O'Toole, without any rankling recollection of when Sir William Sarsfield, of Lucan, preyed the territory of Imaile, and cut off the head of its Prince. Here many of the noble family of Butler were on terms of friendship with the descendants of the illustrious Houses of Kildare and Desmond; and Colonel Sir John Fitz-Gerald was seen in company with Viscount Galmoy and Lord Dunboyne, who were resolved to stand by their King, though their Chief, the Duke of Ormond, who was the head of the Butler sept, had espoused the cause of the Prince of Orange. Lord Slane, of Flemish lineage, stood by his relative, Sir Walter Blake of Menlough, of British extraction, and introduced to him Beytagh of Moynalty, of Danish origin; Mac Namara of Cratloe, a Chieftain of the Lordly Clan Cuilean in Thomond; and Ffrench of Duras, who traced his pedigree back to the mighty Dukes of Normandy. The Earl of Granard, although not professing the Catholic faith, was here, an adherent of the banished Monarch, and confederated with the O'Farrells of Longford to restore him to his just rights. In vain did the traitorous Williamites endeavour, by promises of reward, to win this nobleman to their cause. His indignant answer to their tempting but degrading offers was, "No man shall write rebel on my tomb;" for, like his Sovereign, it was his opinion that every man was entitled to the free exercise of his religious principles. Here also stood Comyn of Kilcorney, a supporter of his King, apparently unmindful of the day on which that brave Scottish Chieftain, the Red Comyn of Badenoch, died, by the hand of Robert, Lord of Annadale and Carrick, before the altar of the Franciscan church of Dumfries—an event, which in a great measure may be said to have decided the future fate of Scotland, and placed the descendants of the Thane of Lochaber on the

ancient throne of Caledonia. The representatives of the Irish Monarchs here greeted with affectionate cordiality Captain Forster of Rathorpe, who was the descendant of Baldwin, of the Iron-arm, head of the Royal House of Flanders, and maternally sprung from the Milesian Chiefs of Clan Bresal. Those who traced their origin from the warriors who accompanied Strongbow to this country, and others who claimed descent from the renowned Knights of King Arthur's Round Table, welcomed him through whose veins flowed the blood of the chivalrous heroes of Cressy, Poitiers, Agincourt, the proud nobles of Northumbria, and the warlike Chiefs of the Borders. The representatives of the various races that adopted Ireland as their home were here animated with feelings of loyalty to the exiled King, and were determined to sacrifice their all, if necessary, in the cause of their religion and Fatherland.

While the music still swelled through the hall, enchanting the hearts of the listeners, his Majesty retired ; and Sir Toby Butler, who was previously engaged in conversing with Lord Chief Justice Keating, Lord Upper-Ossory, Chieftain of the sept of Mac Gilla Phadruig, or Fitz-Patrick, and Sir Maurice Eustace, motioned Captain Forster to follow him. The Captain, who was at the time speaking to the Marquis d'Abbeville and Lord Dongan, son of the Earl of Limerick, proceeded with the Solicitor-General through a long corridor, until they came to the entrance of an apartment at the door of which two pages, wearing the royal livery, were standing, one of whom, at the request of Sir Toby, announced their names to the King. The page soon returned with orders to admit them.

On entering the room they found the King seated at a table, on which were burning a pair of long wax candles. The walls of this apartment, which was not very large, were hung with arras, elaborately embroidered with the siege of Troy and death of Hector. Over the mantel-piece there was a large painting of the late King Charles, in his coronation robes, by Sir Peter Lely, the frame of which was surmounted by the royal arms.

Sir Toby and the Captain advanced towards his Majesty, who received them most graciously, and desired them to be seated, saying—

“I have sent for you, Captain Forster, to say how much I am indebted to your father and grandfather for the great zeal they have displayed in my cause, and for the assistance I have received from them since the unjustifiable rebellion of a portion of my English subjects and the unnatural conduct of the Prince of Orange.”

“They have only performed their duty towards you, my Liege,” replied the Captain.



“The performance of that duty is not to be forgotten, when so many of those on whom I have conferred very great favours have ungratefully forsaken and rebelled against me. Indeed, I might say I was betrayed on all sides. I wished to give civil and religious liberty to all my subjects, but a faction in England have conspired my ruin for so doing. I am compelled to leave this castle to-morrow, and commit the safety of my crown to the issue of a battle, although in numbers my forces are far inferior to those of the enemy.”

“My troop are brave and well armed,” said the Captain.

Without noticing this observation, the King continued—

“I wished to see you, Captain Forster, ere I met the enemy, lest your family should consider me ungrateful. If fortune favours me, and that I am restored to my rightful inheritance I have resolved to reward many of my adherents by conferring titles on them. Sir Theobald Butler is already aware of my intention; but, lest jealousy should arise, as, unfortunately, it often does in turbulent times like these, I do not consider it prudent to act openly in the matter at present. At the same time, I wish to inform you that I intend raising your grandfather to the Peerage, by conferring on him an Earldom. It was my royal father’s pleasure to mention, in the patent creating John de Burgh Viscount Burke, of Clanmoryes, his maternal descent from the illustrious family of De Burgh, through the Earl of Ulster’s daughter, and your mother is of that family (72). Now, it is our intention to follow this precedent, and therefore it shall be recorded, in your grandfather’s patent, that I am descended from your ancestors, through Queen Matilda, daughter of Baldwin of Flanders.”

The King having paused, Captain Forster bowed low, and Sir Toby remarked—

“Queen Matilda was a lady whose virtues have been the theme of all historians, but particularly of Ordericus Vitalis, and worked on tapestry, as your Majesty is aware, the history of the conquest of England, by her consort, William of Normandy, which is still preserved at Bayeux.”

“My Liege,” said the Captain, “my family will feel grateful for the compliment you intend paying them; but I would respectfully beg leave to lay before you the claims of my friend, O’Shaughnessy of Gortinsiguara.”

“I have not forgotten him,” said the King, “nor your uncle, Colonel Burke of Tyaquin, neither have I been forgetful of your relatives the Mac Namaras. Their respective claims have been often and ably represented to me, particularly some time ago by Sir Theobald.



O'Shaughnessy is at present with his regiment in Limerick, but I hope he will arrive in time to take part in the approaching battle. Clooneene is the principal residence of your family, I believe, Captain Forster?"

"Yes, Sire," returned the Captain.

"Well, then," said the King, "the titles I intend conferring on your sept are Baron of Durragh, Viscount Clooneene of Clooneene, and Earl of Angus (73); and as your elder brother, John, will succeed to these titles in course of time, I have informed Sir Theobald Butler of the honours I propose conferring on yourself, whom I much regard" (74).

Captain Forster, having again thanked the King, retired with Sir Toby Butler. They met at the door the Duke of Tyrconnell, Lord Gosworth, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, and the Right Honourable Denis Daly, of Carrownakelly, Second Justice of the Common Pleas. These three important personages, after having held a short interview with the King, returned with him to the drawing-room.

They were not long here when a burst of admiration echoed through the lofty and spacious hall: and, turning towards the entrance to ascertain the cause, Captain Forster beheld her Excellency, the gay and fascinating Duchess of Tyrconnell (75), in all the radiancy of youth and beauty, as she walked up the apartment, leaning on the arm of the Marquis d'Estrades, the breast of whose handsome uniform was adorned with the brilliant badges of many a distinguished foreign order. This charming woman was of that classic order of beauty which at once enthralls the heart, and prepossesses the beholder in her favour at first sight. Her complexion was exceedingly fair, while her exquisitely-chiselled lips, now smilingly half parted, revealed a set of teeth which exceeded pearls in whiteness. But these were not her most bewitching attractions. Her perfectly symmetrical shoulders and swanny neck, over which now fell in arch curls a profusion of her silky flaxen hair, were in perfect keeping with the rest of her faultless person. Possessed of these enviable charms, to which were added more than as many accomplishments, she was the very ideal of loveliness, and pre-eminently calculated to adorn a court.

The Duchess of Tyrconnell, as she advanced, acknowledged the murmur of applause by which she was greeted on her entrance, by bowing courteously to the assemblage, who hastened to make way for her as she approached the person of the King, to pay her respects to his Majesty, who was conversing merrily with the Duke of Powis, Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Chief Justice Herbert, and the Earl of Dover; while near them stood Lord Bophin, Sir Heward Oxburgh, Sir George

Bourne, and Colonel Dudley Bagnall. In a short time after the young Duke of Berwick, accompanied by the handsome Lady Honora Sarsfield (76), whose lofty bearing and self-possession denoted that she was of noble birth, entered the apartment, followed by Lord Athenry, Premier Baron of the Kingdom of Ireland, and Lady Howth, the Lord Grand Prior of England, and the Countess of Clanricarde, Lord and Lady Kinsale, Lord Gormanstown, Lord Merryon, Lord Cahir, and several other Peers and Peeresses.

As the room became more crowded, it was pleasing to behold the descendant of a thousand kings surrounded by one of the most brilliant and distinguished Courts in Europe, although not acknowledged by the larger and wealthier portion of his subjects.

After conversing for a short time with Lady Sarsfield, Captain Forster hurried in the opposite direction, where he observed Cuthbert Fenwick paying great attention to the much-admired Helena O'Shaughnessy, to the evident displeasure of Theobald Butler, who stood silently by, a painful witness of their interview. He was, therefore, delighted when Captain Forster joined the party, as his presence, he was aware, would be sufficient to interrupt their flirtation.

"Are you long in town, Cuthbert?" asked the Captain. "I suppose you could not be content in the country since my sister Mary took Helena away from the gloomy old Castle of Fidane, to take part in the gaieties of our new Court."

Fenwick, who was not over well pleased with this remark, particularly as it was made in presence of Theobald, felt a little embarrassed, and replied—

"I arrived here on yesterday morning, with certain papers of great importance, which were taken from Williamite prisoners who were arrested in the name of the King, by Kelly of Loughcutra. It was your grandfather's wish that they should be immediately forwarded either to the Attorney-General or to our old friend Sir Toby, and he did me the favour of entrusting them to my care."

"Do you return to Clooneene soon?"

"I should think on to-morrow, or perhaps the day after. How are all my old friends since they joined the army? I am particularly anxious to know how long ago it is since you saw O'Shaughnessy, Stacpoole, O'Brien, or the Mac Namaras."

"I regret to say it is rumoured that O'Shaughnessy is not very well at present. All our other friends, most of whom are here to-night, are in excellent health and first-rate spirits, and will be rejoiced to see you. There is no life now, Cuthbert, like a soldier's. We will

soon have stirring times, and an opportunity of finding out what those Dutch and Danish fellows are made of."

"Oh! Francis," anxiously interrupted Helena, who could remain silent no longer, "is it possible my dear father is unwell? How I do wish I were near him, and that these terrible times were at an end, when all our dearest friends are preparing to kill each other, and those we love are absent amidst the dangers of the battle-field. Do, please, tell me all about my poor father, and if he is seriously ill."

"I assure you, Helena, there is no cause for your uneasiness, as your father is only suffering from lowness of spirits."

"Oh! how I do long to be at home once more with him, my dear mother, and my brother William; and that you, Francis, Cuthbert, and Theobald were again at Clooneene, and his Majesty safe in England. What terrible people his English subjects must be, to cause us all here such trouble and uneasiness, and deprive the King of his just rights."

"I wish," exclaimed Theobald, as he recollected the many happy hours he had spent at home with them, "that Dutch Billy was swallowed up in one of those infernal swamps which, it is said, abound in Holland."

Lord Clare now joined the party, and introduced his niece, Helena O'Shaughnessy, Theobald and Cuthbert, to the Earl of Antrim and Sir Robert Hamilton, two of the King's Privy Council.

Captain Forster, who was acquainted with them since he joined the army, after some general observations entered into a private conversation with Lord Clare. His Lordship explained to him the great difficulties they had to encounter in opposing the Prince of Orange, and said—

"His Majesty bears his various misfortunes bravely, but is well aware that all our hopes of success depend on the military skill and prowess of our officers, and the fidelity and courage of our soldiers. It is unnecessary for me to talk to you of the claims of the Stuarts (77) to the crown of this country, as you are already well informed on the subject. I will, therefore, waive it, but fervently hope that O'Shaughnessy, O'Donnellan, O'Kelly, the Mac Namaras, the O'Briens, the Stacpooles, and ourselves, my dear Francis, shall live to see King James restored to his throne."

Alas, alas! for human expectations! Little did Lord Clare imagine, when he thus addressed his young friend, that the grave would have closed over many of the brave patriots who were now enjoying themselves at this gorgeous scene, long ere the struggle for the crown of Ireland, which was now about to recommence, would have terminated.

"Last night," continued Lord Clare, "I supped with the jovial Sir Toby, who delivered a long oration to his guests, in condemnation of the conduct of the Prince of Orange, which is of late a favourite topic with him. It is really a pity he cannot wield the sword as he does his tongue, for the King has not a more staunch adherent."

"I agree with your Lordship in all you have said," replied Captain Forster; "but I regret to inform you that O'Shaughnessy is far from being well. He is very desponding, and desired me tell you that he does not expect to live many months."

Their conversation was here interrupted by the Captain's three sisters—Mary, wife of Captain O'Brien; Emily, wife of Captain Stacpoole; and Margaret, the youngest and handsomest, who was leaning on the arm of Sir Michael Creagh. In about half an hour afterwards, the King addressed the company, and apologised for being obliged to break up so soon, by saying the troops would have to march early in the morning, and therefore the officers, as well as the men, would require some rest. His Majesty then retired, while the band struck up the popular air of "The King shall have his own again."

Captain Forster now bade an affectionate farewell to his sisters and Helena O'Shaughnessy, who earnestly entreated him to be prudent, and to avoid all unnecessary danger; after which he proceeded to his barrack, where he found Sergeant Power and Donal Bran. The Rapparee informed him that he had left his band at a village some few miles distant from Dublin, where they found lodging, with stabling and forage for their horses, and that he intended meeting the army on the morrow, while on their march to give the Prince of Orange battle. After having arranged some other business with the Captain, Donal took leave of him, and departed to rejoin his Rapparees. The Captain then threw himself on his camp bed, but arose again at early dawn. On visiting the stables, he found the ever-active Ralph Malbrough there, who informed him that on the preceding day he had taken care to have all the horses newly shod, and assured him they were in excellent condition to take the field. After a hasty meal, all mounted their chargers, eager to meet the foe, and in a very short time after the whole garrison of Dublin was astir, and the different regiments, in high spirits, with colours flying, trumpets sounding, and kettledrums beating, left the city.

## CHAPTER XVII.

## THE MARCH FROM DUBLIN.

On the morning of the 16th of June, 1690, while the Irish troops were leaving the city of Dublin, the King left the Castle, escorted by Sarsfield's Horse, and on the summit of the Bermingham Tower was displayed the Royal standard of Ireland, with the motto,

“ Now or never !  
Now and forever ! ! ”

The train of French artillery and the baggage followed.

At some miles distant from the city Captain Forster came up to Donal Bran's Rapparees. They were all mounted on good horses, while some were armed with lances, swords, and pistols, and others with firelocks. Donal rode boldly at their head, on a strong wiry bay horse, and was well armed with a long gun, which was slung at his back. In his untanned leather belt he carried a pair of pistols, and from it was suspended a long broadsword. His dress, and that of all his men, was composed of the dark frieze worn by the Galway peasantry, and his cothamore hung loosely over his broad shoulders. He wore in his hat a large white feather, to distinguish him as the commander of the band ; and on his right and left rode his sub-officers, O'Nee and Keating. The Rapparees received the Captain with a loud cheer, as they pushed out in front to form the advanced guard. Other bands followed, under Galloping O'Hogan, O'Cavanagh (better known as the White Sergeant), O'Neill, Mac Cabe, and other well-known Guerilla Chiefs.

When they arrived at the high-ground over the River Boyne the whole army encamped. Behind them was the old church of Donore ; to the right, the fortified town of Drogheda, which was garrisoned for King James ; to the left, the bridge of Slane ; and about three miles to the rear the pass of Duleek.

On landing in Ireland the Prince of Orange was received by Major General Kirke and many of the nobility, gentry, and officers of distinction who were attached to his cause. He remained at Belfast, receiving addresses of congratulation from his adherents, until Thursday, the 19th, when he marched to Hillsborough, and on the 22nd pitched his camp at Loughbritland.

On the 27th, his army was reinforced at Dundalk, and on the 29th

marched to within eight miles of the Boyne. At dawn on Monday, the 30th of June, his army advanced and encamped at the rere of a long, deep valley which led to the ford at Oldbridge. Here the Prince of Orange, being anxious to view the Irish camp, rode with some of his officers, amongst whom was the Duke de Schonberg, to an adjacent hill; but, on surveying it, wished to have a nearer view, and for that purpose proceeded to the ford at Oldbridge. After making his observations he alighted from his horse, and seated himself on a small hillock. The Irish videttes, having quickly observed his movements, reported them at the camp. King James, the Duke of Tyrconnell, and Colonel Sarsfield were in a few minutes after on horseback. A squadron of horse was ordered to move out, and conceal two field-pieces in their centre. They advanced without delay to an adjoining ploughed-field where they placed the cannon in position. The Prince, seeing this manœuvre, suddenly mounted his horse; but, ere he had time to ride away, the gunner took aim and fired. One of the balls slightly wounded William in the shoulder, while the other killed a man and two horses that were near (78). The Prince of Orange's party quickly galloped off, and he immediately ordered a train of fifty pieces of artillery to cannonade the Irish camp.

In the evening a council of war was held by King James, in which the Irish and French officers endeavoured to persuade his Majesty not to risk a battle, by reminding him that his army was far inferior in number to that of his powerful enemy; that the greater part of his forces, though all courageous, were newly-raised troops and very badly armed. They pointed out how he could maintain a defensive war by retiring beyond the Shannon, until he received succour from France, and that the enemy would suffer from the effects of the climate, and could be harassed by the light troops and Rapparees. After a warm debate, the King said he was resolved to fight, and at the same time told them that he intended at the dawn of the next day sending back to Dublin the Duke de Lauzun's twenty pieces of cannon with six of his own, thereby only leaving himself six pieces of ordnance to contend with William's fifty cannon, as he wished, he said, to be able to retreat in good order, should the Prince of Orange succeed in crossing the Boyne.

The council then proceeded to make arrangements for the order of battle on the ensuing day, and on reference being made to the bridge of Slane, General Hamilton recommended eight regiments to be sent there for its defence during the expected battle. The King replied by saying that he would send fifty dragoons! Lord Clare, Hamilton, Sarsfield, and most of the other officers, were justly amazed at this strange resolution, but, after a great deal of argument, the King at last consented



to send Sir Neill O'Neill and his regiment of dragoons there, with the six pieces of cannon that would remain after the rest were sent back to Dublin. His Majesty then despatched Sir Patrick Trant to Waterford, to procure a ship to convey him to France, in the event of his army being defeated. It was next agreed on that the distinguishing badge of the Irish on the morrow would be the White Cockade, and the pass-word 'Old Ireland;' while, by a strange coincidence, it was ordered by the Prince of Orange that the Williamite soldiers were to wear *green* boughs in their caps as a mark of distinction, and that their pass-word was to be Westminster.

After the Irish council of war separated, the officers returned to their respective brigades. Lord Clare went to the tent of the Chief of Cratloe, where he found Captain Forster, The O'Kelly of Mullaghmore, Captain O'Brien, the Stacpooles, and the Chief of Moyriesk standing before the entrance, in earnest conversation. When his Lordship told them of the absurd order to send back the cannon, they were all much surprised.

"Why," said Captain Forster, "is our army to be left without cannon to open fire on the columns of the enemy if they should attempt to pass the ford at Oldbridge under cover of their artillery?"

"I regret exceedingly that it cannot now be helped," said Lord Clare. "All that remains for us, as we have espoused the King's cause, is to obey orders and make the best fight we can. It would be dishonourable in us to draw back on the eve of battle; but I must candidly admit that, in my military experience, I never even heard of such a plan of battle before. It is evident the King is a better Admiral than he is a General."

Captain Forster then returned to his tent accompanied by his friends, and, after partaking of supper with them, sent for Sergeant Power, and when he arrived inquired how his own men were.

"They are all well, Captain," replied the Sergeant, "and most anxious to distinguish themselves under your colours in the coming battle."

"I depend on you, Power, to see that all are in good order, and to have their morning meal prepared to-night, lest, in the hurry that is likely to ensue, they might have to fight without breakfast."

The Captain then handed Power some money, and continued—

"As the soldiers have but a penny a day each, which is miserable pay for such men, I wish you to go to one of the sutlers and procure good fare for your comrades. Men cannot be expected to fight if they are not well fed."

Power thanked the Captain, saying that if it were not for him and the other officers the troops would be exceedingly badly off."



“Inform my troop,” said the Captain, “that I intend visiting them before morning. Do you know where Donal Bran is stationed?”

“Keeping watch,” replied Power, “on the outskirts of our camp to the right.”

Towards morning the young Captain proceeded through the camp, and on every side beheld the soldiers attending to their horses and preparing their arms, and the priests going about from regiment to regiment, hearing the confessions of the soldiers. He at length discovered Donal Bran and his band, at their watch-fires, near a ditch. Some were lying on the ground rolled in their cothamores; more were keeping the watch; while others were engaged in supplying their horses with bundles of grass. The Captain addressed them in the Irish language, and spoke confidently of success, in order to encourage them. They were all rejoiced to see him, and quickly crowded round him. Donal Bran, who acted as spokesman, said—

“We are all delighted to see you, Captain, particularly so this morning, as it is impossible to say how many of us may be alive at the rising of the sun to-morrow.”

“I fear, Donal,” said the Captain, “you do not feel comfortable here.”

“We could not be better situated,” returned the Rapparee. “We settled our religious duties with Fathers O’Reilly, Maguire, and De Gravelle, and then took our meal, which was better than we expected—thanks to you, sir—and now wait impatiently for the fighting to commence.”

“Your breakfast,” said the Captain, “was not as good as it should have been for soldiers on the morning before battle. Go to the nearest sutler, and obtain some brandy for your men. No excuse,” he continued, as he observed Donal appeared reluctant to accept of the proffered money; “go at once and procure it, as it will serve to keep out the cold.”

Donal then ascended the neighbouring heights, and in a short time returned with the brandy. The Rapparees drank success to their cause and long life to Captain Forster; after which Donal gave each some tobacco, and then, taking up his pipes, played, in a low key, “Emun a Cnuck.”

The Captain, on his return, entered the tent of Sir Neill O’Neill. This young Chieftain, who was in the thirty-second year of his age, was already, notwithstanding the early hour, in full uniform.

“I have no time for rest my friend,” said the brave Colonel. “Before day breaks I must march to defend the pass at Slane; but how can I do so effectually with my single regiment? However, I will endeavour to

defend it to the best of my ability, and fight as an O'Neill should. The King's orders are imperative, and I must obey."

So saying, Sir Neill buckled on his sword, took leave of the Captain, and proceeded to join his regiment, which was drawn up at some distance, and Captain Forster returned to his tent.

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## CHAPTER XVIII.

### THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.

THE morning of that eventful day, Tuesday, the 1st of July, 1690, dawned with all the brilliancy of a summer sun, which, appearing above the distant heights, shed its golden rays o'er hill and dale and mead, diffusing light and warmth to the numerous inhabitants of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. But many a brave heart and impassioned breast, whose every pulse throbbed with enthusiastic love of religion and Fatherland on that morning, was destined never more to see that bright orb arise again, or view with wonted admiration the green fields and blooming trees, laden with sweet blossoms, and the painted petals of the wild flowers whose fragrance sweetly scented the passing zephyr, as it arose from the cold and placid bosom of the River Boyne, which, flowing calmly on in a serpentine course, percolated and meandered through the depths of a picturesque valley, until it reached the sea within a mile or so to the east of the city of Drogheda, and there blended with its waters. Ere yet the green verdure of the soil was stained with clotted blood, or the trembling dewdrops had vanished in the sunshine, the battle-field presented a scene so tranquilly beautiful that the ungrateful nephew of King James, the ruthless usurper and audacious invader, might well have paused, had he been possessed of a single spark of humanity or sentiment, ere he hurled death and destruction on the inmates of the many happy homesteads that now might be seen on the hillside among the sequestered glens and along the grassy banks of the laving river—the homesteads of a brave and generous peasantry, who alone can make nations properous and happy. But the Prince of Orange was not a man likely to reflect on the result of the ruin and devastation he was about to inflict upon a peaceable people to whom he was an utter stranger, and on whom he had no claims whatever. Nor was

his callous and unrefined nature touched in the smallest degree by the splendour of the landscape that now presented itself to his view, and which might have awakened in the soul of an Ethiopian more generous feelings than those which now disturbed his bosom. The craggy rock and hill, and vale and meadow, and corn-field teeming with the prospects of a rich harvest, were unnoticed by him. Stern and unmoved he gazed on all the beauties of nature that lay around him—their richness passed unheeded. Schooled from his boyhood to gratify his propensities, which were naturally sordid and morose, he could now only observe those portions of the land which seemed best suited for military purposes. But, enough ! Ere the sun again shall have arisen the beauty of the landscape shall have passed away, the homes of the now happy people shall have vanished, and the dewdrops which still sparkle on the emerald green shall have given place to a sea of blood !

The whole Irish camp were soon astir. The dragoons, having fed their horses and equipped themselves, stood ready to mount. Before six o'clock, the trumpets sounded, the drums beat to arms, and the cavalry under Hamilton formed to meet the foe. The right wing of King James's army was composed of the French, or half-French troops, under the command of the Duke de Lauzun ; the centre division, opposite Oldbridge, of Irish ; and the left wing of Sir Neill O'Neill's dragoons, and the six cannon that remained—for before his army was drawn up in order of battle, the King had the other twenty-six pieces sent back to Dublin, where they would be required, he said, if the army were defeated at the Boyne.

At six o'clock, a strong body of the enemy emerged from the glen which led from the Williamite camp, numbering 10,000 strong. The right wing, consisting of the Danish horse, was led by Count Charles de Schonberg, Lord Portland, Brigadier Trilawney, and Lord Overkirke ; and the Scotch Foot Guards were under Lieutenant-General Douglas. This large force brought with it five pieces of cannon, to enable them to cross the bridge of Slane, where, and at the fords between it and Ross-na-Ree, they intended making attempts to cross the Boyne. Having succeeded, after great difficulty, in crossing to the Irish side of the river, they attacked Sir Neill O'Neill's Dragoons, whose skirmishers defended themselves bravely, and obstinately maintained their ditches and breast-works with a heavy fire which they incessantly poured on the enemy ; but the number of the Williamites at last forced the carabineers to retire. After a further struggle through the low ground with the dragoons of Sir Neill O'Neill, a long and desperate battle ensued, in which

that gallant young Chieftain fell mortally wounded, while fighting, sword in hand (79), and many other officers of distinction on both sides were slain.

Reinforcements were now ordered up from the Irish side by King James, who, though they suffered extremely by a sharp and continuous cannonade from the batteries of the Prince of Orange, did not flinch an inch under the fire, and for hours the Williamites were held in check. At ten o'clock, the enemy opened a heavy fire on the Irish centre stationed at Oldbridge, who had not a single cannon to return it. Now the Dutch Guards, Huguenot infantry, and other foreign troops, trained in the continental wars, proceeded to pass the river, the water of which did not reach their knees, with their drummers playing before them. The Irish in front, who were newly-raised soldiers, and therefore unaccustomed to regular warfare, nevertheless received them with a close fire; but the vast body of the enemy forced them back, and, amidst clouds of smoke, and the deafening roar of cannon, the Williamites formed in order above the banks on the opposite side of the river. They were now charged by a body of the Irish cavalry, who, by several destructive and successful onslaughts, held them at bay. The Williamites, seeing the danger they were in of their squares being broken, a powerful force of English, Scotch, and Huguenot cavalry rushed forward to their assistance. This strong reinforcement was met by some Irish horse, who exerted themselves energetically to prevent their advance; but at last they succeeded in passing on, having repulsed the enemy. The Irish dragoons, who had removed from Donore, now galloped down to the assistance of their countrymen, their horses causing the very ground to shake, and their upraised swords flashing in the rays of the brilliant sun as they impetuously charged the deadly enemies of their religion and country with the force of a thunderbolt. The Huguenot cavalry were unable to stand the terrific shock and were borne down, ridden over, and trampled on by the Irish, and Colonel Calimotte, their commander, was mortally wounded. The Brandenburgers, or Prussians, were seized with fear, and, considering that all was lost, turned and fled; and the third battalion of the Dutch Blue Guards, which was in the stream at the time endeavouring to pass, was forced back in confusion. All who were not killed on the spot fled precipitately across the river, pursued by the victorious Irish dragoons. A large body of Danish horse was then hastily ordered to charge the Irish cavalry, but were broken by the latter in the first attempt, and fell back in great disorder. A strong brigade of the Williamite foot now advanced to cross the river, but, seeing how the Irish cavalry maintained their superiority, raised a

cry of 'Horse, horse,' which, being mistaken in the confusion for 'Halt, halt,' increased the disorder in the ranks of the Prince of Orange's army. The centre division of his army being thus unable to overcome the centre of King James's, his only resource was to endeavour to overwhelm the Irish centre by hurling against it the whole force of his own left wing and centre. Though King James observed this movement, he did not, as an able general would, order down the right wing of his army, which was still idle, and composed of 6,000 French troops, who had not that day fired a single shot, while Prince William's left wing advanced *en masse* to relieve his centre division. The Duke de Schonberg called on a strong body of cavalry and infantry to cross the river ; but the Irish cavalry, having returned from pursuing the Danes, desperately charged, cut them down, and took the Duke himself prisoner. The veteran Marshal's days were numbered, and he fell in the eighty-second year of his age, the victim of a random shot (80). The whole of William's left wing, which was composed of fresh troops, and his defeated centre division now rapidly advanced, and were joined by his cavalry, consisting of Dutch, Danes, Huguenots, and Enniskilleners, numbering 20,000 and upwards. After a time they forced the Irish infantry to fall back, while the Dutch and Danish cavalry were charged, broken, and driven off the field by the irresistible force of Irish arms wielded by the brave dragoons, who next attacked and defeated the Enniskillen horse. The Prince of Orange in person endeavoured to make them stand their ground, but they fled on the first attack, and the Irish cavalry next threatened the flanks of his army ; but the French on the right had, in the interim, accompanied by King James, who commanded them in person, moved to assist O'Neill's Dragoons, and the left wing of the King's army also fell back, and the whole of the Irish forces now retreated to the hill of Donore. Here they made such a desperate stand, although unaided by the French, under the Duke de Lauzun, that the Williamites wavered and recoiled before them, and General Hamilton once more made a charge with the cavalry ; but his impetuosity carried him too far, and he was taken prisoner (81). The French and Irish now retreated slowly and in regular order, their ranks unbroken and their six pieces of cannon still in their possession, with the exception of one which had become imbedded in the soft ground, and could not be extricated. Indeed, the Duke de Lauzun deserves great praise for the able manner in which he conducted the retreat on this occasion. After some time the Irish halted and waited for the enemy, who also halted, but dared not venture to attack them. When they again moved on, the Williamites also advanced, and after repeatedly halting, the Irish at last passed unmolested over the bridge of the Nanny

Water, and, being then secure, turned and cannonaded the foe. At the pass of Duleek they rested for some time, and then marched towards the Nawl.

Now, for the first time since the battle commenced, the Chief of Moyriesk met Captain Forster's troop. They all appeared fatigued. Their clothes were covered with dust and stained with blood, their faces and hands besmeared with powder, and their horses were evidently quite jaded. The Chieftain embraced his relative, and said—

“Oh! how glad I am to find you have survived this terrible day. While we fought my heart rejoiced to hear your cheering voice encouraging your men, and to see our dragoons were not defeated. De Lauzun says that about 1,000 of our men have fallen, amongst whom are the Earl of Carlingford and Lord Dongan, the Marquis de Huguencour, Viscount de Flacour, the Chevalier de Vaudry, and Sir Charles Tate; and the valiant O'Neill is mortally wounded. Our infantry, though newly raised, made, I am happy to say, the most of the bad muskets and spears with which they were supplied. The King has fled to Dublin, and taken Sarsfield's regiment of horse with him ” (82).

He was here interrupted by the appearance of Donal Bran and his band, who bore every indication of having taken a desperate part in the battle. The Rapparee then informed him that during the fight himself and his men were engaged in defending the ditches near Oldbridge, that they had often fought on the front and flanks of several regiments, and that all through the battle his dismounted men were kept busy in catching the horses that had lost their riders. They also, he said, had borne a large number of the wounded to the rear, where they were carefully attended to.

After some time the army again renewed the retreat towards Dublin, and shortly after daylight on the morning of the 2nd, met the Chief of Cineal Aodh, who was escorted by a small, but well armed guard, amongst whom were Taggart and Clayton. Captain Forster commanded his troop to halt while he spoke to the Chieftain. O'Shaughnessy appeared in very indifferent health, and looked weak and melancholy.

“Why, what can have happened to you my dear, friend?” exclaimed the Captain in surprise; “has any misfortune befallen your family?”

“I am much distressed for a few weeks past about William,” replied the Chieftain, “and have only time to tell you that he has written home from France, and stated that he received some bad treatment there (83). Ever since I feel weak in spirit, but now more so than ever. We marched hard from Limerick to be in time for the battle; but, notwith-



standing all our efforts, most unfortunately, we only arrive to meet our retreating and defeated army. My young friend, I feel scarcely able to move or speak. Oh! what will become of my dear children in these disturbed times, when they shall have no father to protect them?"

"Your only course," said the Captain, "is to return at once to Gortinsiguara. We are to retreat to Limerick, Galway, and Athlone, where we must await succour from France. My troop proceeds to Limerick, and I hope soon to see you there."

"I fear we are destined never to meet again on this earth," said O'Shaughnessy, sorrowfully. "If I can reach my beloved Gortinsiguara alive, it is all I can or hope to expect. Farewell, my young friend. I need not say that I wish you every success in life, and hope our rightful cause will prosper, though I have a presentiment I will not live to see it."

The Captain now bade him an affectionate but hasty adieu, as the army was a long distance in advance, and proceeded on his way to Limerick; while the Chief of Cineal Aodh, accompanied by his party, made their way slowly towards Athlone. The increasing illness of the Chieftain compelled him to take some extra days on his journey before reaching Gortinsiguara. On the way he was overtaken by many of the Irish soldiers returning to Galway, who gave him a full account of the sanguinary battle. They related how their poor comrades, left wounded on the battle-field, were murdered in cold blood, and undressed by the ruthless Northerners in the army of the Prince of Orange, who left even the bodies of their own dead without an article of clothing to cover them, and whose thirst for blood was so insatiable that they murdered some of the neighbouring peasantry who had come to witness the battle. Also, that the garrison of Drogheda had surrendered on terms, but that the capitulation was shamefully violated by the conquerors. Others informed him that the King took shipping at Waterford for France, but that many persons expected he would soon return at the head of a large army to assert his rights.

The Chieftain endeavoured to bear his illness with fortitude, and was well attended by his faithful followers, who rode beside him until they reached Gortinsiguara—for, independently of his being their Chief, they were personally much attached to him. His spirits partially revived on beholding his native place, and his clansmen were rejoiced once more to behold their venerated Chieftain. Taggert and Clayton assisted him to dismount at the door of the Castle, and he was soon after placed in bed. The several physicians called in by the disconsolate Lady Helena considered his illness was of a fatal nature, and thought it their duty to

tell her Ladyship so, in order that she might be prepared for the worst, and the faithful Dermot Oge, who was never long absent from his bedside, wrote what he dictated as his will. The neighbouring priests who attended him prepared him for another and a better world, and he was perfectly resigned to die. His last thoughts reverted to his son, and on Friday, the 11th of July, Roger O'Shaughnessy, head of his sept and hereditary Chief of Cineal Aodh in Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, expired in the castle of his ancestors, amidst the heartrending grief and wailing of his clan (84). A multitude of relatives and friends attended his funeral, and he was interred in the ancient tomb of his family, in the old Abbey of Kilmaeduach, which was founded in the seventh century by the patron of Cineal Aodh, St. Coluim, who was cousin of Guara the Hospitable, King of Connaught, from whom the deceased Chieftain was lineally descended.

Shortly after the death of her husband, Lady Helena, and her only daughter Helena, who were in profound grief, retired to Fidane Castle, which was settled on her Ladyship by her marriage settlement, and Dermot Oge continued to manage the remainder of the property for William, now Chief of Cineal Aodh, and henceforth to be styled O'Shaughnessy.

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## CHAPTER XIX.

### ADVANCE OF THE INVADER.

THE Prince of Orange was not at all satisfied with the incompleteness of the victory he achieved at the Boyne. The conduct of the Irish officers, in that great and hotly-contested battle, was remarkable for the determined efforts which they made, over and over again, to encourage the exhausted soldiery to continue the fight. It was only such bravery as was displayed by the Irish troops during this memorable engagement that could have held out for a day against such overwhelming odds and such well-disciplined soldiers as were opposed to them, every one of whom were veterans trained in the great wars of the Continent. He did not succeed in capturing a single cannon of the only *six* which the Irish had, although his army poured an incessant fire from fifty pieces on the Irish breast-works and ditches; and, notwithstanding that the Irish had several standards, he could only boast of having captured two small

ones. Though his army, as already stated, was far superior in discipline and numbers to the Irish, a large portion of whom were newly raised and undisciplined, still, in proportion, he suffered nearly as great a loss in the number of his killed. He was so fearful of being attacked that he ordered his army to lie upon their arms at Duleek during the night, and to be ready at a moment's warning. Early next morning he sent a number of dragoons and foot, with eight pieces of cannon, under the command of La Mellionere, to demand the immediate surrender of Drogheda, the garrison of which town was commanded by Lord Iveagh, who was informed that if he did not at once surrender to the Prince of Orange, and acknowledge him as King, the inhabitants and garrison would be treated by William of Orange in the same way as the former inhabitants were by Oliver Cromwell. On receiving this message, Lord Iveagh, seeing the force that now surrounded the town consisted of 1,000 cavalry and 300 infantry, and that the garrison he had within the walls only numbered, at most, 1,300 low-spirited and disheartened men, having only seven pieces of iron cannon, of four-pound ball, and 700 smaller fire-arms, and that, after seeing their army defeated in sight of the town, they could not be prevailed upon by his Lordship to defend it, surrendered on condition of being allowed to march out with their arms, and of being conducted to Athlone, which was garrisoned for King James. The Royal standard of the King was then taken down from the towers of Drogheda, never to rise again, and those of the Prince of Orange raised instead! The town having been garrisoned for him, his army marched a mile or so to the south of Duleek, where they encamped for the night. On the morning of the 3rd, being informed by some of his scouts that the deposed King had fled to Waterford from Dublin, which latter city was deserted by the Irish, the Prince commanded the Duke of Ormonde to take immediate possession of the capital, which he did, having taken with him 1,000 horse for that purpose. The Prince of Orange, with his whole army, next marched to Ballybrighan, and on the 5th of the month encamped at Finglas, two miles north-west of the metropolis. On the 6th he entered Dublin, to the great satisfaction of all his adherents, but particularly Captain Farlo, the late governor, one of his most faithful followers, who had been imprisoned by the Irish garrison, but liberated after they evacuated the city. It being Sunday, the Prince of Orange attended prayers at St. Patrick's Cathedral. On the 8th, hearing of the defeat of the English and Dutch fleets, and fearing that the French might attempt an invasion of England, he determined to divide his large army, and, consequently, despatched Lieutenant-General Douglas to besiege Athlone.

He encamped on the 9th at Cromlin, and then pushed forward to Castle Dermot, from whence he despatched Brigadier Abraham d'Eppinger, at the head of 1,000 cavalry, to reduce Wexford, who, on arriving there, found it deserted by the garrison, as they did not consider it prudent to await his arrival. On the 19th the Prince of Orange was in Kilkenny, and on the 21st proceeded to Carrick. On the morning of Tuesday, the 22nd, Major-General Kirke, in obedience to orders, proceeded to demand the surrender of the city of Waterford, which still recognised the authority of King James.

The citizens and corporation, having assembled, offered to surrender on condition of being allowed to retain their estates, and have liberty to enjoy the free and open exercise of the Catholic religion, and that the garrison, with their arms and ammunition, should be safely conducted to the nearest place garrisoned for the King. These reasonable terms being refused by the Prince of Orange, orders were given to bring up some heavy cannon and extra troops, and to make other necessary preparations for besieging the town. The garrison now asked if they would be permitted to march out with their arms, and get a safe convoy, which being granted, they were conducted, with their arms and baggage, to the town of Mallow. After the surrender of the city, on the 25th, the Prince of Orange visited it, and gave strict orders that the citizens should be treated with as much leniency as possible ; after which he returned to his camp, and informed his officers of his intention of returning to England, which, he said, was necessary after the information he had received relative to the defeat of the English and Dutch fleets. Having appointed Henry, Count de Solmes, Commander-in-chief of his army in Ireland, he left the camp after prayers on Sunday, the 27th of June. When he reached Dublin, he was detained for some time in investigating several charges of plunder and murder preferred by Protestants against the men under the command of Lieutenant-General Douglas, who, since their departure to besiege Athlone, had treated the Protestants with great cruelty, notwithstanding the protections which they held from the Prince of Orange and his commanders. There were also many charges brought against Brigadier Trilawney's regiment, which the Prince ordered to be shipped for England at once, with De Schonberg's horse and Colonel Matthew's dragoons. On the 1st of August, the Prince of Orange issued a proclamation confirming a former one, and adding this clause, for the purpose of endeavouring to induce the French, Swiss, and other soldiers sent by Louis XIV. to assist the King, to desert : —

“If any foreigners now in arms against their Majesties (William III. and Mary II.), in the Kingdom of Ireland, will submit, they shall have passes to go into their own countries, or whither else they please.”

He also issued a proclamation commanding all the Catholics in Ireland to resign their arms, on pain of being considered rebels, and being treated as such by his army. He further commanded the people whom he called his subjects to abstain from fleshmeat on all Fridays while the war continued in Ireland, on pain of incurring his high displeasure. He next appointed Sir Richard Rieves, Knight, Robert Rochford and Richard Pyne, Esquires, Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal; but, notwithstanding all these preparations the Prince did not pass Chapelizod, as he there ascertained that the reports respecting his defeat on the Continent were greatly exaggerated, and hearing on the most reliable authority that there was no likelihood whatever of an invasion of England being attempted by the French, he resolved to remain in Ireland until the conclusion of the war, and accordingly returned to his camp at Goldenbridge, and on the 7th proceeded to Cahirconlish.

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## CHAPTER XX.

### AFTER A STORM COMES A CALM.

SINCE the receipt of the letter which O'Shaughnessy wrote to his father, giving an account of the bad treatment he received in France, no other news of him reached home until the arrival of the Chevalier de Tourville at Duras, a few days after the Chief of Cineal Aodh's death. The bold seaman heard with regret of the demise of his friend, the circumstances connected with which were related to him by the Chief of Duras. The day after he landed he rode to Clooneene, and the Chieftain having sent for Dermot Oge, De Tourville presented him with a letter from O'Shaughnessy, addressed to his father, which Dermot Oge, without hesitation, opened and read. It stated that he had left college and entered the regiment commanded by his first cousin, the Honourable Daniel O'Brien.

De Tourville, De Merville, and Isadore de Latour, who had lately joined the Flying Eagle as an officer, sojourned at Clooneene until the vessel was prepared to sail from Duras.

The Chieftain was not as cheerful as usual, as he and all his friends sincerely regretted the death of O'Shaughnessy. In a few days' time, however, Sir Toby Butler came from Sraghnagalloon on a visit, and enlivened the company very much by his wit and good humour. He was

greatly annoyed at the turn affairs had taken, and occasionally gave expression to his indignation.

“Indeed,” said he, “his Majesty should have retired beyond the Shannon, as he was advised by his ablest generals, and not have perilled his crown by a battle which he undoubtedly lost by not having cannon enough to defend the pass at Oldbridge; but the fact is, he did not imagine that our gallant dragoons would have rushed through the Williamite ranks so bravely and triumphantly, and charged them over *ten* different times with success on the day of battle. I am sure that if the King thought the Irish would have made such a gallant resistance, he would not have sent away the cannon, and made the other preparations for a retreat; but then, if he thought they would not fight, what puzzles me is, why he marched to give the enemy battle. But, what is worse than all, he has taken back with him, as a guard, the French fleet, under the Marquis de Seignelay, which was sent by the King of France to destroy the transport ships of the enemy; for, as the English fleet was defeated by the French off Beachy Head, they had no longer command of the seas. Nay, more, the King received, on his arrival in Dublin, a letter from France, giving an account of the great victory at Flueurs, gained by King Louis over William’s troops and their allies.”

“*Rien ne m’étonne autant !*” exclaimed De Tourville, who spoke warmly against the unaccountable conduct of the King, in not fighting to the last under the circumstances, of the French being masters of the seas, and the utter impossibility of the Prince of Orange being able to provide provisions and ammunition for his troops fighting in this country.

“I agree with you, De Tourville,” said Sir Toby, “and have to thank you for the large case of wine which you brought me on your last visit to Duras. I must, however, complain of having had to retire from Dublin in such great haste, owing to the result of the battle. I felt sure our troops would have gained the victory, and had arrangements made for giving a banquet to celebrate their success, at which it was my intention to broach your good wine and brandy; but, indeed, the times are so changed since the ruthless invasion of the Dutchmen, that I often wonder how I can laugh or be merry. On my way from Srahnagalloon, I heard news from O’Dea, which I know you will be all sorry to hear, and that is that our curious, but erudite and kind-hearted old friend, Doctor O’Fynn, died suddenly, on hearing the result of the battle of the Boyne. He feared he would have to endure, in his old age, a recurrence of those severe and unchristian persecutions which he was subjected to in his youth, and the shock was still greater as he had



been previously in the highest spirits. I have been told that since the King landed last March, he considered all would be well, and, to use his own words, often remarked, 'Now, I hope as the King has arrived that all will move with method.' He believed there was a bright, unclouded future in store for his unfortunate country, which he dearly loved, and that the King would triumphantly lead forth his army to victory. Indeed, while the King was in Ireland, the learned old Doctor spent most of his time in reading about the brilliant military actions of Sesostris the Great, Alexander the Great, and other able and famous generals of past ages, whom he felt quite sure the King would rival by his warlike actions."

"I can assure you, Sir Toby," said the Chief of Clooneene, "I am extremely sorry to hear of his untimely end; but, perhaps, it is as well for him that his chequered career has closed."

"I also regret to hear of his death," said De Tourville; "and, as regards the opinion he entertained of the King, I, for one, must say that he was justified. I am a sailor; King James was another; and if his Majesty failed as a general, he did not as an admiral, and those who remember the great, the brilliant victories which he gained, and the courage which he invariably displayed, when Duke of York, will endeavour to forget the battle of the Boyne, and that he took part in it."

"De Tourville," rejoined Sir Toby, "I admire your laudable conduct in praising the sailor-King. But, to return to what I was saying. I beg leave to observe the times are so very disturbed that I did not expect to see you at Clooneene, and I therefore find greater pleasure in your society. It is not at all safe or judicious to be cruising about at present, particularly while sailing under the flag of France or Ireland. I know you are a brave fellow, and a stranger to fear; but that is the very reason you would not relish being confined in a Dutch prison. Why, your proud spirit would never endure it. I was once in Holland, the land of dykes, swamps, and lazy, purse-proud burgomasters, and a more dismal, dreary country, I never travelled through. In fact, everything there looks frightfully wretched, except the rats, which were in excellent condition; and I must candidly confess I could never have kept up my spirits, were it not that there was no lack of Hollands and tobacco. Evidently, there must be some attraction in this country for you, which makes you regardless of all danger. If I don't mistake, old fellow, you usually cast anchor at Duras?"

"Yes," replied the Chevalier, "colouring slightly."

"Then," said Sir Toby, with a knowing wink at the Chieftain,

I have solved the problem, as a mathematician would say ; for I am sure De Tourville did not leave Duras without having seen the beautiful Fanny French (85), who is one of the most accomplished young ladies in this county, as his countrymen are always much attached to the fair sex. She was the *belle* of the Court while the King was in Dublin, and was much admired by the young Duke of Berwick, who is a dashing officer, and a great favourite in the army."

"Sir Theobald, who is always very amusing, is inclined to be merry at my expense," responded De Tourville.

"Indeed," said Lieutenant de Latour, "during our voyage from France, the Chevalier was very much confined to his cabin, which is an unusual circumstance with him, as he always likes to breathe the refreshing sea breeze, while pacing the polished deck of his own good ship ; but, if I do not mistake, he passed most of his time composing poetry in praise of some fair one, and I believe it is an ancient custom in all countries that when a man pays his addresses to a lady, he generally invokes the muses."

"I agree with you," said De Merville ; "and as De Tourville has composed a song, which he showed me, about a lady whom he greatly admires, I propose that he sings it for us."

"My friends," said De Tourville, "Sir Toby has been pleased to quiz me a good deal to-night, and as the young lady to whom he alludes is, indeed, very beautiful, I have endeavoured to scribble a few lines in praise of her charms, which I will willingly sing, if it affords you pleasure. I have no hesitation in doing so as she is well known to you all, and it will help *Pour passer le temps*." Being called on by the company, the Chevalier de Tourville then sung, in a manly voice :—

#### FANNY OF KINVARA.

FAR to the west, where waves expand,  
And mermaids sport through fertile islands,  
Where zephyrs fan the pebbly strand  
That girds the distant wood-crown'd highlands,  
There dwells amidst this sweet retreat  
A maid whose bright eyes shoot like an arrow :  
With sylph-like form and fairy feet,  
She is lovely Fanny of Kinvara.

While cleaving through the surging foam,  
My good barque's swift course still wafts me nearer  
To the wild, sequestered home  
Of her who is hourly growing dearer

## THE IRISH CHIEFTAINS; OR,

To me, her more than willing slave,  
 Who would gladly hail the joyful morrow  
 That bore me o'er the sparkling wave  
 With my darling Fanny of Kinvara.

From bleak Malbay's dark, shelving peak,  
 There dwells not a more loving creature—  
 All round the coast, to Patrick's Reek,  
 Nor one who boasts a kinder nature.  
 Her smiles are brighter than the sun;—  
 Ah, me! they do my bosom harrow.  
 I fear my heart will be undone  
 By charming Fanny of Kinvara.

My nights are passed in dreamy sleep;  
 Even when tempests gather o'er me,  
 Her gentle spirit haunts the deep,  
 And smoothes the stormy way before me.  
 Her voice is ever in mine ear,  
 But absence smarts me to the marrow:  
 No bliss I know till I am near  
 The beauteous Queen of old Kinvara.

When the Chevalier concluded, he was loudly applauded by all present; and Shane O'Halloran having filled Sir Toby's goblet, he arose and said—

“I am delighted at De Tourville's good humour, and it is evident by your applause that you all are so. He is a right good fellow, and shows how well he can take a joke by singing a song which himself had composed about a fascinating young lady with whom we are all acquainted. The sentiments he expressed in that song which he has sung at our request justly entitle him to our esteem, and are another proof of his affection for this, the land of his maternal ancestors. It is evident, gentlemen—I was going to say of the grand jury, but I will say of the grand national alliance, for we all profess the same political creed, which is to forward the interests of our Fatherland—that he was taught by his much-respected mother to regard Ireland as his country, and to take an interest in its social and political welfare. He was born in France, and perhaps naturally considers himself a Frenchman from being educated in the customs of that country, between which and Ireland the most friendly relations always existed, at least since the reign of the illustrious Charlemagne, who patronized her scholars, and at whose Court the learned Irishman was always received with cordiality, and where his presence was courted and his merits justly rewarded. Still, though he is a Frenchman, descended from a long line of distin-

guished ancestors, who proudly claimed France as their country, has he not, I ask, and I challenge contradiction, composed a song which would do credit to a native of our own country? I have no doubt but he will soon write another equally good in the Irish language, which is so dear to us all. It is my opinion, gentlemen, that the right way to express our appreciation of a man's merit, be he present or absent, is to drink his health in flowing goblets; and I therefore give you as a toast the health and long life of the Chevalier Victor de Tourville, Captain of the Flying Eagle, a vessel which, you know, has brought so much good wine and excellent brandy to this country."

Sir Toby's sentiments were received with great applause by the company, when, De Tourville having responded in suitable terms, and after many other speeches were made, the Chief of Clooneene and his guests retired to rest.

In a few days after, news reached Clooneene of the march of the Prince of Orange from Dublin, and that Wexford and Waterford had surrendered to him also; of his intention of returning to England, and that he had sent Lieutenant-General Douglas to besiege Athlone, as recorded in the last chapter.

On hearing of these events, the Chief sent intelligence of them to Donal Bran, who was then at home. The Rapparee immediately sent word to all the members of his band, to meet him that night at Bunna-cippaun Wood, and directed each man to bring his horse, and come fully accoutred. They readily obeyed the pleasing summons, and towards evening the whole band assembled, and drew up near the old castle under the command of their leader.

Donal had now another officer in whom he placed great confidence. This person was Conor O'Shaughnessy, a gentleman descended from a junior branch of the Cineal Aodh, and a youth of activity and daring. He, like other gentlemen of his time, was urged on by patriotic motives, and through fear of losing his property should the Williamites succeed in taking the country.

Donal Bran's band were now well armed, but still retained the dress of the peasantry for the purpose of disguise. Having arranged their plans of advance and attack, they rapidly proceeded to Athlone, and at night arrived near that town.

## CHAPTER XXI.

## LIEUTENANT-GENERAL DOUGLAS BESIEGES ATHLONE.

THE town of Athlone is situated nearly in the centre of Ireland, being partly in Westmeath and partly in Roscommon, which latter county was anciently part of the territory of Hy-Maine, extending from Clontuskert, near Lanesborough, in the county of Roscommon, southwards to the boundary of the kingdom of Thomond, and from Athlone to Seafin and Ath-na-Riogh, or Athenry, in the present county of Galway.

Athlone derives its name from 'Ath,' an Irish word signifying Ford, and 'Luan,' the Moon, and was dedicated in Pagan times to the goddess Luna. At this period, 1690, this town was commonly called by the Irish 'Blahluin,' a corrupt abbreviation of three Irish words, signifying, respectively, 'Baile,' a town, 'Ath,' a ford, and 'Luan,' the moon, and, collectively, the 'Town of the Ford of the Moon' (86). Athlone, like many other towns in Ireland, was divided into two parts, known as the Irish Town and English Town. The latter stood on the Leinster, and the former on the Connaught side of the Shannon, and both were connected by a bridge which was built in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and it appears that during her reign the town was much enlarged.

Early next morning, on entering Athlone, Donal Bran and Conor O'Shaughnessy met the valiant governor, Colonel the Honourable Richard Grace, who had made every preparation to defend the town. The Governor directed Donal to proceed to a distance from the town, to watch the movements of the enemy, and endeavour, when an opportunity presented itself, to cross the river. The Rapparees obeyed, and met Lieutenant-General Douglas advancing, who plundered, burned, and destroyed the country in a cruel manner (87). The Protestant inhabitants threw up the protections they had received from King James, relying on Douglas, whose army, notwithstanding this, did not refrain from plundering them, and treating them in the same way as they did the Catholics. His forces comprised nearly 9,000 horse and foot, with a train of twelve cannon and two mortars, while Colonel Grace had only 800 men to oppose him. As Douglas's army advanced, the Rapparees skirmished with them; but when the enemy approached the town the skirmishers either fell back, or moved on the flanks of his army, watching opportunities to cut off his stragglers.

When Douglas arrived before Athlone, which was on the 17th of July, he found the English Town destroyed, and the bridge broken down. He then sent a drummer to the Honourable Colonel Grace, to demand the speedy surrender of the garrison. The loyal Governor fired a pistol shot over the head of the messenger, which he did not intend to take effect, saying at the same time—"These are my terms; these only will I give or receive; and when my provisions are consumed I will eat my old boots."

On receiving this reply, Lieutenant-General Douglas planted his batteries, and opened a heavy fire on the castle and walls of Athlone. Colonel Grace hoisted a bloody flag, and his cannon kept up an unremitting fire, one of the first discharges from which killed the enemy's best gunner. The Williamites then endeavoured to pass the river at Lanesborough, but were failed in the attempt, and repulsed with considerable loss; and on the 25th, up to which time an incessant cannonade was kept up by Douglas, a rumour that Sarsfield was on his way to relieve Athlone having reached them, caused Douglas to retreat in haste, abandoning his heavy baggage, while the Rapparees, under Donal Bran, O'Connor, and other leaders, harassed his army night and day. His forces could obtain no provisions in the country through which they marched, and they suffered exceedingly until they reached the camp at Cahirconlish, which was on the 8th of August.

Donal Bran harassed them with the greatest success. He captured many of their horses, and slew several of their stragglers, whose arms he took possession of; but when the army came near Banagher, which was garrisoned by the Irish, Donal relinquished the pursuit, and returned to his head-quarters at Bunnacippaun Wood, where he deposited all the spoils, and, after taking a few days' rest, marched to Limerick, bringing with him the cavalry horses and arms which he had captured.

On arriving there, he met Captain Forster, who was exceedingly glad to see him, and Donal presented him with a letter from his father, informing him of the death of O'Shaughnessy. The Captain was stationed outside the city, on the county Clare side, where the French cavalry were also encamped.

Donal Bran and Conor O'Shaughnessy were congratulated by all their friends amongst the dragoons, on the great success with which they harassed Douglas and his cruel army. The Captain told Donal that the services of his band were now required more than ever, and said—

"The forces of the Prince of Orange have burned and pillaged all around since their arrival, but many of them have been destroyed by



you and your old friend Galloping O'Hogan ; so you had better proceed in the evening, cross the Shannon at O'Brien's Bridge, and act in conjunction with the other Rapparee leaders. Take every possible care to obtain all the intelligence you can about any reinforcements that may come to William's camp. The horses you have brought will be distributed amongst such of our officers as require them for the use of their several regiments. But come now to my tent and have some refreshment."

After partaking heartily of a substantial meal, Donal Bran was soon at the head of his mounted Rapparees, and crossed the Shannon at the first dawn of the morning. He made towards a mountain near Castle Connell, and sent scouts of horse and foot, who were natives of the county, to try and fall in with other bands of Rapparees. After some hours they were discerned returning, accompanied by a strong body of horsemen, who soon joined Donal's band. The celebrated Rapparee Chiefs, Galloping O'Hogan and the White Sergeant, rode at the head of the party. The former was a tall, dark-haired man, of great physical strength and mental capacity ; and the latter, although not so tall as O'Hogan, was considered one of the ablest of the Guerilla Chiefs. Warm were the greetings which were now exchanged between them, while their horses were being unsaddled and fed. Some of the different bands commenced to empty their haversacks, and spread on the mountain side an ample supply of provisions and several bottles of usquebaugh. Having partaken of this repast, they smoked their pipes, and held a long and serious conversation with regard to their future movements. The three leaders then resolved to unite, and proceed to Roscrea and wait there until night, and then intercept the Williamite stragglers who were likely to pass. After a few days they were successful in surprising some strong detachments of the enemy ; for, indeed, it was their wont, since the war began, to perform several signal services for their country, many of which might be envied by the regular army.

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## CHAPTER XXII.

### THE PRINCE OF ORANGE BESIEGES LIMERICK.

EARLY on the morning of the 9th of August, 1690, the Prince of Orange marched from Cahirconlish, at the head of his army, towards the city of Limerick.

At a remote period in Irish history, a sanguinary battle was fought here, between the Kings of Munster and Connaught. The armies of both these princes engaged at the fords while the tide was out ; and so intensely were their minds bent on each other's destruction, that they did not perceive its gradual return until quite close to them, when they threw down their shields and fled in haste, to save themselves from being drowned, which being observed by the spectators, they exclaimed—"The pool is covered with shields," from which saying the town received the name of 'Luimneach,' 'Luimne' in ancient Irish signifying a shield.

From a very early period, Limerick was a place of considerable importance, and is called by the Greek geographer, Ptolemy, 'Regia.' In 433, the celebrated St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland, crossed the Shannon at Limerick, on his route to Connaught. In the year 540, Guara, King of Connaught, invaded the kingdom of Munster, but was defeated by Dioma, King of Cashel. In the reign of Fedelim, King of Munster, in 812, the Danes, for the first time, sailed up the Shannon, and captured Limerick, which they pillaged, and burned the ancient monastery of Mungret, which was founded by St. Patrick, but were afterwards defeated with great loss by the native Irish. Though often baffled, these persevering and warlike people again landed in the year 815, under the command of the fierce Turgesius (88), who encouraged them in cruelty and rapine for thirty years, and after this long period of desolation he was proclaimed King of Ireland. The Danes conquered Limerick in 855, and were finally driven from Ireland by Brian Boroimhe, in 1014. Limerick did not become subject to English law until the death of Donald O'Brien, King of Limerick, in 1194. On the Monday after Michaelmas-day, 1195, the first Provost of Limerick, John Spafford, was sworn in, and it continued to be governed by Provosts until 1198, when Richard I., surnamed Cœur de Lion, granted the inhabitants a charter empowering them to elect Mayors and Bailiffs. The first Mayor was Adam Sarvant, and John Bambery and Walter White were the first Bailiffs. The City of London did not receive a similar honour for ten years after—namely in 1207 ; Dublin in 1308, and Cork in 1318. Limerick was formed into a county in 1210, by King John, who also caused a castle and stone bridge to be built in the city. The See of Limerick was founded in the sixth century by St. Munchin, who was its first Bishop. The Danes having embraced Christianity in the tenth century, several of them in course of time became Bishops of Limerick.

On arriving before this ancient city, the Prince of Orange spent the greater part of the day in selecting the best ground for planting cannon,

erecting breast-works, and throwing up trenches. Having completed all his arrangements to his satisfaction, he next summoned the city to surrender; but Monsieur de Boisseleau (89), the Governor, who was a French officer and an able engineer, indignantly dismissed the trumpeter, saying—"I am surprised at such an impertinent summons, and hope I will gain the good opinion of the Prince of Orange more by a vigorous and honourable defence, than by a shameful surrender of this fortress, the care of which I am entrusted with by his Majesty King James." The Prince of Orange was exceedingly astonished at this defiant answer, as he considered it would cause great loss of life to try to maintain the city, which, at farthest, he felt confident, would be in his possession in two or three days; and there were many in the town who were of the same opinion, as the walls, which were old, were only defended by a few shattered towers. But those who were willing to surrender were overruled by a stronger party, to which belonged the Duke of Berwick and Sarsfield, whose mottoes were—"Nil desperandum," and "No surrender," and who said, "If Limerick falls, we will fall with it."

The Williamite army encamped for the night at Singland, and next morning four large cannon were planted on Gallows Green to open fire on the city, and Godert, Baron de Ginckell (90), was ordered to cross the Shannon near St. Thomas's Island, which movement he effected close to the house of Sir Samuel Foxon (91), by means of a bridge of pontoons, the Irish having previously retired. On this day, also, a gunner deserted from the besieging army, and informed the Irish officers in the city of the exact position of the Prince's tent, and that he expected a train of artillery, with a large supply of ammunition, baggage provisions, and other necessaries, which, he felt sure, would be able to reduce the city in a few days, particularly as a large number of pontoons were also expected, to enable the troops to cross the Shannon.

On Monday, the 11th of August, six twelve-pounders were placed at Gallows Green, which, on opening fire, did much damage to many of the houses in the city. But the Irish gunners, under the direction of De Boisseleau, kept up such a steady and heavy fire against the besiegers, which was more particularly directed towards where the Prince's tent was pitched, that several showers of large ball having fallen in this quarter, many men and horses were killed, and the tent being somewhat injured, the Prince of Orange saw that, for his own safety, it was necessary to have it removed, which was accordingly done.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

## SARSFIELD INTERCEPTS THE WILLIAMITE CONVOY.

WHEN the Irish officers received the information given by the Williamite deserter, the brave Sarsfield privately resolved to intercept the expected convoy. He accordingly proceeded to the camp where the Irish dragoons were stationed, and, calling some of the officers around him, ordered them to have choice men selected, to the number of 800, for this purpose. Meeting the Chief of Moyriesk, Captain Forster, and the Stacpooles, he asked them to be of the party. They were rejoiced at the prospect of action, as they had been inactive since the battle of the Boyne, and, addressing them, Sarsfield said—

“Our city walls have not even a fosse to add to their strength, and that traitor, De Lauzun, as you are aware, has carried off to Galway his twenty pieces of cannon, with a large quantity of arms and ammunition, and left but very little powder behind; so I have resolved to make a dash against the enemy, whatever the consequence may be. Therefore, my friends, let the 800 cavalry be in readiness this evening, without any show or parade, to silently follow me.”

The officers then retired to their respective tents, to prepare to meet Sarsfield at the appointed hour. On the approach of night, each officer led forth his men in silence, and proceeded to the place of meeting. Shortly afterwards, the tall and warlike figure of Sarsfield, mounted on his charger, rode over Thomond Bridge. He was enveloped in a large cloak, and his eyes flashed with eagerness. On coming up to the others he whispered—“Let not a word be spoken, but let us march slowly, and in silence. Remember my instructions.” The officers merely made a forward motion with their swords to indicate their acquiescence, and then moved on. After proceeding some miles their commander said—“Now, my men, we cannot be heard by the enemies’ pickets, so we may move on a little faster.” The party gradually increased their speed until they arrived at Killaloe, and passed the Irish guard there at break of day. They then rode at full gallop towards the high-land, and, after traversing several miles, drew up in a deep valley of the Keeper Mountains, where they halted. Sarsfield now called the officers together, and directed them to order the men to breakfast, and to have some scouts sent out to watch the convoy. The latter soon returned, having fallen in with Donal Bran, Galloping O’Hogan, and the White Sergeant, who had met the convoy,

and were on their way to Limerick to inform the garrison when they were met by the scouts. On hearing that the convoy was approaching from Cashel towards Ballyneddy, Sarsfield put his men in rapid motion, who were shortly after in ambush in the neighbourhood of that place. Towards evening the large convoy was seen advancing along the road, closely guarded by 1,000 foot. They halted, and pitched their tents in a field off the road, adjacent to the ruined castle of Ballyneddy, let their horses loose to graze, and lit their camp fires. The Irish watched all these movements from their ambuscade, and Sarsfield, considering it was time for action, charged them at full speed, exclaiming in answer to the challenge of a Williamite sentinel—"Sarsfield is the word, and Sarsfield is the man." The Williamites were so terror-stricken that they were unable either to collect or mount their horses, and they fell before the impetuous charge of the Irish dragoons, who cut them to pieces as they advanced. They then quickly dismounted, loaded the cannon, and burying the muzzle of each gun in the earth, piled over them the powder waggons, carts, and pontoons, and, having applied a match to a train of powder which they had attached, rode off triumphantly. They had not galloped far, however, when they felt the ground shaken by a tremendous explosion, and saw the cannon, pontoons, and waggons blown high into the air, and afterwards fall in shattered fragments to the earth, while the country was illuminated by the bright blaze for many miles around. On witnessing the total destruction of the convoy on which William placed so much hopes, a loud cheer of exultation burst from the Irish dragoons, for they now knew that Limerick was saved, and the Prince's design of taking that city frustrated.

The Prince of Orange, from the commencement of the siege had placed all his hopes of success on the train of artillery, and very justly too, for had it reached him at that time, his men not being yet disheartened by the fatigues of a long and weary siege, would have attacked the city with so much energy that it is doubtful what might have been the result. On the other hand, Sarsfield, who, together with being a good general, was bold and determined, was no sooner informed by the gunner that the Williamite artillery was expected, than he planned its destruction; for he well knew that the achievement of such a great and unexpected success on his part would cause dismay in the Williamite ranks, while it would be the means of encouraging the besieged to renewed efforts of resistance. He now ordered the dragoons to increase their speed, being informed by Donal Bran and Galloping O'Hogan, who were on the *qui vive*, that some English cavlary were slowly approaching. This was a strong body of dragoons, under Sir John Lanier, who were de-

spatched from the Williamite camp to intercept Sarsfield, the Prince of Orange having been informed, on the morning of the 11th, by two landed proprietors (92), from the county of Clare, of his march, who had observed him on the previous night while passing by their houses, and now expected to be largely rewarded for their information.

After Lanier's (93) departure to meet the convoy, William became more uneasy, and ordered two other bodies of dragoons to follow him.

Sir John Lanier being near when the explosion took place his dragoons were terribly frightened by the loud report, which many of them believed was caused by an earthquake, but what was their dismay, on reaching the scene of destruction, to behold the *debris* formed by the mutilated bodies of their comrades, and the wreck of their cannon, waggons, and pontoons. They next beheld in the distance the Irish dragoons, who gave a loud shout in derision, as they moved on through the hills. Sir John Lanier was not joined by the two other bodies of horse that were directed to follow him, but rode leisurely after the Irish, who waited for him at some distance, and, when his advanced guard appeared received them with a destructive volley. Many of the Williamites fell, and the Irish continued their march. The Williamites then held a consultation, the result of which was that they resolved to give up the pursuit, fearing that they might be entrapped by Sarsfield among the hills, and returned, crestfallen and discontented, to their camp.

Sarsfield pursued his way to Killaloe, and, having rested his men for some time in that place, again gave the order to mount; soon crossed the bridge over the Shannon, and triumphantly entered Limerick, amidst the cheers and benedictions of the grateful people whom he had saved by his determination and gallant conduct.

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## CHAPTER XXIV.

### THE PRINCE OF ORANGE IS COMPELLED TO RAISE THE SIEGE.

THE news of the convoy having been blown up by Sarsfield created the greatest discontent imaginable in the Williamite camp, and many of the soldiers openly asserted that it was owing to the carelessness of Lord Portland, the Count de Solmes, and Sir John Lanier. But the Prince of Orange was possessed of more than ordinary patience, and when intelligence of this misfortune reached him he at once resolved to



wait for a week, until he would have received another field-train of artillery from Waterford, before he renewed hostilities.

On the night of the 17th, the Williamites threw up several entrenchments, which they manned with a force consisting of seven battalions, under the command of the Duke de Wirtemberg, Sir Henry Bellasyse, Majors-General the Count Tetteau and Kirke, and after a short fire beat a party of the Irish out of James's Fort, about twenty having been killed on each side.

On the 19th, having planted their new batteries, the Prince of Orange rode from his tent to examine them, but when about passing through a breach in an old wall, near Ireton's Fort, he stopped to give orders to a Dutch officer. At that moment, a ball from a twenty-four pounder fired from the walls of Limerick, fell beside the breach, and within a yard of the Prince; and then, taking an oblique direction, killed a Danish soldier who was receiving orders from an officer, at a short distance from where it first fell.

The Williamites had now planted on their batteries thirty-six large cannon, and four mortars; with which, for several days, they furiously fired shot and shell at the time-worn and battered walls of the beleaguered city. This incessant cannonading was continued without intermission, the besiegers throwing red hot shot and shell as thick as hail into the city, with little result until the 27th, when the miners succeeded in making a breach twelve yards in width, in the wall near St. John's Gate. The English then prepared, with a force of 10,000 men and a strong reserve of cavalry, to storm the city. The English, Huguenots, Dutch, Danes, Hanoverians, Brandenburgers, Swiss, and Northerns were animated with the prospect of plundering the town, and of murdering the garrison and inhabitants. To lull the Irish into fancied security, the Prince of Orange commanded the batteries to cease firing while he drew up, privately and in silence, an enormous storming division of his army behind the entrenchments.

The signal for the assault was given at half past three o'clock, on a warm summer day, by the firing of three cannon in rapid succession, when all the Williamite batteries hurled a tremendous fire of shot and shell on the city. The storming party now rushed on, firing their muskets and pistols, and throwing their grenades. The Irish did not expect this sudden assault, and the enemy entered the breach, and a body of them even descended into the street below before the Irish had time to rush from all quarters to resist them. The church-bells were tolled to alarm the inhabitants and the cry, "The enemy are within the walls—to arms, to arms!" was soon heard through every street and

alley in the city. A few minutes after the first alarm was given a strong party of the citizens, under the command of the Mayor, John Power, of Drogheda, who was a Catholic, came in contact with the enemy. De Boisseleau, being recommended to do so by Sarsfield, ordered the women to withdraw, as they were endangering their own lives, and preventing the men from exerting themselves in the defence. They, however, resolutely refused to obey the Governor, and some of them rushed into the thickest of the fight, armed with swords, pikes, and other weapons which had belonged to the slain. More of these brave and patriotic women were to be seen, amidst the wild confusion of the desperate conflict, hurling pike-heads, stones, broken bottles, and other destructive missiles at the enemy, while, at the same time, they encouraged their husbands and brothers by telling them to remember how even the Protestant females were treated by the cruel army, under the command of Douglas, while on its march to and from Athlone. The Irish now closed with the enemy in the street, who in a short time were mostly all killed. They then fired two cannon, well charged with cartridge shot which had been placed, by order of De Boisseleau, behind the entrenchment, which was opposite the breach. This had the effect of considerably thinning a party of the enemy that was rapidly approaching. The Irish then rushed forward with a loud cheer to support their companions, who manned the walls on each side of the breach. The Williamites being driven from it, their commanders, who were eager to plunder the city, and enraged at seeing their men repeatedly repulsed and defeated, ordered thousands up to the breach; and even the Prince of Orange, who was remarkable for his coolness, and who was standing all this time on Cromwell's Fort, became very excited, and exclaimed sharply "Send up more reinforcements quickly," and a stream of stormers endeavoured to advance. De Boisseleau injudiciously ordered several of the Irish battalions from the breach, but the officers and soldiers did not obey him. They manned it bravely, and rushed on to drive the stormers back. In this they were valiantly seconded by the people of Limerick, the women surpassing the men in courage. The former boldly stood on the breach in front of their own soldiers, and abused and defied the enemy to dare enter the city. When the fighting was warmest a party of Irish cavalry, who were encamped on the Clare side of the city, hearing the uproar, mounted their horses, and dashed at full speed to Ball's Bridge. Here they reined in, and, having dismounted, turned their horses loose, which added greatly to the confusion, as the horses in their flight trampled down several of the people. The dragoons then drew their swords, and shouting, "Remember the Boyne,"

rushed down through Broad-street, determined to deal death and destruction to their enemies. The Prince of Orange continued to send reinforcements to the breach. The flank of the storming party was continually fired at with great effect by two cannon posted on the King's Island, and a party of 500 Irish rushed from a battery, ran round the wall, and charged the enemy's rear, and, after committing great havoc among them, returned in safety. For three and a half hours the Williamites persisted in the attack, during which time, amidst an incessant fire, and the roaring of cannon and musketry, the wild shouts of the combatants almost rent the air, which was darkened with dense smoke. The Irish officers, soldiers, townsmen, women, Raparees, and even boys of fourteen years of age, never flinched from the wall, towers, or breach ; while the priests, regardless of their own safety, zealously attended to the wounded and dying, and the flags of King James, rent by many a bullet, waved triumphantly over the walls and castle of unconquered Limerick ! (94).

William's eyes now sparkled with delight ; for, though he saw his men beaten from the breach, the Brandenburg Regiment, on which he always relied in time of danger, was in possession of the Black Battery. But part of the Governor's plan was to undermine this battery, and just as the Brandenburgers were about rushing into the city, confident of success, he caused the train of powder which he had previously laid down to be ignited, and from the explosion which followed, in less than a second the ground heaved, the shattered old turrets rocked to their very foundations, and, amidst a report louder than thunder, the Brandenburg Regiment, 400 strong, with wild cries of despair, were blown high into the air, fell, and strewed the earth with the fragments of their blackened and mutilated bodies. Their survivors, who had not entered the fort, fled back to their trenches in horror, and dismay was depicted on the countenances of the soldiers, as they considered the awful and untimely fate their companions had met with, who but a few minutes before, with all the reckless daring for which they had become proverbial through scenes of blood and death, were so confident of success.

A dreadful silence for a time reigned through the camp and the city, but when the Irish recollected that they were victorious, and that it was their enemies who were slain, they gave the retreating Williamites a parting volley, and, turning their eyes on the Sunburst of Erin, which now proudly waved over the citadel, expressed their joy at their deliverance in a loud and hearty cheer, which, reverberating over the distant hills and through the sequestered valleys of the county of Clare, was taken up by the peasantry for many miles around.

A large party of the garrison pursued, sword in hand, the retreating Williamites, to their very camp, and in the fierce conflict which ensued a shot fired from the city walls, happening to strike the hospital in which the wounded Williamite soldiers were lodged, set it on fire, and another, in a few minutes after, passed through a temporary magazine, which, exploding, killed several of the soldiers who were near at the time. When the Irish saw the hospital on fire, they were actuated by feelings of humanity, and, forgetting every other consideration save that of rescuing the helpless invalids, they rushed through their enemies, and, forcing their way through the lurid streets of flame, succeeded in accomplishing their laudable object, and afterwards fought their way back to the walls of the city!!

Early next morning the Prince of Orange sent a drummer to Limerick, to request a truce for the purpose of burying his dead. This was refused by the Irish, and De Boisseleau told the messenger to inform the Prince that as loyal subjects of the King the garrison could grant him no favour while he remained within cannon-shot of the city; therefore if he wished to have his dead interred he should first retire from before the walls. The Prince of Orange, on hearing this, became passionate and reckless, and offered to lead his men in person in another attack on the city, but they refused, and he became so disgusted that he immediately retreated, with the intention of returning to England and never again setting foot on the Emerald Isle (95).

The English army, over 36,000 strong, was thus foiled, with a loss of about 5,000 men, not including those intercepted by Sarsfield, while the loss the Irish sustained in this attack alone did not exceed 400, and that of the English was 2,158 killed and wounded, including British, Anglo-Irish, Huguenots, Dutch, Danes, Hanoverians, Brandenburgers or Prussians, and 163 officers, fourteen of whom were field-officers. The entire loss of the Irish during this siege was only 1,062 soldiers and 97 officers, killed or wounded, an inconsiderable number compared to the loss of the Williamites. Accordingly, on Sunday, the 31st of August, the last of the Williamites retreated from before the walls of unconquered Limerick.

When the Prince of Orange entered Waterford he was received by David Lloyde, the Mayor, and by the Sheriffs, Benjamin Bolton and Benjamin Lamb. The Prince, having appointed Baron de Ginckell and Count de Solmes to the joint command of his army in Ireland, took shipping at Duncannon Fort, and sailed for England on the 5th of September, 1690. On the 15th of the same month Viscount Sydney, Sir Charles Porter, and Thomas Coningsby, who were adherents of the Prince of Orange, were sworn in Lords Justices of the kingdom of Ireland.

## CHAPTER XXV.

## THE CITIZENS OF GALWAY CLOSE THEIR GATES AGAINST DE LAUZUN.

AFTER the defeat of the Irish army at the battle of the Boyne, the Duke de Lauzun, with much ability, conducted the retreat to Limerick; but on hearing that the Irish intended to maintain that city against the Prince of Orange, being in no way daunted by their late defeat, he resolutely refused to take part in its defence.

On the 10th of August, the day after the Prince of Orange besieged Limerick, the Duke of Tyrconnell, without consulting Sarsfield or the other Irish officers, ordered the regiments which guarded the fords to withdraw from thence and march to Galway. This treacherous act, together with his former vacillating conduct, caused the Irish to mistrust the Duke, and made them believe that he secretly favoured the Prince of Orange, as by this movement he left a passage open for William to send part of his army to the Connaught side, and thereby completely surround the city. Indeed, on the 11th, part of the Williamite cavalry, having crossed, made a display as if it was their intention to besiege the city on that side also. However, though they quickly returned, the Duke of Tyrconnell and the Duke de Lauzun were so alarmed that they retired in great haste, resolved to take refuge in Galway, where the latter intended to take shipping and return to his native country. He had under his command 3,000 French troops, the remainder having already sailed for France, under the Marquis de la Hoguette, *Maréchal-de-Camp*. But this vain man little knew the honourable and upright character of the inhabitants of the city of Galway, which he was now approaching.

Galway is a county of a town, situated on the north side of Galway Bay, 53° 14' north, 9° 3' west, 126½ miles west of Dublin, and fifty-one miles north-north-west of Limerick, and in all probability is the 'Nuguatha' of Ptolemy, from the circumstance of its ancient appellation of Cuan Nuguactie—the Harbour of the Small Islands. The town is built on both sides of a river, which has its source in Lough Corrib, anciently called Lough Orsben, the largest lake in Connaught, covering 30,000 acres, and having a subterranean communication with Lough Mask at Cong. After passing the ferry at Knock, the lake becomes an extensive sheet of water until within three miles of Galway, where it assumes the character of a river, which it retains until, after passing through the town, it falls into the bay. In ancient times, or long previous to the first ar-

rival of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland, in May, 1169, the district in which Galway stands was vested in the O'Hallorans, a sept of Milesian race. It was called *Clan-fir-gall*, the Town of the Foreign Merchants, from a number of enterprising strangers having settled there, where they carried on a considerable trade. It was also called *Ballinshruane*, or the Town of the Little Streams. In 835 the plundering Danes, under their fierce leader, Turgesius, ravaged the kingdom of Connaught, and burned the village, which then stood on the present site of Galway. In 1124 the village was rebuilt, and although composed of small huts, a strong castle was erected. It was again plundered in 1128, by the O'Fflaherties and other septs. In 1132 a party of Dalcassians sailed across the bay from Thomond, demolished the castle, burned the village, and slew many of the inhabitants. They also killed Conor O'Fflahertie, Chieftain of Iar-Connaught, and in 1149 Torlough O'Brien, the warlike King of Munster, invaded Connaught, and destroyed the fort called *Dunebun-na-gaileve*. In 1154 a fleet sailed from Galway to the North, to wage war against the O'Neills and O'Donnells, and lay waste Tyrone and Tyrconnell. Galway was consumed by fire in 1161. This year, also, a large army, composed of the people of Iar-Connaught, sailed to Thomond, and, having burned all the houses in the west of Corcomroe, slew many hundreds of the inhabitants, and carried off a great prey of cattle and many other valuable things. A fleet was equipped in Connaught—several of its crew being Galway men—and, when ready, departed on a plundering expedition. It sailed up the Shannon as far as Tipperary, and remained there from November until May. In 1170 Galway was accidentally burned; so that when the Anglo-Normans invaded the kingdom of Connaught, in 1177, they found only five families, mostly those of fishermen who resided there under the protection of the native Irish. In the year 1177 there was a great storm, by which several buildings were destroyed, and in 1178 the river of Galway dried up and remained so for three days. Ancient arms and coins were found in its bed. The Normans, also for the first time, invaded the kingdom of Thomond. In the following year, 1179, William Fitz Adelm de Burgh, being in England, succeeded in procuring from Henry II. a grant of Connaught, which, although of no advantage to him, not being acknowledged by the native inhabitants as their lord, caused, notwithstanding, internal warfare, confusion and misery, which lasted for many long years. In 1190 the river of Galway again dried up. A considerable quantity of old arms and other curiosities were found in its bed, the principal of which were a broad steel axe, and a spear-head, one cubit in length. In 1210 the King of Connaught proceeded to Westmeath, and



paid homage for the first time to King John, who held his Court there, and gave him four hostages as security for his fidelity, whom John took with him on his return to England. In 1230 Richard de Burgh, Lord of Connaught, marched into that kingdom, and having laid waste the greater portion of it, besieged the castle of Galway, which was occupied by Aodh or Odo O'Fflahertie, Chieftain of Iar-Connaught, but the castle being relieved on the west side by a large force of the native Irish under Odo, King of Connaught, De Burgh raised the siege. In 1232 Richard de Burgh built a large and strong castle for his town residence in Galway, which ultimately became the capital of Connaught. This fortress was afterwards known as the Red Earl's Castle. At this period the following families resided in Galway, some of whom were settled there for a long time previous to the Norman Invasion:—

Bermingham.	Kancaorach.
Butler.	Lefickhall.
Burke.	Long.
Barrett.	Lawless.
Burdon.	Lambert.
Brunt.	Moylan.
Blundell.	Muneghan.
Branegan.	Moore.
Begg.	Nolan.
Calfe.	Penrice.
Cale.	Pont.
Coppinger.	Quirk.
Crean.	Quinn.
Colman.	Sage.
Develin.	Semper.
Fallon.	Tierney.
Faherty.	Tully.
Ffrihin.	Valley.
Howth.	Verdon.
Howe.	Weider.
Kellerie.	Wall.
Kerwick.	White.

In 1233, Odo, King of Connaught having, died, Fedelim O'Connor, his relative, gained his liberty, and was proclaimed king. He then destroyed the castles of Galway Dunamon, Kirk Island, and Hag's Castle. The town and castle of Galway were burned to the ground in 1247, and

in 1270 walls to encompass the new town were commenced, but were not completed for many years after. In 1271, Walter de Burgh, Earl of Ulster and Lord of Connaught, died in his castle at Galway, and in 1274 Thomas Lynch is recorded as having been Provost of the town. In 1276, an attempt was made to plunder Galway by the neighbouring septs, but after a fight of a few hours they were successfully resisted by the inhabitants, and the security afforded by the strong walls by which it was encompassed at this period, induced many to settle in the town, who enriched themselves by trade and commerce, which was so prosperous that the customs amounted this year to £40 15s. 0½*d.* As the town grew wealthier, it became more subject to pillage; and, seeing it was necessary for their protection to do so, the inhabitants, in 1277, entered into an alliance with Dermot More O'Brien, grandson of Teige, surnamed Aluinn, who resided at Tromra, in Thomond. Shortly after, this bold Chieftain received a grant, from the enterprising merchants of Galway, of 12 tuns of wine, which they covenanted to be paid yearly by them and their heirs, to him and his heirs, provided they maintained a suitable fleet to protect the town from the incursions of invaders. In 1288, the neighbouring septs made an unsuccessful attempt to burn the town, and in 1290 Richard Blake was Portrieve, which office he retained during the two following years, and in 1301 Walter Ffrench was Portrieve, when many strangers settled in the town. Walter Ffrench again filled this office in 1303, when, in consequence of the unsettled state of affairs, the customs of the town had fallen so much that they now only amounted to £4 7s. 1*d.* The New Customs, which was the name given to a tax imposed this year, of three pence in the pound, on all merchandize imported by foreigners, was granted to the Crown, but towards the close of the same year this tax was let for twelve months to Richard Blake, for the sum of £32. In 1305, when Walter Ffrench was again Provost, the town was plundered by a party of the O'Fflaherties, and several of the houses were burned. In 1306, Thomas Sage and Simon Long were appointed collectors of the New Customs, and also of the wine custom, which was a tax of 2s. on every hogshead imported. On the 4th of May, 1307, the New Customs were granted to Thomas Dolphin, of Goulbully, county Galway, by letters patent from King Edward II., on the security of Edmond Husee, Philip Purcell, Richard Blake, and William Seman. In October, the Great Customs—those payable on wool, sheepskins, and leather exported—were granted to Crucheus Hubert, and the New Customs were let to Crucheus Delpas. In 1310, Andrew Gerard, a native of Florence, who traded with Galway, was keeper of the customs, but as they had fallen considerably in

consequence of the disturbed state of the times, he received an abatement in his rent. That the customs reduced may be inferred from the following quaint extract from a document of the time—"For y<sup>t</sup> it appeares, y<sup>t</sup> ye customes in Galvy wer worth lesse in y<sup>t</sup> yeare than heretofore, by reason of ye bloody ware lately raised and carryed on betweene Richard de Burgh and Richard de Clare, in ye kingdom of Tothemond." In 1311, Andrew Gerard, the foreigner, received a re-grant of the customs, on condition that he paid 50 marks yearly to the Exchequer as long as he held the same—the customs, at this time, amounting to £60. Though the town was so prosperous, it was not until 1312 that the Great Gate, and some additional new works, were made by Nicholas Lynch, the Town Marshal, who was surnamed Niger, or the Black. The Portrieve this year was Richard Blake. The Knights Templars, whose temple stood outside the east gate, being suppressed, King Edward II. granted their possessions to the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, who, after being driven from the Island of Rhodes, after a desperate siege, removed to, and became celebrated in history as the Knights of Malta. In 1313, John de Burgh, son of Richard, the Red Earl, so named from the colour of his hair, died at Galway. In 1320, the church of Galway was erected, and was dedicated to St. Nicholas of Myra, in Asia, the patron of mariners, and in 1324 the Church of St. John of Jerusalem, which was adjacent to the Church of St. Nicholas, was pulled down. This year also, Sir William de Burgh, surnamed Leigh, or the Grey, died, and was interred in the Abbey of St. Francis, of which he was the founder. Sir William left, besides daughters, seven sons, the eldest of whom, Sir William the Younger, or Ulick, was the first who was styled the Mac William Eigher, and was father of Rickard, from whom his descendants were called by the Irish Clan-Rickard, or the children of Rickard, but this name was not borne as a title of honour by the family until the reign of Henry VIII. In 1342 the stone bridge at the west was built, under the superintendence of Edmond Lynch, of Newcastle, surnamed Emun-a-Tuane, from the large quantity of wine he usually imported. On the 20th of May, 1361, King Edward III. granted to the inhabitants a Murage Charter, for the purpose of having the town walled in, and in 1375, the town had risen to such importance that the King's Staple was established for the sale of wool, woollfells, leather, &c. Previous to this period, the sale of these articles was restricted to Cork and Drogheda. This was found to be most inconvenient, as vessels had to sail from all other ports in Ireland to either of those, to pay the duty before departing on their voyages, and as some of the ships often avoided

doing so, it considerably lessened the revenues of the kingdom. Therefore, to prevent this in future, and, to use the words of the charter, "for the relief of the burgesses and merchants of the town of Galvy, and that they and other merchants of Connaught might no longer incur the dangers of shipwrecks, and other crosses, as they had heretofore suffered, by going towards the city of Cork to pay their customs," the Staple was granted to Galway. In November, 1388, many of the burgesses and citizens, under the command of Henry Blake, tolled the town bell, and declared themselves rebels to the King's authority; and, having joined William de Burgh, the Mac William Eighter, who was then in arms, delivered to him the keys of the town, but as he shortly afterwards submitted the citizens returned to their allegiance. On the 8th of November, 1396, King Richard II. granted a perpetual Murage Charter to the town, and he afterwards granted a second charter, on the 26th of January, empowering the inhabitants to elect a Sovereign annually. In 1399, Ulick Mac William of Clanrickard stormed the town, plundered the inhabitants, and carried off all the gold and silver therein. On the 12th of March, 1402, King Henry IV. granted a charter of confirmation to the town. Sir Stephen Lescrop was appointed Governor of Connaught, and Receiver of the Customs of Galway and Athenry, for one year, with the exception of the fisheries of the former place. On the 14th of February, 1442, William, son of Sir William de Burgh, was paid £10 out of the Treasury of Ireland, as a reward for his services in having enabled the King's officers to collect the customs of the port. In 1464, King Edward IV. (who deposed Henry VI. of the House of Lancaster in 1461), being anxious for the welfare of Galway, the chief city in the Lordship of Connaught, which province was his in right of his maternal ancestors, granted to the inhabitants a Murage Charter on the 28th of August, for the purpose of having the town walled in. This charter directed to have the tolls and customs expended on the walling and paving of the town, and for its greater security it was ordered that no person, no matter of what rank in the country, with the exception of the Lieutenant and Chancellor of Ireland, should be admitted within the walls without a license from the Sovereign, Provost, Bailiffs, Burgesses, and commonalty for the time being. This was principally directed against the native Irish septs, and the Anglo-Norman families, who had adopted their manners, customs, usages, and dress. In 1467, Lord Dunboyne was granted the Prisage of Limerick, Cork, Ross, Youghal, Kinsale, Dingle, and Galway. In 1484, the inhabitants obtained from Donat O'Murray, Archbishop of Tuam, permission to release the town from his jurisdic-

tion, and to change the Church of St. Nicholas into a Collegiate Church, to be governed by a Warden and Vicars, who were to be presented and solely elected by the people of the town. Accordingly a petition was forwarded to the Court of Rome, to his Holiness Innocent VIII., in which they stated that they were "modest and civil people," and that their neighbours were rude and savage, and brought up in woods and mountains, by whom they were often robbed, imprisoned, and murdered. The result was that the Pope granted a Bull of Confirmation to them. They next petitioned King Richard III., praying that he would be pleased to grant them a new charter, empowering them to elect, from thenceforth and for ever, a Mayor and Bailiffs, like other cities. Their petition also humbly prayed that all persons, including the King's Lieutenant and Chancellor, who were then privileged, be prevented from entering the town, unless they had license to do so; and they particularly requested to have Mac William Eighter for ever excluded from exercising any authority within the town. The King was graciously pleased to comply with their request, and a new charter was accordingly granted, dated at Westminster on the 15th of December. In 1485, Pierce Lynch was the first Mayor, and Andrew and James Lynch the Bailiffs. Under the new charter granted the previous year the Mayor and Bailiffs were elected on the 1st of August, and sworn in on the 29th of September following. In 1505, a fosse was cut round the town wall, into which the water of the river was turned, and it completely insulated the town. In 1538, John Ffrench was Mayor. He was born in 1489, and is represented in the Annals as a man of great wealth and unbounded liberality. He erected the great chapel on the south side of the Franciscan Friary, and also the large and handsome stone building which stood on arches over the river, and was called 'John Ffrench's Chamber.' He also made several additions to the Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas, and amongst others, erected, at considerable expense, the spacious wing extending from the north pinnacle to the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament. On the 3rd July, 1545, a charter was granted by Henry VIII., confirming all former charters, and adding considerable privileges, and on the 6th of November, 1550, Edward VI. gave a charter of confirmation to the town, but it did not confer any new privileges. In 1551, the Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas was seized in the name of the King, the Catholic Warden and Vicars were turned out, and his Majesty, by letters patent bearing date the 29th of April, declared that the transformation of the church into a Collegiate church by Pope Innocent VIII. was void, and at the same time, as Supreme Head of the Church of England, he established it in a Protestant form, and a layman

named Patrick Kirwan, was appointed Warden, eight Vicars were nominated, and several other changes made. On the 11th of February, 1603, James I. granted all the possessions of the Augustinian Friary to Sir George Carew, Knight, and in the following year the circuit for Judges of Assize commenced in the county of Galway, and for several years the Assizes were alternately held in Galway and Loughrea. On the 18th of December, 1610, a charter was granted by King James I., separating "the Town of Galway," and all castles, messuages, rivers, rivulets, lands, tenements, and other hereditaments whatsoever, lying and being within the space of two miles of every part of the said town, in a straight line, which should from thenceforth and for ever be one entire county of itself, distinct and separate from "the county of Galway, and to be called, and known as the County of the Town of Galway, that the site and precincts of the Abbey of St. Francis, and St. Augustine's Fort, and its lands should be excluded from the County of the Town, and belong to the County of Galway, that the Judges of Assize and general jail delivery might hold their sessions in said Abbey, and the Sheriffs of the County of Galway, their County Courts there. A guild of merchants of the Staple, presided over by a Mayor, and composed of two Constables, and such a number of Merchants as they, the Mayor of the Staple and his Constables, should think fit, was established. The Corporation of the town was empowered to use several ensigns and ornaments, and the Mayor, for the time being, to have a sword and mace borne before him. In this year also the bailiffs were first called Sheriffs. On the 12th of April, 1652, the gates of Galway were thrown open to the Cromwellian army, the town having surrendered after a long and obstinate siege. Sir Charles Coote directed Colonel Peter Stubbers to march in with two companies of foot and take possession of Galway. The town was at this period so strong, and of such importance, that its loss was said to have decided the fate of Ireland. Colonel Stubbers took up his quarters in the large building in High-street. His insolent soldiers were not long in the town when they commenced to persecute the peaceful and industrious inhabitants in a terrible manner. This caused the people to combine to oppose them, and they agreed among themselves to hold no intercourse whatever with Stubbers, or the troops under his command. These Families, who were of different races and settled in the town at different periods, were fourteen in number, and from the feeling of clanship which existed between them, and the determined resolution which they formed of resisting their enemies, they were contemptuously styled by the soldiers THE TRIBES. Many persons are under the erroneous impression that the tribes enjoyed some particular monopoly at the



period of the Cromwellian settlement, but such is not the case. The only real difference between those Fourteen Families and the other inhabitants of Galway was—for they enjoyed the same laws, and exercised the same privileges—that they incurred the odium of Stubbers and his Cromwellian followers. Many of the Fourteen Families having left the town after its surrender in 1652, to avoid persecution, returned again on the restoration of King Charles II., and then for the first time arrogated to themselves the privilege of electing the Warden of Galway, which was always previously done by the whole Corporation, irrespective of NAME OR RACE. The Tribes considered themselves entitled to do so on account of the loyalty of their forefathers since their first settlement in Galway, but there were several other families equally respectable residing in the town at the time, who were just as loyal as they were, and more ancient settlers. The latter would not submit to allow the rights which were enjoyed by their ancestors to be monopolized by a few, and it is evident from the charter of Incorporation granted to the town on the 12th of March, 1687, by King James II., that his Majesty intended their rights should be respected, as several Non-Tribes residing both in the town and country held office under it. However, the epithet applied by the Cromwellian soldiers was afterwards adopted by the descendants of the brave citizens as an honourable mark of distinction. The following is a list of the FOURTEEN TRIBES of Galway, with their attributes and origin:—

Names.	Attributes.	Origin.
Athy.	Suspicious.	Milesian.
Blake.	Positive.	British.
Bodkin.	Dangerous.	Italian.
Brown.	Brave.	Norman.
D'Arcy.	Stout.	Norman.
Deane.	Devout.	Norman.
Ffaunt.	Barren.	Norman.
Ffrench.	Prating.	Norman.
Joyce.	Merry.	British.
Kirwan.	Stigy.	Milesian.
Lynch.	Proud.	Austrian.
Martyn.	Litigious.	Norman.
Morris.	Plausible.	Norman.
Skerrett.	Obstinate.	Norman.

As the Duke de Lauzun approached the town, he flattered himself that he would get a most hospitable reception, but the people of Galway

had heard of his base conduct, and were aware that the strong and well-armed force which now accompanied him was taken away from Limerick, at a critical moment when they were most required, and that he had also brought with him twenty pieces of cannon, together with large quantities of ammunition and provisions. They knew he did all in his power to discourage the garrison of Limerick, by telling them that the King's cause was for ever lost in Ireland, that the soldiers were not only newly raised, and badly armed, but cowardly and ignorant; that their officers knew nothing of etiquette, heraldry, or precedence, and were not fit society for the elegant French gentlemen sent over to assist King James, by the great Louis, King of France; and that he was sure the city of Limerick, on which they and Sarsfield so much relied, could be captured, if only pelted with roasted apples. Under these circumstances, the inhabitants of Galway could only recognise him as a traitor, and accordingly closed the gates of the town against him, though they joyfully received the Duke of Tyrconnell, in consequence of being the King's Viceroy. On being refused admittance by the citizens, the Duke de Lauzun marched to Torlough-na-Franca, about ten miles from Galway, on the Athenry road, where he encamped, and afterwards returned to Limerick, by Gortinsiguara. On reaching Limerick he expressed great surprise, on finding that the city had so very successfully withstood the siege, and restored the ammunition to Sarsfield which he had taken with him to Galway, and which in itself greatly endangered the safety of the city, for at the time the Prince of Orange retreated from before the walls, the Irish had only fifty barrels of powder remaining. When De Lauzun returned to France, he was cashiered for his bad conduct while in Ireland—and would have been imprisoned in the Bastille, but for the interference of Queen Mary Beatrice (96), and King James, who interceded for him with Louis XIV.

The Chief of Clooneene heard, with regret, from his friend Arthur Ffrench, of Tyrone, who was then staying in Galway, of De Lauzun's treachery, and was disappointed to learn, that the troops sent over by the King of France had returned to their own country, for he knew that if they had been commanded by Sarsfield they would have rendered good service. In the course of the day, however, he was rejoiced at receiving a letter from his grandson, informing him of the retreat of the Prince of Orange from Limerick. This welcome news rapidly spread abroad, and was received with joy by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, who manifested their delight by erecting a large bonfire near the Rock of Durragh. On the ensuing day, during

which the demonstrations were continued, the Chief added much to the general mirth, by directing Costellan to order at his wine merchant's in Galway a large quantity of groceries to entertain the people with. On this day he also invited several of the neighbouring gentry to dine with him, and the evening was passed very pleasantly, all being well pleased with the daring conduct of Sarsfield and De Boisseleau, and the company only regretted that the former was not in command of the Irish army. The gallant conduct of Donal Bran, and his band, was also discussed, and the guests unanimously bestowed the highest praise on the dauntless Rapparee, who now commanded 400 trustworthy men, not one of whom was ever known to desert, or in any way betray the confidence reposed in them by their fearless leader.

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## CHAPTER XXVI.

### DISAFFECTION AMONG THE WILLIAMITES.

THE English army having abandoned the siege of Limerick, part of the forces marched to Carrigalis, on Saturday the 30th of August, taking with them the greater part of the cannon, which was guarded by the regiments of Lord Drogheda and Steward. Their march was, however, slow and cautious, the officers feeling uneasy lest they might be attacked or intercepted by the Rapparees. This feeling of uneasiness was increased, on account of the ground being swamped in several places, owing to the late heavy fall of rain, but particularly as they had only oxen to draw the heavy ordnance. The scarcity of horses was occasioned by the capture of those which were conveying the cannon at Ballyneddy by Sarsfield, the great number lost during the siege, and those that were sent to convey the wounded Williamites to Clonmel and Cashel. The officers also feared that their men would desert if attacked, as they were already quite discontented, and continually and loudly clamouring for their pay, which up to this they had not asked for, being fully satisfied with plundering the country they passed through. The dissatisfaction among the soldiers was so intense, that many of them actually refused to accompany their officers on the march when setting out; and when pressed to do so, threatened to desert, and join the Irish garrison in Limerick, which some of them

really did ; but on being promised their pay when they would have reached Cullen, they made no further objection, and proceeded on the march with the rest of the troops.

On the 31st of August the whole of the Williamite army withdrew from before Limerick, and the Irish garrison, at the command of Sarsfield, fired a round from the great guns of the city to express their delight. Flags and banners were hung out from nearly all the houses, and with hearts palpitating with sensations of joy, the citizens rushed out and demolished all the fences and other fortifications which had been raised during the siege ; and to their honour be it said, did not neglect to inter the bodies of their enemies, which they found plentifully scattered about in various directions, and some of which were in an advanced state of decomposition. On this day, also, the English forces pitched their camp at Carrigalis, and afterwards marched to Cullen, where they were joined, on the 4th of September, by the newly-appointed Lords Justices who had accompanied the Prince of Orange to Waterford, and who were directed by him to arrange with the Count de Solmes and Baron de Ginckell all matters relative to the army, for the Prince wisely considered, that as the hopes entertained by the soldiers of plundering Limerick were for ever frustrated, they would undoubtedly become disaffected, and clamour for their arrears of pay. When the Lords Justices had completed their arrangements in this respect with the Commander-in-chief, and the men were paid, the army, on the 6th of the month, moved on towards Tipperary.

The conduct of the Williamites, while on their retreat, was of the most cruel and relentless nature, and their ferocity increased as they moved further from the city ; but their wicked designs on the innocent inhabitants of the country through which they marched were frustrated, to a great extent, by the ever vigilant Rapparees, who scoured that neighbourhood under Donal Bran, the White Sergeant, and Galloping O'Hogan, who acted with their usual alertness in surprising stragglers, capturing ammunition, arms, and horses, cutting off supplies, shooting sentinels, and intercepting couriers.

On the 7th of September, Lieutenant-General Douglas having received orders, proceeded at the head of a large force to take up his winter quarters in the North ; and early on the morning of the 8th, the Marquis de la Forrest and Lord Lisburn, with 400 foot and 500 horse, were despatched to attack Kilmallock. On arriving before this town, the English immediately summoned the small and badly-armed garrison to surrender to their Majesties King William III., and Queen Mary II., the lawful sovereigns of Ireland, according to the voice of

the English nation. The Irish, who scarcely mustered 200 men, seeing themselves surrounded by 900 well-disciplined troops, with four large cannon at their command, surrendered, on condition of being allowed to march out with their arms, ammunition, provision, and baggage, which were very scarce.

On the 9th a party of Rapparees, numbering about 190 men, attacked a body of over 200 armed Williamites, and succeeded in capturing some of their waggons, which contained a valuable supply of provisions, clothes, and other necessaries, intended for the use of the English camp. In this encounter the Irish also took a large number of horses, which some of their party conveyed to Sarsfield. This general calling together the officers who had lost their horses during the siege, presented them with those now taken from the enemy.

On the 10th some stragglers were shot by the Rapparees, under Donal Bran and the White Sergeant, and the despatches found on their persons conveyed to Sarsfield, by which he discovered many of the enemy's intended movements. Among these important documents were proclamations in the name of William and Mary, offering large rewards to any of their Irish 'subjects,' whether Catholic or Protestant, regular soldiers or Rapparees, who would forthwith renounce all allegiance to the 'late King,' and recognise the Prince of Orange as their monarch. These proclamations also offered the gentry full possession of their properties, and promised that they would be permitted to enjoy the same privileges as Englishmen, provided they laid down their arms and surrendered.

Early on the morning of the 11th, a party of Rapparees who were on the look out for the enemy, fell in with, and defeated, some English and Danish soldiers who were out foraying the country. They seized a number of arms and horses, but most of the enemy succeeded in escaping by flight. In a few hours after, the Rapparees, who were without a leader, believing that all was perfectly safe, divided into two small parties, each consisting of about forty men, first having agreed to meet in the evening, in the vicinity of the English camp, but at such a distance as not to be observed by the enemy, and endeavour, if possible, through the medium of their scouts, to obtain the password for the night. Some time after this separation took place, a party of the Williamites surprised one of those bands, which was led by a native of Cork, named MacCarthy, and put every one of them to the sword.

On the 13th, the Commander-in-chief having heard that Sarsfield was on his way to attack Birr, which was garrisoned for the Prince

of Orange, by a company of Colonel Tiffin's regiment, resolved to send succour there at once; for the blowing up of their cannon by that general had taught the Williamite officers that the Irish were not to be trifled with, and put them in mind of the old proverb, that 'delays are dangerous.' He therefore despatched Major-General Kirke, at the head of seven regiments, to relieve the garrison, who, on reaching Roscrea, heard with surprise that Sarsfield had already marched from Banaher Bridge, and attacked the castle, which received at his hands a considerable amount of injury. Kirke, therefore, on the 16th, marched in the direction of the town, within three miles of which he was joined by Sir John Lanier and a large body of cavalry. But notwithstanding this reinforcement, he had also under his command Levison's dragoons, and the greater part of Sir Albert Cunningham's, with Lord Oxford's, Sir John Lanier's, his own, and two other horse regiments; and also Drogheda's, Lisburn's, Hanmer's, Earl's, Kirke's, Meath's, and Cutt's foot regiments. Still, with this great force, he feared to venture an attack on the Irish, and despatched a courier to Maryborough—which was called after Queen Mary I., of England, eldest daughter of Henry VIII., and wife of Phillip II., King of Spain—where Lieutenant-General Douglas was then stationed, to request reinforcements from him. He then returned to Roscrea, lest Sarsfield might fall upon him, without waiting to be first attacked; but in this he was mistaken, as Sarsfield was too good a general to rashly encounter such powerful odds, when there was no necessity for doing so.

On the morning of Wednesday, the 17th, having first received the desired reinforcements from Douglas, Kirke retrograded in the direction of Birr, with an overwhelming force to relieve that town, and give battle to Sarsfield. But what a disappointment he met with, and how unexpected! Sarsfield, without being aware of Kirke's movements, had changed his mind with regard to the attack on Birr, and on the arrival of the English troops they found that the Irish had decamped, with the exception of a few stragglers and videttes who had remained behind, and with whom the English horse engaged. While this unequal encounter was taking place, the Irish retreated to a still greater distance, and on the 19th returned to Banaher Bridge, but not without leaving evident traces of their presence behind them, for before marching they attacked the outposts and sentries of the Williamite camp, and killed several of the enemy.

On the 13th, also, the Commander-in-chief ordered Major-General Scravenmore and the Count Tetteau to march with 12,000 cavalry and two Danish foot regiments to Mallow, *en route* for the city of Cork.



On the 14th, the remainder of the English forces proceeded to Cashel, there to await further orders, while divisions of the Dutch and Danish regiments were despatched to Waterford and Clonmel, and the Huguenots ordered to Carlow. Soon after the Count de Solmes embarked for England, and Baron de Ginckell, a countryman of the Prince of Orange, was appointed Commander-in-chief of the Williamite army in Ireland.

This nobleman was a great favourite with the Prince, who naturally preferred the Dutch to the English, whom he secretly mistrusted, lest they might be induced at any time to return to their allegiance to the King, and it was owing to this reason he employed such a large number of mercenary troops during his campaign in Ireland. The Prince of Orange looked upon England as if it was merely a province of Holland, and considered its army, its navy, its great national wealth, and all its other resources should be made use of to advance the interests of Holland, and to check the ambition of Louis XIV., the ally of James II., for his ruling passion was to humble, and if possible to conquer, the Kingdom of France!

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## CHAPTER XXVII.

### THE EARL OF MARLBOROUGH ARRIVES IN CORK.

THE Prince of Orange began to become very unpopular in England shortly before his unsuccessful siege of the city of Limerick. Although the bigoted portion of the English people at first viewed him as their deliverer from the arbitrary power of a tyrant, and as the champion of Protestantism, a great number soon changed their opinions, and now only regarded him in the light of an ambitious foreigner, and one who took no interest whatever in promoting their welfare, or in advancing the prosperity of their country. They were, therefore, but little rejoiced to hear of his victory at the Boyne, and took advantage of its incompleteness to question his competency as a general. They also asserted that had he managed with prudence at the Boyne, Ireland would have been completely subdued. These unfavourable opinions were secretly encouraged by the Princess Anne of Denmark, and more so by the adherents of the dethroned King, who one and all privately endeavoured to lessen the Prince of Orange in the estimation of the people by pointing out the great expense necessary to maintain so large an army as his

in Ireland, and by showing how England had lost her prestige among the nations of Europe since she conferred on the Dutch Prince the dignity of King. Many of the people also maintained that as it was England which supported his large army in Ireland, it was only justice that English generals should at least participate in the honours of whatever victories might be achieved in that country. This idea was pleasing to, and even encouraged by the Princess Anne, who designed that the Earl of Marlborough should be entrusted with the command in Ireland.

The reason why the Princess preferred this treacherous nobleman was on account of his haughty wife being her most intimate friend. In fact the Countess of Marlborough had gained complete ascendancy over the weaker mind of the Princess (97). Many persons who were at first the supporters of the Prince of Orange now availed themselves of this opportunity of expressing their opinions in favour of the exiled royal family, though with so much prudence and caution that they did not commit themselves, and began to entertain hopes that, if public opinion in England once turned against the Prince of Orange, and Louis XIV. could be prevailed on to invade the country in his absence, James II. might be again restored to his throne. These were persons who had formerly believed that if England was only governed by a Protestant sovereign they would rise to wealth and distinction, but now altered their minds as they saw with regret that William III. treated them with neglect and indifference, and many of the ancient aristocratic families of Britain, who were either allied by descent to, or interested in the welfare of, the Royal Stuart, neglected no opportunity—though to avoid suspicion they attended the Court of William III.—of doing all within the limits of their power to lessen the popularity and weaken the interests of that Prince.

But to resume. The Princess Anne wished that the Earl of Marlborough should be appointed to a command in Ireland; and, accordingly, the Earl of Nottingham proposed to have him sent there. This proposition being approved of by the Privy Council, the Prince of Orange consented to it, though it was evident he did so with great reluctance. The Earl of Marlborough was also led to understand that the Princess Anne wished that her brother-in-law, who had always treated her with a reserve almost amounting to contempt, should not have all the credit of reducing Ireland. Thus the English were already confident of conquering that unfortunate country, for they were aware that previous to the accession of King James no Catholic or any of the 'Wilde Irishers' were allowed any privileges, or even permitted to learn trades, so that while the Prince

of Orange had armourers and other artificers constantly employed in England, Scotland, and the Protestant towns of Ireland, there were none in the *Catholic* towns capable of rendering such service to King James. The Irish officers had, therefore, to depend on such of their countrymen as were endowed with natural talent to manufacture pikes, scythes, large skians, and other rude arms for the purposes of warfare. Every possible preparation was made by the English for the intended invasion; but the Prince of Orange had returned to England before the Earl of Marlborough left that country. On the 21st of September, Lord Marlborough, with an English fleet, cast anchor in the roads of Cork.

The Right Honourable John Churchill, Earl of Marlborough, was descended from the Courcils of Anjou, Poictou, and Normandy, through Sir Roger de Courcil, who, in 1066, accompanied William, Duke of Normandy, surnamed the Conqueror, in his successful invasion of England, and received grants of lands in Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, and Devonshire, from that sovereign, as a reward for his many faithful services to him, both before and after the conquest. This very ancient family, like many others of the time, lost considerably in the great civil war which broke out in England between King Charles I. and his Parliament. His Lordship was the second son of Sir Winston Churchill, of Wotton Bassett, in Wiltshire, and was born on the 24th of June, 1650, at Ashe, in Devonshire. Sir Winston, having steadfastly adhered to the fortunes of Charles I. and Charles II., during the civil wars which disturbed England, and having been proportionately punished during the Cromwellian usurpation, his composition having cost him £4,446 18s., was rewarded with suitable appointments by the crown after the Restoration. His daughter Arabella was appointed Maid of Honour to her Royal Highness, the Duchess of York, while his son John was made a page in the household of the Duke. Having, at a very early age, shown a disposition for a military life, he received an ensign's commission in the Guards from his Royal Highness. He distinguished himself on the Continent, where he served from 1672 to 1677. His bearing and conduct were such that even the Great Marshal, the Viscount de Turenne, said of him—"My handsome young Englishman will one day prove himself a master of the art of war." At the conclusion of the peace of Nimeguen, Colonel John Churchill returned to his native country, where an attachment sprang up between him and the celebrated Sarah Jennings, who was younger sister of Frances, Duchess of Tyrconnell, and daughter and co-heiress of Richard Jennings, Esquire, of Sundridge, in the county of Hertford. This highly-accomplished young lady, who afterwards became his wife, was placed,

while still very young, in the household of the Duchess of York. Here she became the playmate and constant companion of the young Princess Anne, and, being very shrewd, soon gained great influence over her, which she used to advance her own interests when that Princess ascended the throne of Great Britain. On the marriage of the Princess Anne, in 1683, with Prince George of Denmark, who was surnamed *Est-il Possible*, and was brother of King Christian V., Lady Churchill was appointed Lady of the Bedchamber to that Princess. King Charles II., at the request of his brother, the Duke of York, conferred a Scotch Barony on Churchill; and, when the Duke ascended the throne, he further advanced his former page to an English Peerage, by the style and title of Baron Churchill of Sundridge. But this ungrateful man betrayed his master, even before the Prince of Orange landed in England, though the King had always placed unbounded confidence in him. After Lord Churchill had privately offered all his services to the Prince of Orange, he also deceived King James by accepting the command of a large number of the Royal troops to oppose the landing of the invader; but, instead of doing so, he perfidiously joined the Prince, who, on being recognised as King of England, created him Earl of Marlborough, a Privy Councillor, and Lord of the Bedchamber. Such was the character of the man of whom it has been said that he never besieged a town which he did not take, nor fought a battle in which he did not conquer—who now came, in the fortieth year of his age, to oppose the cause of a sovereign from whom he had received many favours.

On his arrival, the Earl of Marlborough had under his command the following regiments:—The Princess Anne's, his own fusiliers, 100 of the Duke of Bolton's, 200 of the Duke of Monmouth's (commanded by Major Johnston), Lord Torrington's and Lord Pembroke's marine regiments, Sir David Collier's, Brigadier Trilawney's, Colonel Fitz-Patrick's, Colonel Hastings' and Colonel Hale's. His Lordship immediately despatched a messenger to the Baron de Ginkell, to acquaint him of his arrival, and to request reinforcements. On the next day he sailed into Cork, but not without being warmly received by the Irish, who greeted him with a heavy fire from eight guns. Seeing this, Lord Marlborough ordered a number of boats to be launched and manned, for the purpose of attacking the fort, which after a short resistance the Irish deserted. On the morning of the 23rd, the whole of the soldiers were landed from the English fleet, and were joined by Major-General Scravenmore, at the head of 900 cavalry. The Earl of Marlborough then marched to the walls of the city, and had all his cannon drawn up on the 24th, and planted by 600 sailors and a body

of marines, under the Duke of Grafton (98). While these arrangements were being made, a report was rapidly circulated that the Duke of Berwick was marching to reinforce the garrison, which was, however, untrue. This intelligence caused Major-General Scravenmore great uneasiness, and he at once despatched Dean Davis to the Duke de Wirtemberg, to request his immediate aid. On the 25th, Major-General the Count Tetteau had a portion of the cannon planted on Fair Hill, for the purpose of playing on two new forts that were lately erected by the Irish, but scarcely was this movement accomplished when the outposts of the garrison set fire to the suburbs, having first levelled several of the houses, and then retreated, with shouts of defiance, within the walls of the city, where very little preparation for defence could be made, owing to the dilapidated state of the walls. On the 26th, the Duke de Wirtemberg (99), commanding about 4,000 infantry, consisting of Huguenots, Dutch, and Danes, joined the Earl of Marlborough. The Williamites now planted their cannon on Shandon Castle, and opened a heavy fire on the city of Cork, as they did also from three other batteries. On the 27th, they gained possession of the Cat Fort, and, by an incessant fire from three thirty-six pounders which were planted on a strong battery near 'Red Abbey,' succeeded in making a breach in the wall. The Irish now made proposals of surrender, when a truce was granted, and hostilities ceased. The conditions on which they offered to surrender the city were, that the Catholics should not be molested, and that the garrison be allowed to march out with all the honours of war, and be conducted by a guard in safety to Limerick. The Earl of Marlborough refused those conditions, but the Duke de Wirtemberg was most anxious to have them accepted.

While time was thus lost in arguing the matter, the tide returned to the River Lee, which was previously fordable, thereby preventing the Williamites from crossing to attempt the breach. The Irish, seeing the river was again swollen, stopped all further negotiations with the English commander; and, consequently, on the morning of the 28th, refused to accept the conditions offered by him, which so enraged the Williamite commanders, that they immediately brought all their cannon to bear on the city. Though the breach in the wall was wide enough to admit the enemy, still they made no attempt to enter the city, but continued to fire on the Irish, who defended the breach with great effect from the Cat Fort; and though great numbers of them were continually swept from the walls, they were as quickly replaced by others. At one o'clock in the afternoon, the Danes who were stationed to the north of the city, and four English regiments that were posted

to the south, succeeded in crossing the river, under the command of Brigadier Churchill. Their van, which consisted of the Grenadiers, was led by Lord Colchester. With these regiments, which were ordered to cross to the East Marsh, and enter the breach, there were several distinguished volunteers, among whom was the Duke of Grafton, and Lord O'Brien, son of the Earl of Inchiquin. On reaching the opposite bank of the river, the gallant Grafton received a wound in the shoulder, of which he shortly after died, to the regret of the whole English army, and the part of the town where he was wounded was afterwards known as Grafton-alley. In the meantime, two vessels continued to pour shot and shell into the city. The garrison now saw it was useless to hold out any longer, and, having beat a parley, the brave Lord Tyrone was sent out to treat with the Williamites, about the surrender of the city (100). The garrison surrendered as prisoners of war, on condition that their lives and properties would be protected; but no sooner were the enemy in possession of the city than the treaty was most shamefully violated, and the inhabitants, but particularly the females, most scandalously insulted. The houses and stores were broken into and pillaged, and every conceivable kind of licentiousness was indulged in by the Dutch, Danes, and English. However, after a considerable time had elapsed, order was, with great difficulty, restored, through the untiring exertions of the Duke de Wirtemberg and the Earl of Marlborough, but not until a great number of the Irish were killed and wounded. Among the latter was Colonel Mac Elligott.

On the evening of the 29th, proclamations were issued, commanding the inhabitants, on pain of instant death, to give up their arms, and assemble at the East Marsh. On obeying, they were secured and placed under arrest. On this day, also, 500 horse, commanded by Brigadier Villiers, were sent to attack Kinsale. When he arrived before this town, the Brigadier sent a trumpeter to demand its surrender, which so enraged the Governor that he threatened to execute him for "daring to bring such an insulting message to an Irish gentleman." However, although he refused to surrender, the Governor, knowing that he could not defend the town for any considerable length of time, set it on fire, and retired to the Old Fort.

On the 1st of October, the Earl of Marlborough marched from Cork, and on the 2nd, Major-General the Count Tetteau, at the head of 800 men, attacked the Old Fort of Kinsale, which was garrisoned by only 450 men. Shortly after the siege commenced, some barrels of powder having accidentally exploded, forty of the Irish were blown into the air. After some sharp fighting, the garrison, seeing that the enemy



were gaining the advantage, retired into an old ruined castle, which stood in the centre of the fort, and defended themselves bravely; but, the Governor and all the principal officers being slain, they were compelled to surrender, having only 200 men remaining.

The Earl of Marlborough next attacked Charles Fort. On his trumpeter demanding its surrender, the Governor addressed him thus:—“Tell your Lord it will be time enough for him to talk to me about the surrender of this fort a month hence.” Accordingly, the siege commenced, and, the Irish having fought bravely, the fort held out until the 15th of October, when a parley was beaten by them, and conditions of surrender agreed to. The Earl of Marlborough gave honourable terms to the garrison, which consisted only of 1,200 men, who were permitted to march out with their arms and baggage, and proceed to Limerick, accompanied by a guard of horse to protect them.

In the meantime the Duke of Berwick, at the head of 800 men, advanced to Kilmallock; but, upon consideration, resolved not to engage with the Earl of Marlborough, who was his maternal uncle, and whose troops were far superior in number to his own.

About this time, also, there was the greatest excitement among the peasantry, in consequence of the cool treatment Balldearg O'Donnell received from the Duke of Tyrconnell, as they superstitiously believed that adventurer was destined by heaven to be the deliverer of their country.

The Baron de Ginckell now planned an expedition to attack the county of Kerry, as he considered it expedient to reduce it at once. After advancing in the direction of Tralee, he returned, having effected nothing. Lieutenant-General Douglas also failed in an attempt which he made to subdue Sligo. The Williamites then took up their winter quarters, but some of them made attempts, under Lieutenant-General Douglas and Colonel Brewer, to pass the Shannon at Jamestown, Lanesborough, and Banagher Bridge, at the same time; but the Duke of Berwick sent out parties which prevented them from doing so. The possession of the passages over the Shannon gave the Irish great advantages, as thereby the Rapparees could at all times enter into the enemies' quarters; and, under their leaders Donal Bran, O'Connor, O'Neill, the White Sergeant, Galloping O'Hogan, and others, they ravaged the country as far as Kildare and Wicklow.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

## ACTIVITY OF THE RAPPAREES.

AFTER the repulse of the Prince of Orange at Limerick, Donal Bran and his band returned to their rendezvous in Bunnacippaun Wood; and, when they divided the booty they had taken, retired to their homes. However, after the lapse of a short time, the restless spirit of the daring Donal Bran again aroused him into action, and during the winter he visited Rathorpe, in order to take leave of Major Forster, before recommencing his foray against the Williamites.

“Well, Donal,” said the High Sheriff, when he heard the cause of the Rapparee’s visit, “I see you are indefatigable in your zeal to do your King and country service.”

“I have heard, sir,” said Donal, “that the King said, before he left Dublin, that his army was loyal enough, but wanted true courage to stand by him at the trying moment (101). The number of the enemy was more than double that of ours, and the men composing our army were wretchedly armed. It went hard enough with us, sir, when we had to send out a division of our men, only armed with pikes, to oppose the Blue Guards of the Dutch, when they crossed the River Boyne, fully armed with the best muskets. Still our pikemen closed with them, and did not retire to the ditches until the Dutch musketry had terribly thinned their ranks. In the end, the whole overwhelming force of the enemy bore down upon us in great numbers; but still they could not make a single regiment of ours prisoners, or even break their ranks, while our dauntless cavalry always showed front whenever the English, Dutch, Danes, Huguenots, Swiss, Scotch, Brandenburgers, or Northerners attempted to come near; and at the unsuccessful siege of Limerick the enemy lost more by far than we did at the Boyne—so I do not yet despair of our success. But whatever way the struggle ends, if I do not return, I hope, sir, you will take care of Nora and my aged father.”

“Indeed I shall, Donal,” replied the High Sheriff. “But come now and take the stirrup-cup before you leave.”

The O’Kelly of Mullaghmore, who was on leave of absence at Rathorpe, together with The O’Donnellan of Ballydonnellan, Captain O’Brien, Captain Stacpoole, and Colonel Burke of Tyaquin, complimented Donal Bran on his daring conduct during the war, who, ere

he left, promised not to return without some of the enemy's horses and arms for the King's service. The Rapparee then proceeded to Bunna-cippaun Wood, from which he departed on the next day, with a few of his picked men, who were well mounted and armed. On his arrival at Banagher Bridge, the Irish commander there told him that a strong party of Irish had failed in an attempt to surprise Mullingar, and that if he pushed on into the King's County he would meet O'Connor the Rapparee there. Donal Bran then proceeded on his way, and in a few days fell in with O'Connor and his band, whom he joined without delay. Altogether they formed a body of sixty foot and sixty horsemen, well armed; and having marched together for some days, their scouts informed them that two companies of Williamite Grenadiers were marching by the road at some distance. Donal Bran and O'Connor, after holding a short consultation, resolved to attack them, and ordering their horsemen to dismount, moved on to a part of the road which was narrow, and lined with ditches and brushwood. They left their horses in charge of some of the men, and lay under cover of the ditches, resolved to wait until the enemy approached. They were not left long in suspense, and when the advanced guard of the Williamites came up, they allowed them to pass unmolested; but when the main body were about passing the Rapparees instantly opened a deadly fire on them. Numbers of the enemy fell, and the Rapparees, with shouts of exultation, rushed forth, and overpowered, by force of pike and skian, the survivors. They then returned to where their horses were, and having mounted, pursued, and cut up the few men who were in advance; and having collected the arms of the vanquished, retired towards Banagher, where they could place them in safety. In a few days after, O'Connor and Donal Bran received intelligence that Phillipstown was only garrisoned by 120 dragoons, so they resolved to surprise them; and of a cold, wet winter's night they assembled near the borders of a bog adjacent to Phillipstown, and having crossed it, they suddenly rushed, sword in hand, into the quarters of the Williamite dragoons, and surprised and killed all of them. The Rapparees next burned the town, and carried off great booty, including horses and arms. They then retired to Banagher, well pleased with their success, and divided the spoil amongst them. Donal Bran's Rapparees then departed, under the command of Conor O'Shaughnessy, Torlough O'Nee, and Ronald Scott, on their return home; and Donal himself went to Limerick, at the head of a party of O'Connor's men, to present the Governor with the captured horses, for the use of the army.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL DE ST. RUTH LANDS WITH THE PROMISED AID.

DERMOT OGE CLORAN still continued to manage the Gortinsiguara estate. He had to encounter very great difficulties in endeavouring to make up the share of the tax levied by the King to support the war on the O'Shaughnessy property; a levy which fell heavily on the estates of Irish proprietors in the few counties over which the authority of King James now extended. Dermot Oge wrote to O'Shaughnessy, communicating the sad news of his father's death, and his letter was conveyed to him by De Tourville. He shortly afterwards wrote to him again, giving an account of the sad state of affairs in Ireland, and the great difficulty he had in managing his property. This letter he sent by Monsieur Maximilien de la Mainé, the Captain of a French vessel that plied between Galway and France—for since his last visit to Clooneene the Chevalier Victor de Tourville had not been heard of in Ireland.

During the winter the families of Clooneene and Rathorpe received many visitors. One evening, while they sat over their wine at Clooneene, the Chieftain, who was seated in his arm-chair near the fire, appeared much grieved. In fact, he was greatly affected since he had heard of the hasty and unexpected retreat of the King to France. His loyalty, however, prevented him from often commenting severely on the unaccountable steps taken by his Majesty, as he attributed them to the bad advice of the Duke of Tyrconnell and the Duke de Lauzun; but his opinion, like the rest of the Irish who were sincere in the cause of their country, was that the King ought to have stood or have fallen with his brave and faithful adherents. Still the patriotic old Chief endeavoured to make his guests keep up their spirits, and pressed them to partake plentifully of the wine, saying—"Although we are now confined to about eight counties, if we only obtain money, arms, and ammunition from France, we need not yet despair. We have that strong barrier, the Shannon, between us and our enemies; and Limerick, which De Lauzun thought so little of, is still unconquered. Donal Bran has given me some news which he picked up in his recent expedition to Leinster. It appears that the so-called Lords Justices have taken proceedings against the Irish aristocracy residing in the different counties over which they have jurisdiction, for High Treason, and have removed the several cases for trial to the Court of King's Bench."

“Why,” passionately exclaimed Sir Toby Butler, “in that case the accused parties are not likely to hear of their trials until they are convicted.”

“That is just what the English want to do, Sir Theobald,” replied the Chief. “Here, also, are some proclamations which Donal gave me. The first states that the Catholic inhabitants of counties should be assessed for all damages committed on the properties of Protestants residing in said counties.”

“That is,” remarked Dermot Oge, “making the innocent suffer for the guilty.”

“The second proclamation,” continued the Chief, “would better suit uncivilized Turkey or Algiers than enlightened England. It declares that no person shall be protected who has a son in the enemy’s quarters, thereby punishing the fathers for the sins of the children. The third document ordains that no more than ten Catholics shall assemble together, and sentences the Priest of the parish in which any larger assemblage is held to transportation for life. Here is another proclamation, but not from these inhuman Justices. It is signed by the Baron de Ginckell, offering to grant all persons now in arms reasonable terms if they submit to the Prince of Orange. It is evident the Williamites are more liberal in their offers since they were repulsed at Limerick, than they were after the hard-fought battle of the Boyne, when William offered by proclamation to give protection to all labourers, farmers, and artizans, but excluded the landed proprietors, saying he would leave the desperate leaders of the rebellion to the chances of war—in other words, leaving them to be robbed and murdered. However, this proclamation did not cause one of them to desert their King, or make the bold peasantry hold back their valuable support.”

“Nor shall this one do so either,” exclaimed The O’Kelly of Mul-laghmore. “While a regiment stands in arms in defence of my country, I will be found in its foremost ranks, and will wait patiently for the aid we expect from France.”

“I hope,” said the Chief, “that no men will be again sent us from that country. We suffered much by sending our 6,000 brave soldiers last year, and more than 1,200 since of our best troops, to assist King Louis in his Continental wars.”

The winter was now nearly over, and in the month of January the Duke of Tyrconnell landed in Limerick on his return from France, and amongst those who accompanied him were Sir Richard Nagle and Sir Stephen Rice, the latter of whom was presented with the freedom of the city of Limerick. His Excellency was received by the Mayor, George

Roche, and the Sheriffs, John Young and James Robinson. The Duke of Tyrconnell brought over with him, for the assistance of the Irish, the balance of £24,000 which he had received from King Louis. He left £10,000 at Brest, to buy meal, and gave £13,000 to purchase clothes for the Irish army, who were much in need of them, leaving only £1,000 to provide arms. His Grace also brought a patent from King James, conferring upon the gallant Patrick Sarsfield, who was the idol of the Irish army, the titles of Baron of Rosberry, Viscount of Tully, and Earl of Lucan, in the county of Dublin and Peerage of Ireland, which gave general satisfaction to the Irish.

The Rapparees kept the enemy's quarters in great agitation, until at length, on the 8th of May, 1691, the third year of the war, the Irish, who had so long expected assistance from France, were rejoiced to see a fleet proudly sailing up the Shannon, whose *azure flag*, bearing the *fleur-de-lys gules*, indicated to be French. These vessels were laden with 146 officers, 150 cadets, 300 English and Scotch, twenty-four surgeons, 180 masons, two bombardiers, eighteen gunners, 800 horses, nineteen pieces of ordnance, 12,000 horse-shoes, 6,000 saddles and bridles, 16,000 muskets, with wretched old uniforms, stockings, and shoes for 16,000 men, a quantity of lead and balls, and a great supply of biscuits, but were minus what was more necessary than all these supplies—namely, money, which was then very scarce in Ireland. This fleet was under the command of that gallant and distinguished, though self-opinionated officer, Lieutenant-General the Sieur de St. Ruth (102). This able officer distinguished himself in the wars of Flanders, Germany, and Holland, and after about twenty years' service, in which he proved himself a great commander, he was, in 1688, appointed by King Louis XIV. to the rank of Lieutenant-General, and in two years after 1690, received the command of the French and Irish, the latter being Lord Mountcashel's Brigade, engaged to reduce the Duchy of Savoy.

The fact of the Sieur de St. Ruth being entrusted with the command of the Irish army was another great mistake committed by King James during this war, though the King of France, in speaking of this General, said—"Whatever he, who is a Captain of great conduct and experience, after arriving in Ireland, and informing himself upon the place, shall judge necessary for the work, we shall not fail in despatching to Ireland."

The Irish received Lieutenant-General de St. Ruth on his landing with demonstrations of joy, and a *Te Deum* was solemnly chanted in the cathedral of Limerick, for the people were rejoiced at this important



national event. Now the Irish aristocracy and peasantry strained every nerve to equip an army in as short a time as possible, to meet the Williamites in the coming campaign, but their praiseworthy preparations fell far short of those that were being made by the army of the Prince of Orange, for during the previous month several ships had arrived from England, at Waterford and Kinsale, laden with cannon, shells, ball, powder, clothing, and everything else which the men might require, and which the great wealth of England could well afford.

On the 12th of May, all the Rapparees were summoned by proclamation to collect from all parts of the country, and assemble in the yet unconquered Province of Connaught, to fill up the ranks of the regular army. The horses they took from the enemy were of great service to the cavalry; still more were required, and had to be procured from the gentry, who willingly resigned them to supply the deficiency. By paying some money to tradesmen and labourers, and working on the patriotic feelings of others, 170 caissons, 400 small carts, with carriages for ten field pieces, were obtained, and with an army of about 20,000 men, the Sieur de St. Ruth prepared to meet the English in the following month of June.

The mighty Williamite army was also busily preparing for action. No expense was spared in sending them, from England, clothes, ammunition, provisions, and the best of arms.

The National Debt of England now commenced, by the Prince of Orange recklessly raising vast sums of money to carry on the war in Ireland, and enable him to keep up his great forces in Holland, who were continually engaged in continental wars.

On the 30th of May, the Baron de Ginckell left Dublin, taking with him the soldiers stationed in that city, and a great body of the Irish Williamite Militia, to join his forces at Mullingar. On arriving there on the 31st, the Commander-in-chief found his troops in the best condition he could expect. He then marched to Rathconrath, where he was joined by Lieutenant-General Douglas, and their united forces amounted to about 19,000 men, including officers. All preparations for war were by this time completed in the Williamite camp, and the soldiers looked to great advantage in their splendid scarlet uniforms, while their arms were of the best possible description. They had also at their command a magnificent park of artillery, which was never equalled by that of any previous army in Ireland. Their engineering department was under the control of Sir Martin Beckman, Superintendent of Artillery, who was specially sent from England by the Prince of Orange for that purpose. The Baron de Ginckell, having con-

cluded the necessary measures for the defence of Mullingar, and having planted four pieces of cannon on the south side of that town, despatched the Rev. Mr. Trench, a Protestant clergyman, and a staunch Williamite, with a small party of horse, numbering thirty, to Ballyboy, where the Duke de Wirtemberg was stationed, to tell his Grace to reconnoitre about Banagher, and encamp in that neighbourhood. When this party reached their destination, they found Ballyboy in possession of the Irish, through whom, with great difficulty, they fought their way to Roscrea, where they found the Duke. On the 7th, the Baron de Ginckell sent another messenger to the Duke de Wirtemberg, with orders to join the rest of the army, and then marched to Ballymore, which was situated about half-way between Athlone and Mullingar. Convenient to this place was a fort bearing the same name. This fortification was erected on a peninsula that jetted into the lough, and had an area of about ten acres. On the south side, which was not protected by the waters of the lake, there were a wall and ditches, and on this side also stood the entrance. The road which led to it was very narrow, and a bog extended from the south-west in a north-western direction. The Irish, during the winter, fortified this place, and on the following spring a detachment of the regular army, withdrawn from the garrison of Athlone, under Lieutenant-Colonel Ulick Burke, arrived there. The whole garrison of regular troops and Rapparees amounted to 1,130 men. The place was not suited in any way to stand a siege, as every part of the fort was commanded by an adjoining eminence. The garrison had scarcely any powder, and their cannon consisted of two small pieces, mounted on cart-wheels. On the approach of his army, the Baron de Ginckell despatched a messenger to the Governor, to demand the surrender of the fort, and offering favourable terms, but Lieutenant-Colonel Burke refused to comply, and fired on the advanced guard of the English. The Baron de Ginckell now ordered four field pieces to cannonade the fort. For four hours they kept up an incessant fire, but still the Irish would not surrender to the superior forces of the Commander-in-chief. Finding they could not succeed by this means, the Williamites had to formally besiege this wretched fort. There was an old ruined castle to the south-west of the peninsula which commanded it, and therefore the Baron de Ginckell resolved to take possession of this fortification, in which were stationed fifteen men, under the command of a sergeant. In attempting to execute their design the troops were fired upon several times by the Irish, who, after some time seeing that further resistance was useless, reluctantly surrendered; and the Baron de Ginckell ordered the brave sergeant to

be immediately hanged for his obstinate defence of an untenable place. The remainder of the day the Baron de Ginckell was busily employed in making as strict preparations as if he were about to besiege a strongly-fortified city ; and at ten o'clock that night he had succeeded in erecting four strong batteries, on which he caused to be mounted fourteen cannon and four mortars, with which, on the next morning, the 8th of June, between half-past three and four o'clock, he opened a galling fire on the fort. After four hours' hard cannonading, the Baron de Ginckell imagining that Lieutenant-Colonel Burke's stubbornness was overcome, summoned him to surrender the fort, at the same time threatening him thus :—“ If you will not deliver up the place within two hours, by —— you shall have the same treatment your sergeant met with yesterday.” On receiving this message, the Governor, instead of complying, replied by saying, that he hoped any message the Commander-in-chief of the army of the Prince of Orange wished to send him would for the future be in writing. The Baron then wrote him the following note :—

“ Since the Governor desires to see in writing the message which I just now sent him by word of mouth, he may know that if he surrenders the Fort of Ballymore to me within two hours, I will give him and his garrison their lives, and make them prisoners of war ; if not, neither he nor they shall have any quarter, nor another opportunity of saving themselves. However, if in that time their women and children will go out, they have my leave.

“ Given at the Camp, this 8th day of June, 1691, at eight o'clock in the morning.

“ BARON DE GINCKELL.”

The Governor was unmoved by this threat, and asked permission to march out on honourable terms, but was positively refused leave to do so ; and all the women and children remained in the fort, preferring to suffer death with their relatives, than throw themselves on the mercy of the enemy. All the guns and mortars again opened on the fort. The newly-erected works quickly fell before the incessant fire of cannon-ball and shell. The garrison behaved most heroically, and continually fired their two small guns, in order to preserve themselves ; but their powder being exhausted, and Lieutenant-Colonel Burton, their principal engineer, killed, they saw the necessity of endeavouring to obtain a treaty from the Commander-in-chief of the Williamite army. Accordingly, at twelve o'clock in the afternoon, they hung out a white flag, as a signal of their intention to surrender ; but the Baron de

Ginckell, being very much annoyed with the Governor for having refused to accept the conditions he offered, commanded the firing to continue without intermission. At seven o'clock that evening, two large breaches having been effected, a strong body of men, well armed, proceeded in four boats to attack the place in an unguarded quarter. The Irish now, for the second time, hung out a signal of surrender, and the Baron de Ginckell ordered the firing to cease. Lieutenant-Colonel Burke then came out, with some of his officers, and surrendered the fort. Forty of the Irish were killed, and the prisoners amounted to fifty-one officers, 780 privates, 260 Rapparees, and about 400 women and children. These were secured by Colonel Earle, who entered the fort by the breach after its surrender. The Irish officers were sent to Dublin by their captors, and there confined; and the unfortunate soldiers and Rapparees were transported to the Island of Lambay, where their four days' allowance of food was scarcely sufficient for one meal; and their friends being prohibited from seeing them, they died miserably, after suffering the most direful want. The women and children were liberated, but, being homeless and friendless, only to wander for a short time over the country, and then die of neglect and starvation. Though the Williamites claim the credit of having spared the lives of those unfortunate creatures, still, in reality, they were their murderers, for they banished their fathers, husbands, and brothers, who alone on earth would have afforded them succour.

The Baron de Ginckell was engaged from the 10th to the 17th of June, in repairing the fort and putting it into a state of defence.

On the 17th, Lieutenant-Colonel Toby Purcell was appointed Governor of Ballymore, and four companies of Lieutenant-General Douglas's regiment were left under his command, and on the 18th the whole of the Williamite army was on its march to besiege Athlone. On reaching Ballyburn Pass, where they halted for the night, they were joined by 7,000 foreign troops, under the command of the Duke de Wirtemberg and the Count de Nassau, which augmented the Baron de Ginckell's forces to about 27,000 men.

## CHAPTER XXX.

## BARON DE GINCKELL BESIEGES ATHLONE.

DURING the last siege of Athlone the English Town was not defended, but now 400 men were stationed there, under the command of Colonel Sir John Fitzgerald, Baronet. Its walls were not razed to the ground by Lieutenant-General Douglas in his cowardly and hasty flight from before the town in the previous year. He feared waiting to do so, believing he was pursued by Sarsfield. They were, however, old, and not sufficient in strength to resist artillery such as the Baron de Ginckell had at his command. A small advanced party of cavalry belonging to Lieutenant-General the Sieur de St. Ruth, Commander-in-chief of the Irish army, having arrived, it was then resolved to defend the Leinster side of the Shannon, in order to gain time until the whole Irish army would have come from Limerick to relieve the garrison. Such was the state of Athlone when, at three o'clock on the morning of the 19th of June, the Baron de Ginckell, at the head of nearly 27,000 men, appeared before it.

Sir John Fitzgerald despatched some grenadiers and irregulars to the moat of Grenoge, and at the break of day they beheld Baron de Ginckell and his forces approaching. The Irish defended every pass for five miles, retreating in regular order, and by their gallantry prevented the Baron de Ginckell's forces from pressing onward more quickly. During this slow march, the English, Dutch, and Danes lost considerably. So successfully did this small body of Irish engage the enemy that it was nine o'clock before they returned to the English Town. The Baron de Ginckell, seeing that the Irish were prepared to offer every resistance, and defend the English Town as well as the Irish Town, though the walls of the former were old and weak, and all the houses within and without them burned, immediately ordered three cannon to be planted on the Lanesborough side, and to open fire on a breast-work possessed by them on the Connaught side of the river. At six o'clock in the evening a second battery was erected by the English. During the entire of the ensuing night the Williamites were hard at work, so that at eight o'clock on the following morning their exertions were rewarded by having a strong battery mounted, with nine eighteen-pounders, ready to open fire on the town. Their heavy ordnance was by this time all drawn up before the walls of Athlone, and now thun-

dered forth upon the devoted town. For a time nothing could be seen but clouds of black smoke gradually ascending, and then blending with the atmosphere, and nothing heard above the loud booming of the cannon, which, reverberating through the country, shook the very earth. The result of this heavy and deadly fire was that by twelve o'clock they had succeeded in making a large breach in the bastion near the Dublin Gate. When this was effected, De Ginckell gave orders to continue the fire without intermission, in order to prevent the garrison from repairing the breach. At three o'clock the Baron de Ginckell held a council of war, and, after much debate between his principal officers, it was agreed on to make an effort to take the town by storm. At five o'clock in the evening, the storming party, which consisted of 4,000 men, Dutch, Danes, Huguenots, Hanoverians, and English cavalry and infantry, boldly advanced to the breach. Here they were opposed by the Irish, who fought bravely, though almost exhausted from fatigue and hunger, having been engaged with the enemy for forty-eight hours without intermission. Still they persisted in defending the breach, and although many of them fell, their ranks were as quickly filled up by others. Thus the conflict continued, until between killed and wounded the Irish had lost 200 brave soldiers. They then retreated, stoutly contesting the ground, inch by inch, with the enemy, until they reached the narrow bridge that connected both portions of the town. Here the Irish determined to make a last effort, in the hope that in the meantime they might receive reinforcements from Lieutenant-General de St. Ruth. A thought now occurred to the Governor which reassured him to a certain extent. He conceived that by breaking down the arches of the bridge in the rear, while the small but daring party of Irish on the bridge held their 4,000 well-disciplined foes in check, the English would be prevented from crossing the river. In a few moments could be heard the sounds of shovels, spades, and pickaxes hard at work tearing up the ancient bridge, which being overheard by the Scotch veteran, Major-General Hugh Mackay, caused him a great deal of anxiety, and he endeavoured to encourage his men, and even called upon the officers by name to press forward, and by their example incite the English and other foreigners to beat back the Irish from the bridge, as he knew that if they succeeded in breaking any of the arches the Williamites would be as far as ever from victory. The English now pressed forward, crying out "The bridge, the bridge! Drive the Irish from the bridge!" But during this time, while the dauntless Irish soldiers stationed in front kept back the enemy, their companions were actively engaged in tearing up the rear of the bridge. A dull sound now fell on the ears of the



English, and although the small band of Irish soldiers believed that it was caused by the falling in of one of the arches, still they did not even turn round, but, regardless of their own safety, continued to engage the enemy. This sound was immediately followed by a splash, and the English were soon after relieved of their anxiety, as only a portion of an arch had given way. They now redoubled their efforts, as they felt sure if they did not succeed in passing quickly, the remainder of the bridge would soon be broken down ; but, despite their best endeavours, they were not able to repulse the Irish, who bravely maintained their ground, until warned by their comrades in the rear to save themselves, as the bridge was fast giving way. Some of the Irish then crossed on the fast sinking arch, whilst the majority remained, and took no notice of the summons, but continued to fight desperately. In less than a minute the whole arch gave way, leaving the heroic little party of Irish face to face with their enemies, with the turbulent waters of the Shannon behind them ! Their object being achieved, the Irish threw their arms into the river, and then plunged in themselves, while they were followed by a shower of bullets from the English ranks, which took no effect ; and the Williamites were surprised to see them immediately after pulled on shore, on the other side, by their companions in arms.

At the moment the Williamites took possession of the English Town, Lieutenant-General de St Ruth, who marched from Limerick at the head of the entire Irish and French troops, encamped two miles from thence. One of the first acts, after the English were frustrated in their many attempts to cross the bridge, performed by Lieutenant-General de St. Ruth was to dismiss the brave Sir John Fitzgerald, who had defended the English Town so well, and to appoint Lieutenant-General d'Usson its governor, at the same time giving as a reason that none of the Irish officers knew anything about the proper method of defending fortified towns, but the real cause was on account of his partiality to the latter, who was a countryman of his own.

In the evening, Baron de Ginckell ordered twelve cannon to be drawn within the now deserted English Town, and next day a battery for five twenty-four-pounders and a floor for six mortars were begun.

At six o'clock on the morning of the 22nd of June, a heavy fire was opened on the north-east portion of the Castle of Athlone, and at seven in the evening a large breach was made in its ancient and mouldering walls. On the 23rd, the cannon still continued to pour deadly showers of iron missiles, without intermission, during the night, against the walls of the Castle, and were well supported in their work of destruction by a galling fire from the large mortars ; and at five o'clock in the morning, the

whole of one side of the Castle was razed to the ground. At two o'clock in the afternoon, the Williamites received a large supply of boats to enable them to cross the river, which were guarded by Colonels Lord Oxford's and Bayley's Regiments. They also captured one of the Irish soldiers, who was endeavouring to escape, and having offered this unfortunate fellow his life on condition that he gave whatever information he possessed with regard to the Irish, he informed them that sixty-four of his countrymen were stationed in the adjoining mill. The moment the Williamites heard this, their grenadiers fired the building, and the unfortunate Irish, having no means of escape, perished in the flames, with the exception of one who plunged into the river, and swam with great difficulty to the Irish Town. Another garrison less brave, had such an appalling catastrophe occurred to them, would probably have surrendered at once to the enemy; but the gallant Irish took no notice of this cruel threat which had been put in force against them, and maintained their position with as much determination as they had hitherto done.

The Baron de Ginckell, not content with the number of cannon he had, gave orders on the 24th to have three additional batteries erected, on which he intended to mount the fresh supply of guns which he had received from the capital. He then resolved, if possible, to cross the river. The plan he formed for doing so was to pass at the fords below Athlone, and also endeavour to cross at Lanesborough. For this daring purpose he procured some tin boats and some floats, and despatched an English Lieutenant in charge of a party of men to examine the ford at Lanesborough. On reaching it, the Lieutenant, observing some cattle grazing on the Irish side of the river, and either forgetful that his orders were to return as soon as he would have made his examination, or wilfully disobeying, he went in pursuit of them. The Irish, seeing this, suspected the enemy intended crossing at this ford, and to prevent them they erected breast-works as quickly as possible. The Lieutenant was afterwards tried for disobedience, and as it was considered necessary to make examples he was condemned to be shot. Brigadier Wauchop, on hearing of the Baron de Ginckell's intention, informed Colonel Edmond Buighe O'Reilly, who commanded at Lanesborough, and directed him, in case of any danger, to send for the Earl of Antrim's Regiment, which was ready to advance and drive the English and their allies into the river. Colonel O'Reilly threw up strong works on the only accessible part of the river on the Connaught side, and thereby frustrated the design of the Baron de Ginckell.

On the 25th, the Irish opened fire from two other batteries, which

they had erected late on the evening of the 24th. They also kept up a steady fire from their other guns with such effect that the Williamite soldiers who were encamped close to the river had to remove their quarters to a much greater distance. The English returned this fire with tremendous effect from six twenty-four pounders. Almost all the houses in the Irish Town were destroyed, and several of the breast-works considerably damaged. Next day all the Williamite cannon kept playing on the now almost ruined town, as the determined inhabitants showed no signs of surrender. Still the Irish resolved to hold out, although it was with the greatest difficulty they could walk through the heaps of rubbish caused by the falling of the houses, and notwithstanding that they observed the enemy had received thirty large wag-gons heavily laden with powder. Baron de Ginckell, having taken possession of one end of the bridge, resolved to plank the broken arch, and force his way into the town, under the protection of the heavy fire of the Williamites. The firing was continued vigorously during the night, and an incalculable amount of ammunition was recklessly consumed; but De Ginckell did not mind this in the least, as he was aware he could procure plenty, whenever he required it, from Dublin. On the 27th, Athlone was almost reduced to ashes, nothing being left but the blackened ruins of the houses, and here and there heaps of large broken stones, cannon-ball, and the calcined and mutilated remains of the dead. The streets, which a few days before could be easily trodden, now presented such an appearance, from the *debris* formed by the tumbling down of the houses, that it was impossible for more than three men to march abreast. Though the Irish garrison were aware that Baron de Ginckell was receiving fresh supplies of ammunition and provisions from Dublin, and other parts which had submitted to the Prince of Orange, still they made no proposals of surrender; and the Green Flag of Erin, and the time-honoured standard of the Royal Stuarts, continued to wave proudly over this heap of ruins. A new battery was now erected by Baron de Ginckell, and mounted with five guns, for the purpose of cutting off all communication between the Irish garrison, under Lieutenant-General d'Usson, and the Irish army commanded by Lieutenant-General de St. Ruth. At this juncture the Baron de Ginckell began to think the Irish garrison would immediately surrender to him, their position was so desperate, in consequence of the dilapidated state of the walls, that they could scarcely move without exposing themselves to the well-directed fire of the Williamites. However, they obstinately continued to defend the almost ruined town with unabated vigour, which caused several of them to be slain. When the Commander-in-

chief of the allied army considered the Irish should surrender, he did not suspect that ere they did so an action would have been performed destined for ever to grace the pages of Irish history. In the afternoon, 100 cars reached the Williamite camp from Dublin, laden with cannon-ball and other kinds of ammunition. The breast-works which were erected on the Connaught side of the bridge, and which so successfully prevented Baron de Ginckell from planking the broken arch, having now taken fire, the Irish were compelled to retreat; and De Ginckell, seeing no other obstacle of any importance in his way, under cover of a heavy fire from all his batteries, succeeded in placing beams across the buttresses which he intended to plank. The Williamites succeeded in boarding a portion of the arch, but night having fallen, they deferred doing the other until the morrow. Sunday, the 28th of June, was the most remarkable day since the siege had commenced. Great excitement prevailed throughout the Irish Town, for the garrison knew that as soon as Baron de Ginckell would have completed the planking, they would be no longer able to maintain the town. On the other hand, the English, Dutch, Danes, and other Williamites, were elated with the prospect of success that lay before them, and Baron de Ginckell concluded that even before he would have had time to lay down the other planks, he would see the signal of surrender hung out by the Irish. But in this he was mistaken, for an Irish sergeant of Brigadier Maxwell's Dragoons resolved to save Stout Athlone, at the imminent risk of his own life. To achieve this praiseworthy object, he knew it was necessary to destroy the newly-planked bridge, and for that purpose he demanded only ten resolute men. The required number having readily volunteered, the eleven brave Irish, clad in armour, rushed fearlessly forth, and commenced to hurl the plank into the river. Their work was only partially accomplished when a tremendous volley from all the field-pieces of the English was directed at them, the dense smoke of which completely darkened the air for the time being. A deep groan of despair burst from the Irish ranks, on beholding the lifeless bodies of their companions, literally riddled with bullets, with the exception of a few, who were blown into the river. By this heroic and unparalleled act, the Irish lost eleven of their bravest and most determined soldiers, without gaining the least advantage; but their death was scarcely ascertained when eleven more from the ranks of the same regiment, with yells of vengeance, rushed forward, perfectly satisfied to share the unhappy fate of their dauntless companions, in the endeavour to accomplish what they had so nobly though unsuccessfully begun.

While thus busily engaged, the order 'Fire! fire!' was given through the Williamite lines, and the English and other foreign soldiers commenced to reload their muskets, and the artillerymen the numerous field-pieces, and immediately after the entire army of the enemy opened a deadly fire on the bridge. When the darkness caused by this fierce cannonade cleared off, two alone of the brave Irish party remained on the Connaught side of the Shannon, the other nine having perished. A shout of exultation now arose from the Irish; for, although they had lost so many of their faithful friends, they had the happiness of beholding the last plank that Baron de Ginckell had placed on the broken arch of the bridge floating swiftly down on the rapid waters of the Shannon! Notwithstanding this defeat, the Baron de Ginckell resolved to again renew the attack on the Irish Town by the bridge, under cover of a close gallery. During the entire of this day the Williamite guns kept up an incessant fire, but particularly against the Connaught Tower, which Baron de Ginckell had been informed was the strongest part of the fortifications of Athlone, and thirteen squadrons of waggon horses were despatched to Dublin for a fresh supply of ammunition. The few remaining batteries of the Irish being now destroyed, they commenced to throw up breast-works and make ditches, to protect themselves from the fire of the enemy, to which they were at this time entirely exposed, and they continued to do so with great perseverance, though repeatedly interrupted by the terrific fire of the Williamites, which killed several of them. Up to this nothing was heard but the booming of cannon, but part of the wall which had hitherto stood on the bank of the river, and a portion of the Connaught Tower now fell with a loud crash. Baron de Ginckell, seeing there was yet no sign of surrender, in great uneasiness called a council of war, to determine what was best to be done should the intended attempt to take the Irish Town under the covered gallery fail. Accordingly in the afternoon the Williamite officers, of different nationalities, assembled in obedience to the command of the Commander-in-chief. After a stormy debate, it was unanimously resolved to attempt the passage across the Shannon on the next morning, in the following order:—One party to cross to the Irish Town by the bridge; a second to cross the river by means of the pontoons; and a third, together with the horse, to pass at the ford. That night the pass-word agreed on was 'Kilkenny.' It was then ordered that three Captains, five Lieutenants, two Ensigns, seven Sergeants, forty-three Grenadiers, and eighty-three privates out of each regiment, with fifteen rounds of ammunition each, should form in order under the walls of the town at six o'clock, under the command of the veteran Major-

General Mackay, who had distinguished himself in Scotland, in opposing the gallant Viscount Dundee, who fell in the service of King James, at the battle of Killicrankey. Strict silence was also enjoined, and all the men were ordered to wear green sprigs in their hats, as marks of distinction.

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## CHAPTER XXXI.

### THE PASSAGE OF THE SHANNON.

AT early dawn next morning, Major-General Mackay, at the head of the great storming party, stood ready to attack the Irish garrison, but to his dismay he soon discovered that the bridge of pontoons could not possibly be prepared before ten o'clock that morning. He was also very much disappointed to hear that his design of attacking the Irish Town was already known to the garrison, and he could now observe several detachments of the Irish army pouring into the town, notwithstanding the heavy fire which was directed against them from the Williamite batteries. Although the English and the other foreign troops intended carrying out this project with great secrecy, a deserter from their ranks swam across the Shannon on the previous night, and informed Lieutenant-General de St. Ruth of their intention, who very prudently ordered the picked men of his army to march to the town on the ensuing morning. Baron de Ginckell, seeing that the passage across the river would be warmly contested, owing to the reinforcements which had been received from the Irish camp, for the encouragement of the numerous rascals that compassed his army, caused a large quantity of money to be distributed among them. The Williamites then advanced to the bridge and commenced the contest by hurling a shower of grenades on the Irish, which was paid back with interest. This reciprocal fire was kept up for an hour when the Irish succeeded in burning the English fascines. The Williamites at first endeavoured to extinguish the flames, but the wood being old and very dry it soon became ignited, and it was apparent to them it was utterly impossible to do so on account of the numerous sparks that were flying in all directions, and accordingly they fell back and commenced to erect new breast-works, knowing that when the others were burned they would be entirely exposed to the fire of their enemies. The Williamite soldiers, but particularly the English, were discontented at being thus defeated, and Baron de Ginckell, in a



rage, ordered all further attacks to cease until he would have held a council of war. The cannon, however, continued to fire on the town. In the evening the Sieur de St. Ruth directed the walls of the Irish Town which stood next his camp to be removed, so that his men might march at any moment, sword in hand, to the trench near the river, and cut off the Williamites, should they again attempt to cross the Shannon ; but, unfortunately for the garrison, this order was not attended to. D'Usson, the Governor, was opposed to this measure from the commencement, and proposed to have the town garrisoned by a number of well-disciplined troops. But this prudent advice was not listened to by De St. Ruth, who only ordered up three badly-armed regiments of raw recruits, in order, as he said himself, "to teach the fellows how to stand fire in front of the enemy." These unfortunate men were doomed to certain death, not being properly supplied with either powder or bullets. Colonel Cormack O'Neill's Regiment having applied three times to Brigadier Maxwell for bullets, that officer jestingly asked them, "Do you design to shoot larks ?"

It now became evident that should the proposed council of war be held by the Commander-in-chief, great difference of opinion would exist as to the best course to pursue. The Irish, on the other hand, were overjoyed at having defeated a general of the Baron de Ginckell's ability, in his *third* attack on the town, and almost felt certain that he would abandon the siege.

On the 30th of June, a council of war was held by the Williamites, in which their present unsatisfactory position was debated ; and it was the opinion of many of the officers that the Commander-in-chief should either at once abandon the siege, or make a desperate struggle for victory. One of the principal reasons assigned by those was, that all the forage in the country for many miles round the town was already consumed. But others maintained that it would be advisable to remove from their present position, and attempt the river at another pass ; while a third party even objected to this mode of proceeding, on the plea that it would be leaving the way to Dublin open to the Irish army, under the command of Lieutenant-General de St. Ruth. But the Marquis de Ruvigny, Count Tetteau, and Major-General Thomas Tollemache, were for attempting another attack on the garrison, which was at length agreed to, though strongly opposed by Mackey, who held from the beginning an opinion that the passage of the river should have been attempted in a different place, and not opposite the Irish. It was next arranged to commence the attack at six o'clock next morning, for as that was the hour for relieving the guards, it would

create least suspicion. Though, as a matter of right, the command belonged to Major-General Mackay, Baron de Ginckell, seeing he entertained such doubts of the success of the enterprise, preferred giving it to Major-General Tollemache.

Thomas Tollemache was the second son of Sir Lionel Tollemache, Baronet, of Helmingham, in Suffolk, and his wife Elizabeth, Countess of Dysart in her own right, she being the eldest daughter of William Murray, Lord Huntingtower, First Earl of Dysart, and descended in the male line from Lord Tullibardine and Huntingtower, who lived in the twelfth century, and from whose eldest son the Duke of Atholl derives his descent. On the death of her first husband, Sir Lionel Tollemache, the countess married, secondly, the Duke of Lauderdale, Knight of the Garter, his Majesty's Commissioner for Scotland, in the reign of King Charles II.; but her ladyship had no issue by this marriage.

Mackay, being somewhat annoyed at the order given by Baron de Ginckell, told Tollemache that his taking command of the storming party was very ungentlemanly, and showed a great want of respect on his part. On being thus addressed, Tollemache at once resigned the command in favour of the fiery Scotsman, and as he, therefore, could not otherwise accompany the troops, he obtained Mackay's permission to do so as a volunteer.

The reason why the council of war decided on six o'clock as the hour for making the attack on the town was, because they calculated the Irish would imagine they had only come to relieve the guards who were stationed in the English Town. Baron de Ginckell gave orders that when the church bell tolled six o'clock, it was to be considered as the order for an immediate attack. When all the preparations were made, two deserters from the Irish camp swam across the River Shannon, and informed Baron de Ginckell that if he attempted another attack on the Irish Town, he might feel certain of success, as the Irish officers were all quarrelling with the French, and on the worst terms with De St. Ruth, who entertained the opinion that the Williamites were about to retreat. They also added, that the Commander-in-chief and the Earl of Lucan were perpetually quarrelling, as the latter General held a contrary opinion, and maintained that Baron de Ginckell would make, at least, one more attack. Indeed, so sure, said they, was De St. Ruth that the Williamites would abandon the siege, that he gave balls and other entertainments to the neighbouring gentry, which prevented the discipline in the camp from being as strict as it ought to have been. Had this been the case in Baron de Ginckell's camp, it

would not have been of much importance, as the soldiers were nearly all veterans who were trained on the great battle-fields of the Continent; while, on the contrary, most of the Irish were raw recruits, unaccustomed to military life, with nothing to boast of but their courage.

On the morning of the 1st of July, when the church clock struck six, strange to say, the signal bell was not heard for six minutes after, and Brigadier Maxwell, suspecting that the Williamites intended executing some scheme—for, like many of the Irish officers, he was not deceived from the beginning by the movements of the enemy—although Baron de Ginckell had removed his cannon, sent a messenger to the Commander-in-chief of the Irish army, demanding the return of the troops which had been withdrawn from the garrison. But De St. Ruth, still not believing that the Williamite Generals would venture another attack, refused to comply with his request, although Lord Lucan endeavoured to impress upon him the necessity of doing so without delay, saying, at the same time—"Baron de Ginckell is a man who will never leave Athlone without making another great effort to reduce the garrison, as he would be afraid to do so, in consequence of public opinion, which now runs very high, and the unfavourable way the news of the three repulses he already met with was received in Dublin."

At the tolling of the bell, 2,000 picked men, under the command of Major-General Mackay, the Duke de Wirtemberg, the second in command of the Williamite army, Prince George de Hesse-d'Armstadt, Brigadiers Sir Henry Bellassyse, Baronet, and Louis la Mellionere, Majors-General Count Tetteau, and Tollemache, with Colonel Hamilton, marched to the bank of the River Shannon, followed by 1,000 men who were to support them, while the remainder of the army were directed to cross by the bridge of boats (103), and the stone bridge. At the same time, the long line of Musketeers fired on the Irish Town, while all the great guns and mortars poured forth a terrific shower of shot and shell. Sixty bold Grenadiers, commanded by Captain Sandys (104), marching twenty abreast at the head of Mackay's column, plunged fearlessly into the river, and received a heavy fire from the soldiers who garrisoned the Irish Town. However, not one of the storming party was injured by this discharge, as they were all clad in armour, and, seeing their escape, those under the command of Mackay cheered them loudly as they pressed forward through the water. The Irish were surprised by this sudden attack, but resolved to defend themselves, in the hope that assistance would speedily reach them from their camp. Lieutenant General d'Usson, whose duty it was, as Governor of Athlone, to be present, was absent at the time of the attack, which placed

them in a still more precarious position ; for he, like their Commander-in-chief, could not believe that the English would venture another attack (105). At the breach the Irish were only able, owing to a want of bullets, to give the enemy one discharge. The troops under Mackay, having hurriedly crossed the Shannon, entered the ruined but yet unsubdued town, and then divided into separate parties. One of these was ordered to get between the garrison and the camp, for the purpose of preventing their retreat ; a second to wheel above the ford in the direction of the stone bridge, to assist those who were endeavouring to plank its broken arch ; and a third to turn below the ford, and secure the landing-place for those who were to cross over by the bridge of boats. The bridges being now for the first time open to the Williamites, they rushed in great numbers into the town. Some of the Irish fled in the direction of their camp, but others maintained a hopeless resistance, having only pikes and the butt ends of their muskets to defend themselves with. Notwithstanding this disadvantage, they fought manfully for about half an hour, when 500 of them were slain, including several officers of distinction. Still the Castle of Athlone, the garrison of which was commanded by Major-General Wauchop, held out. The English, Dutch, and Danes, being now in full possession of the ruins of Athlone, scrambled over them, cursing and swearing fearfully, and pressed forward to besiege the castle. The moment the invading troops entered the river, an express was despatched to De St. Ruth, who was quite at ease in his tent, signing articles of accusation against the Duke of Tyrconnell, to give information of the attack (106). On hearing the news he said—"It is impossible that Monsiour le Baron de Ginckell would attempt to take the town, and I so near with an army to succour it." To this vain boast the Earl of Lucan, who was present, replied—"I knew well the enterprise was not too difficult for English courage to attempt, and told you so before." He then urged the Commander-in-chief to send immediate assistance to Athlone, but he treated Lord Lucan's advice with contempt, and exclaimed passionately—"I would give 1,000 *Louis d'ors*, the English durst attempt to pass the river : " to which his Lordship responded—"You had better spare your money, and mind your business."

While the two commanders were engaged in altercation, the noise caused by the attack reached De St. Ruth's ears, and he at once saw his fatal error. He then despatched Major-General John Hamilton, with two brigades of infantry, to drive the enemy out (107). Hamilton had two miles to march, and, consequently, arrived only in time to rally the disheartened garrison, who were flying half dressed from the town

they had so long and manfully defended. The reinforcements from the Irish camp opened such a deadly and effective fire on the English that the contest remained for a considerable time doubtful; but as the Williamites were momentarily pouring into the Irish Town, Major-General Hamilton at last saw it would be useless further to attempt resisting such overwhelming odds, and consequently abandoned the attempt. In the present state of affairs, no hope remained for the gallant defenders of the castle, who were still obstinately defending it. They were, therefore, obliged to surrender, and 100 of them were shamefully murdered in cold blood. Thus fell the ancient town of Athlone, not through any fault of the Irish, but through the misconduct of Lieutenant-General de St. Ruth, in not having given them sufficient and timely aid.

The Irish lost since the commencement of the siege, including prisoners, about 1,300 men. Among the killed were the gallant veteran, Colonel the Honourable Richard Grace, who had so successfully defended Athlone in the previous year, when it was besieged by Lieutenant-General Douglas. Colonel Art Oge Mac Mahon and Colonel O'Gara were badly wounded (108). Among the prisoners were Brigadier-General Maxwell, a French officer, two Captains, two Lieutenants, and an Ensign. The English lost, between killed and wounded, in all 489 men. Such was the second siege of Athlone, during the struggle for the Crown of Ireland.

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## CHAPTER XXXII.

### LIEUTENANT-GENERAL DE ST. RUTH MARCHES TO BALLINASLOE.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL THE SIEUR DE ST. RUTH, on the 1st of July, the day the Irish Town of Athlone was stormed, marched to Miltown Pass, *en route* for Ballinasloe, where he intended taking up his quarters. Several of the soldiers, disgusted with his haughty conduct, like Lord Lucan was during the siege of Athlone, now deserted him, and were soon followed by others; so that the Connaught regiments gradually grew thin, and it is believed that about 7,000 men either deserted, or were prevented from joining, on hearing of his quarrel with Sarsfield (109), who was the most popular of all the commanders with the army.

The Irish army consisted at this time of only 11,600 foot and 3,500 cavalry, making a total of 15,100 men. Lieutenant-General de St. Ruth now saw clearly that he should account to Louis XIV. for his unaccountable conduct in causing the loss of Athlone, and consequently made up his mind to risk a battle with Baron de Ginckell, and conquer or die. He abandoned the prudent plan he at first entertained of protracting the war, and waiting for succour from France; threw aside all his former haughtiness and severity, treated the Irish officers with familiarity, and acted with kindness towards the privates. He determined on looking for a good position to make up in some measure for the disparity of his troops, compared with those of the Williamite forces. On viewing the neighbourhood of Ballinasloe, he was struck with the strong aspect of Aughrim, which is situated about three miles from that town, and, marching there with his army, pitched his camp between Kilcomedan Hill, and the church of Gortnapoury, and then commenced to arrange the defences and ditches of the old Castle of Aughrim (110).

The English, in the meantime, were making every needful preparation, for Baron de Ginckell felt confident that if he proved successful in the coming battle, the Kingdom of Ireland would be subdued, and would acknowledge the Prince of Orange as King William III.

The first order given by the Baron, after the fall of Athlone, was to have all the slain, including the Irish, interred. When this was accomplished, the entire English army formed in order, and to demonstrate the pleasure they felt at their success, fired three salvoes, which were followed by three consecutive discharges from forty-three field pieces. Bonfires were also kept lit during the night. On the 3rd of July, the Williamites began to repair the castle, the fortifications, the ruined houses, and the streets. This day, also, the Williamite army was paid, which added considerably to the spirits of the men. On the 4th, Baron de Ginckell sent a party of horse and grenadiers, under the command of a man named Thadeus O'Higgins, a wretch who was once a priest, but afterwards became an apostate, and joined the enemies of his country, to reconnoitre the Irish camp. When they had advanced within three miles of the Irish army, a body of cavalry, which was concealed in the Wood of Clanoult, fell on the Williamites, and drove them to an adjacent bridge. O'Higgins now rallied his party, who fought bravely for some time, but finding it impossible to keep the pass, they divided and fled, having fifteen of their party killed, four taken prisoners, and O'Higgins, their leader, desperately wounded. The 5th of the month still found the Williamites actively engaged repairing Athlone, the



houses of which were used as stores to contain the vast supplies of ammunition and provisions which were being received from Mullingar and Dublin. Nothing of importance took place on the 6th, and the Williamite soldiers continued to persevere at their labour. Baron de Ginkell gave orders that at five o'clock on the morning of the 7th, the right wing of his army was to pass by the stone bridge into the Irish Town, and the left by the bridge of pontoons, and that each man was to be supplied with fifteen rounds of ammunition. The Williamite army accordingly crossed the Shannon on the following day, and a proclamation was published by the Lords Justices, which caused great excitement both in the Irish and English camp. Previous to his attack on Athlone, Baron de Ginkell received a document from the Prince of Orange, offering liberal terms to the Irish, which he suppressed. He now, however, published this proclamation of the Lords Justices, which offered a free pardon to all who would surrender within three weeks, and security of person and property to all officers and governors of garrisons, with a promise of equal or superior rank in King William's army, and a free exercise of the Catholic religion, with such other advantages as that Prince and the Irish Parliament would devise. On the 8th, all the baggage crossed the Shannon, but it became evident, from a circumstance which transpired, that De Ginkell wished to avoid, if possible, giving the Irish battle, and preferred conquering them by the base method of endeavouring to bribe their officers, than by feats of arms. He granted an allowance of £11 10s. per month to all colonels of horse and dragoon regiments who submitted to him, and acknowledged the Prince and Princess of Orange as King and Queen of Ireland; to colonels of foot £10 per month, and so forth in proportion to the rank held by the officers.

Baron de Ginkell, having put the town into a perfect state of defence, and placed militia regiments in all the passes of the Shannon lately in possession of the Irish, from Jamestown to Athlone, received reinforcements from England, and further increased his army by calling in numbers of men from the various Williamite garrisons, and additional regiments from Munster. On the 10th, he appointed Colonel Edward Lloyd governor, and, leaving the Governor's own and Lieutenant-General Douglas's regiments under his command, marched to Kilcashel, where he encamped that night. On the 11th, the Williamite army marched to Ballinasloe and pitched their camp on the Roscommon side of the River Suck. Here Lieutenant-General de St. Ruth intended giving the English battle, until he beheld the superior position of Aughrim, which he then chose for that purpose. The Irish videttes posted on the wood-

crowned hills of Garbally, retired towards Aughrim on the approach of the allied forces, who, ascending the hills, had a full view of the Irish camp.

The neat little village of Aughrim, which was destined to be the Flodden Field of Ireland, is situated about three miles west of Ballinasloe, and above it gradually rises the verdant Hill of Kilcomedan, along the front of which, and on either side, flows a meandering stream, the occasional overflowing of which converted the land adjacent to its banks into a marsh or bog which could only be crossed at two points. One of these was at Urachree leading to the firm ground at the Hill of Kilcomedan, the other at Aughrim. The pass at Urachree, which was to the right of the Irish army, was the weaker of the two, as it would not admit of any army to move in great numbers, owing to its narrowness; but the ground immediately in front of it was more open than at the pass at Aughrim. Its inner side was well defended by the adjoining bog of Kilcomedan and part of the marsh. Its outer side and rere were bounded by sloping hills and large bogs. Through the firm ground about and in front of Urachree flowed four separate streams, which were branches of the little river that ran into the marsh in front of Kilcomedan Hill. On its inner side, to the left, the pass at Aughrim was much nearer to Urachree than Kilcomedan. Its outer side and rere were protected by a large bog nearly a mile in breadth, which commencing considerably in advance of Kilcomedan and Aughrim, terminated at the foot of some high hills situated a considerable distance to the rere of both. The road to Aughrim lay between two adjacent bogs, and was intersected by the streamlet already mentioned, within a short distance of the ancient and ruined baronial castle of Aughrim. This intersection was known as the Pass of Aughrim, as the road here ran within thirty yards of the castle, and was so extremely narrow that only two horsemen could ride abreast. Lieutenant-General de St. Ruth at once saw that although the castle was in a ruinous state, it still could be turned to good account as a place of defence, and accordingly he resolved to garrison it.

The Irish camp was pitched between the old church of Kilcomedan, and the church of Gourtnapoury, and extended in length a distance of about two miles. Along the whole front of the Irish camp, and two strong Danish forts which stood on that side of the hill, towards the margin of the central marsh, were a great many small enclosures, formed by parallel rows of whitethorn. In several places, openings were made in those hedges by order of the Commander-in-chief, in order that the Irish troops whom he intended to occupy them might thereby be

enabled to assist each other, in passing from one to another of the enclosures, and also have an opportunity of taking a body of assailants advancing through these defences in flank on both sides. To the rere of this arena, Lieutenant-General de St. Ruth stationed the Irish foot, whom he treated rather contemptuously, as he believed they were but second-rate soldiers. By placing them here, he considered it would, in some measure, make up for their inferiority. Although all the other plans laid down by this able General were worthy of a Cæsar or a Hannibal, still, in placing the Irish foot in this position, he was lamentably mistaken, for they afterwards proved themselves, during this hard-fought battle, to be brave men, and worthy of their commander's greatest confidence. Having arranged his plan of battle, as far as the infantry were concerned, De St. Ruth next turned his attention to the cavalry, on whom he most relied. To ensure the foot regiments their support, he caused several openings to be made in the hedges that extended in front of the troops stationed on the Hill of Kilcomedan, in order that the cavalry might charge through them if required, to second the movements of the foot. On the right wing of the Irish army, parties of cavalry were stationed at the pass of Urachree, which was about 300 yards distant from the slope of Kilcomedan Hill, and adjoining a small eminence situated between two branches of the little river before mentioned. To the rere of those cavalry outposts the sloping ground extending towards Kilcomedan was divided by numerous ditches, and behind these was strengthened by entrenchments, which were made in front of the right extremity of the Irish camp. The ditches thrown up to the rere of the cavalry, on the intermediate ground between these outposts and the entrenchments, were strongly defended by infantry, were connected by flanked communications, and had numerous openings for the purpose of admitting a strong reserve line of horse to assist the foot of this wing, the reserve of which reached the base of Kilcomedan Hill. The Pass of Aughrim being defended by a guard from the right wing of his army, De St. Ruth next turned his attention to the old Castle of Aughrim already mentioned. Here he stationed the intrepid Colonel Burke, with his regiment, leaving him only two field-pieces to defend the pass, and an infantry and dragoon regiment to guard the dilapidated fortifications of the castle, and prevent the enemy from crossing the pass. To complete the defence, a large body of horse was stationed to the rere of the castle, whose duty it was to charge round to the left and attack any artillery brought to bear on that building. The ground which extended from the Castle of Aughrim along the interior line of march at the foot of Kilcomedan, as far as

the Irish centre was lined with infantry, who were posted behind the hedges. De St. Ruth's motive in so placing them was to frustrate any attempt that might be made by De Ginckell to cross the marsh, and thereby prevent all communication between the Irish centre and its left wing. However, lest the infantry might not be able to prevent the enemy from crossing, De St. Ruth caused all the trees to be cut down, and had every other obstacle removed which was likely to prevent the advance of squadrons of horse and battalions of foot from coming to their assistance. The left wing of the Irish army extended in three lines as far as some houses and a small eminence which were situated a considerable distance behind Kilcomedan. The reason why the Commander-in-chief of the Irish stationed so many of his troops in this sequestered place was to have them as a reserve, to be called on when required to reinforce the troops at the Pass of Urachree, who would be more exposed to the fire of the enemy. The artillery next occupied the attention of the Commander-in-chief. Its arrangement was easily effected, there being only twelve pieces of cannon to dispose of. Two of these, as already stated, were mounted on Aughrim Castle, and the remainder on two batteries, one of which was on the right of Kilcomedan, and erected there for the purpose of counteracting the approach of the English on that side. The other battery was on the left of the hill, and directed towards Aughrim, in order to fire on any of the English or foreign troops that might occupy the curved portion of ground beyond the pass. Consequently, the centre of the Irish army was entirely unprotected by cannon; for even if De St. Ruth had had more ordnance, he would have placed it elsewhere, as it was not his intention to prevent the Williamites from crossing the marsh, but rather to allow them to advance towards the reserved troops on the hill, who were to charge upon them. Lieutenant-General de St. Ruth felt confident that his reserve, which was composed of cavalry and infantry, would hurl the whole Williamite infantry into the marsh, and cut them to pieces before their cavalry could have time to come round the bog to their assistance. Having completed all his arrangements for the coming battle, he next assembled the Irish officers, and addressed them thus—

“Gentlemen and Fellow-Soldiers,—I suppose it is not unknown to you, and the whole Christian world, what glory I have acquired, and how successful and fortunate I have been in suppressing heresy in France, and propagating the holy Catholic faith; and I can, without vanity, boast myself the happy instrument of bringing over thousands of poor deluded souls from their errors, who owe their salvation to the pious care of my thrice illustrious master, King Louis XIV., and my own

industry, assisted by some holy members of our unspotted Church, while great numbers of those incorrigible heretics have perished, both soul and body, by their obstinacy. It was for this reason that the most puissant King, my master, compassionating the miseries of this kingdom, hath chosen me, before so many worthy Generals, to come hither, not doubting but, by my wonted diligence, I should establish the Church in this nation on such a foundation as it should not be in the power of hell or heretics hereafter to disturb it. And, for the bringing about of this great and glorious work, next the assistance of Heaven, the irresistible puissance of the King, my master, and my own conduct, the great dependence of all good Catholics is on your courage. I must confess, since my coming amongst you, things have not answered my wishes, but they are still in a posture to be retrieved, if you will not betray your religion and country by an unreasonable pusillanimity. I am assured by my spies that the Prince of Orange's heretical army are resolved to give us battle, and you see them, even now, before you, ready to perform it. It is now, therefore, if ever, that you must endeavour to recover your lost honour, privileges, and forefathers' estates. You are not mercenary soldiers—you do not fight for your pay, but for your lives, your wives, your children, your liberties, your country, your estates, and to restore the most pious of Kings to his throne; but, above all, for the propagation of our holy faith and the subversion of heresy. Stand to it, therefore, my dear and brave soldiers, and bear no longer the reproaches of the heretics, who brand you with cowardice; and you may be assured that King James will love and reward you, Louis the Great will protect you, all good Catholics will applaud you, I myself will command you, the Church will pray for you, your posterity will bless you, saints and angels will caress you, God will make you all saints, and His Holy Mother will lay you in her bosom" (111).

When the Commander-in-chief concluded his address, with a low bow to the officers he retired, in order to give further directions as to the positions the troops were to occupy in the morning.

In some time after the officers began to gather in groups before their tents, and the soldiers collected about them. They communicated the import of De St. Ruth's speech to the soldiers, who listened most attentively. Donal Bran, with Conor O'Shaughnessy, and all his Raparees, were assembled there in martial array. Having heard of the approaching battle, they joined the Irish army the previous evening, and bivouacked near Captain Forster's troop. The officers earnestly entreated them to stand their ground bravely in the morning, as was

their custom; to obey all orders with punctuality, and not allow their passions to overcome them, by committing any acts of rashness; and also not to fight while their ranks were disorderly or broken, but boldly and determinedly to defend their ditches. They also requested them not to rashly persist in fighting, when called on by their officers to retire, and draw on the enemy towards the cavalry stationed at the foot of Kilcomedan Hill.

“The preparations for battle,” said Captain O’Brien, “are the best which could be adopted under existing circumstances. No doubt, we all still feel the unfortunate loss of Athlone, which was caused by De St. Ruth’s fatal error in not having kept a proper garrison in the Irish Town.”

“We cannot now,” said The O’Kelly of Mullaghmore, “remedy that sad disaster, but must try the chance of victory against far superior numbers, and stand stoutly, or fall bravely, in the defence of our religion and estates. Our soldiers are much fatigued, by working with the pickaxe and spade, in opening the numerous passages through the hedges and ditches, while their food consists only of a miserable allowance of oatmeal and water. My resources, like those of all the other officers, are, I may say, exhausted, in contributing to provide some additional food for my poor though hardy followers; but Souvray, the treacherous son of Louvois, the Minister of War, could have prevented all this, by sending us a sufficient supply of money. The fall of Athlone caused nearly 7,000 of our troops to desert the conceited De St. Ruth, and all lament the death of the gallant Grace.”

“I have heard, sir,” said Donal Bran, “from some Rapparees who have just arrived from Mayo, under the command of my determined friend O’Gready, that Baldearg O’Donnell is now at Moylough, at the head of about 6,000 men, but has no appearance of moving.”

While he spoke the robust Earl of Lucan joined the company, who were rejoiced to see him. The officers asked him if he had received the plan of battle from the Commander-in-chief.

“No,” replied his Lordship; “I regret to say that no plan has been given to me, or to Dorrington or Sheldon, or to any other General that I can hear of. All I know is, that I am to command the reserve of horse behind Kilcomedan Hill, and my orders are *not to move an inch* until I receive orders from De St. Ruth to do so. I need scarcely tell you, my friends, that I would never have obeyed him, after his unaccountable conduct at Athlone, but that I could not bear to stand by while you, my brave countrymen, fought for your homes and altars. I



must now go and prepare my fellow-soldiers for to-morrow, and, therefore, must say good evening."

The Earl of Lucan then strode on through the Irish camp, amidst the benedictions of the soldiers and Rapparees.

The officers now inspected their men, and examined their swords and fire-arms, and also their supply of powder and ball, and then dismissed them, in order that they might sit round their watch-fires, and prepare their scanty meal. After having partaken of it, the several chaplains of the army went through the camp, and heard the confessions of the men; and later in the night, kneeling by their watch-fires, the soldiers repeated the Rosary with great devotion—some in English, others in French, but the majority in the Irish language. Donal Bran's Rapparees were stationed as an outpost of the camp, and Captain Forster, accompanied by The O'Kelly of Mullaghmore, The O'Donnellan of Ballydonnellan, and Colonel Burke of Tyaquin, went over to see him at his quarters. They found the Rapparee and his men at their prayers, and the light of the watch-fire showed their robust and manly forms bent to the ground, in adoration of the Most High.

After a time they arose.

"Welcome, sir," said Donal, addressing Captain Forster. "We are now ready for the fight, and have made arrangements for the next world with the good Father O'Reilly and Father O'Hogan. I am directed, sir, by the General of Division to move in whatever quarter I think best on to-morrow, either in the front or on the flank of our army, and our long shots may be of service."

"Donal," said the Captain, "keep as near as you can to my troop during the battle. I am ordered to the centre. But, now, bring some sutlers, and I will provide your band with better refreshment than they have had since they left home."

Donal had not to go far in quest of a sutler, as the Irish camp for some time past was well attended by vendors, who sold food, tobacco, and usquebaugh. A good supply of those articles was now purchased by the Captain, and Donal distributed them among his band, who then lit their pipes, and commenced to talk of the battles of old.

"I tell you, my comrades," said Donal, "that this 'Breach of Aughrim' will be the scene of a desperate battle to-morrow, and that we will win too. An old man who lives in Shanaglish, and who knows a great deal of Shanahas and Irish prophecies, told me that it was foretold there would be a great fight at Aughrim O'Kallagh, and that an ancient prophecy says that the Saxons, who are the hereditary enemies

of Ireland, shall find their coats too heavy for them to carry when they are endeavouring to get up Kilcomedan Hill " (112).

The Rapparees all concluded that this would be in consequence of the fatigue the English would have to suffer, and it encouraged them very much, as they considered their enemies would be exhausted from the effects of their defeat.

After wishing the Rapparees good night, Captain Forster, accompanied by The O'Kelly, returned to his tent, where he found Lord Kilmallock, Lord Dillon, the Chieftains of Cratloe and Moyriesk, and many other officers, busily engaged in writing letters to their relatives at home, and others, who had property to dispose of, making their wills. After some time they had supper, and then went out and walked through the camp, for the purpose of passing away the time. The watch-fires blazed brightly in every direction, and in the distance those at the old castle shed a brilliant glare, while to the right were seen those of the Irish outpost at Urachree. Looking over the great bog of Aughrim, towards the height in front of Garbally, the watch-fires of the Williamite videttes were visible. A low and busy hum of voices arose from the camp, which was now and then broken by the challenge of the sentinels at their posts, as officers and messengers passed and repassed them. When it was after midnight, detachments of the Irish army assembled together, and some marched to the Castle of Aughrim, and others to reinforce the outpost at Urachree. In fact, nothing was left undone which an able General could devise on the eve of a battle on which depended the destiny of a great nation.

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## CHAPTER XXXIII.

### THE BATTLE OF AUGHIRM.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GODERT BARON DE GINCKELL, Commander-in-chief of the English army in Ireland, on beholding, for the first time, the Irish camp at Aughrim, but not so near as to satisfy a general of his ability, referred to an elaborate map of the field which he had in his possession, and at once saw the necessity of engaging the enemy here, as their position would prevent him from marching to Galway, which town he was most anxious to take, as he feared that as the bay was one of the best and safest in Ireland, it might be chosen by the French to land

arms and ammunition for the relief of the Irish. At the same time, he felt it was necessary for him to be very cautious, and to act with great prudence, in consequence of the excellent position chosen by the *Sieur de St. Ruth*. It was then ordered by *Baron de Ginckell* that the password that night should be 'Dublin,' and that the whole army, with the exception of the two regiments in charge of the baggage, was to form in order early next morning, with as much silence as possible, and without waiting for the drums to beat; that those who required ammunition should be immediately supplied from the military stores, and all to have their arms in perfect order; that the grenadiers, with two shells each, were to be drawn up to the right and left of every regiment; and that five pioneers were to march at the head of each battalion. As he also ordered the tents not to be removed or the baggage stirred, it is evident he was not determined to engage with the Irish army. However, seeing he was now so far advanced that he should either give battle to the Irish or retreat with dishonour and perhaps irreparable loss, he resolved to advance cautiously on the ensuing morning, and trust to fortune for the result. Accordingly, after a protracted, bloody, and devastating war, which now, for a period of about three years, had checked the progress of agriculture, paralysed the commercial intercourse with foreign nations, shrouded the country in misery and bloodshed, and wrapt the land in famine and disease, the eventful day arrived which was predestined by an allwise Providence to determine the fate of the Royal House of Stuart, and commence a melancholy era in the history of our country, ever to be recollected with feelings of the deepest regret.

On Sunday, the 12th of July, 1691, the field of Aughrim, which embraced all those qualities the most fastidious military devotee could possibly desire, was the theatre of the most memorable, and perhaps the most sanguinary and unnatural struggle for ascendancy that unfortunate Ireland ever knew. Stretching far away on one side was a swampy marsh, its russet costume contrasting strangely with the greenery of the surrounding fields, while to the south rose the picturesque Hill of Kilcomedan, lifting its gorse-clad forehead high in air, and looking calming down on the yet tranquil scene beneath. The vernal season might now be said to be in its zenith; and, although the first streaks of day, breaking in the orient sky, were ushered in with a thick fog, still the air was aromatic with the fragrance of the sweet hawthorn that crowned this hill's lofty summit and enveloped its sides, while the wild flowers spread over the grassy lea lifted their drooping petals to inhale the morning zephyr. All looked the picture of peace, plenty, and security, until, at six o'clock, the Williamite army moved forward,

and never before was such an incongruous invading host witnessed in Ireland.

Having crossed the river, Baron de Ginckell drew up his whole army on the hilly ground, in two lines, each of which was subdivided into four divisions, and placed respectively under the command of different distinguished officers. The extreme left was composed of Dutch, Danes, and some of the Huguenot cavalry. The front division was commanded by Major-General the Marquis la Forrest and Brigadier Abraham d'Eppenger. The rere division was in charge of Major-General de Holtzapfel and Brigadier Sachack. To the right of these were stationed several Dutch and Danish, with two Huguenot infantry regiments, commanded by Major-General Count Tetteau and Brigadier Louis la Mellionere; and behind this force was posted a strong division, principally made up of Dutch and Danes, commanded by Major-General the Count de Nassau and Brigadier-General Prince George de Hesse-d'Armstadt. The centre consisted of the whole of the English and Anglo-Irish infantry, the front division of which was under the command of Major-General Hugh Mackay and Brigadier Sir Henry Bellasyse; and the rere under that of Major-General Thomas Tollemache. The right wing of De Ginckell's army comprised the entire of the English and Anglo-Irish cavalry, together with Major-General the Marquis de Ruvigney's regiment of horse. The front division of this wing was commanded by Lieutenant-General Scravenmore and Brigadier Edward Villiers; while the rere was under the command of Major-General the Marquis de Ruvigney and Brigadier Richard Levison. But, owing to the heavy fog which continued during the morning, the Williamite army made no further progress, but remained under arms.

From the time that Lieutenant-General de St. Ruth first beheld the English, he kept his army drawn up in two lines before the camp, to let Baron de Ginckell see he was resolved to fight. The principal officers under his command were Major-General Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan; the Chevalier Philibert Emanuel de Tessé, Maréchal-de-camp; Brigadier-General William Mansfield Barker, Lieutenant-General William Dorrington, Major-General Dominick Sheldon, and others; but, unfortunately, while the greatest harmony existed between De Ginckell and his officers, it was quite the contrary in the Irish camp; for, although De St. Ruth now treated the Irish with civility, he was still very reserved in his manner, and looked upon the Earl of Lucan with an eye of suspicion, for he plainly saw that he was more popular with both the officers and soldiers, who treated him with as much respect as if he were

the Commander-in-chief of the Irish army. Another fatal error on the part of the *Sieur de St. Ruth* was, that he kept his plan of battle strictly secret from all his officers, which annoyed them very much, and justly so, as they were aware that if he fell, or themselves failed in carrying out his orders in any particular point, a great deal of valuable time would be lost in waiting for further instructions.

At early dawn the drums and trumpets warned the different regiments to assemble, and, it being Sunday morning, High Mass was solemnized in the open air; and it was a sight calculated to inspire feelings of the deepest awe, to behold all those brave men bowed down in silent adoration of the Most High, while, through the dismal gloom of the hazy morning, numerous candles flickered on the temporary altars raised to do honour to the Almighty King of Kings. The priests afterwards, in powerful and energetic language, exhorted all to stand by their colours on that day, and not to shrink back, but conquer or die in defence of their holy faith, country, families, and King. After the Irish troops had breakfasted, they were drawn out at six o'clock in battle array. Fathers O'Daly, O'Reilly, O'Hogan, and O'Madden were indefatigable in their exertions to encourage the men; but the life of the King's cause was Doctor Alexius Stafford, a member of the ancient family of Stafford of Elphin, and Chaplain to the King's Royal Regiment of Foot Guards, who was appointed by his Majesty, on the 23rd of April, 1689, one of the Masters in Chancery for Ireland. He was also Dean of Christ's Church, Dublin.

At twelve o'clock, the dense vapour arising from the marsh cleared away, and the sun, in all the roseate splendour so characteristic of the summer solstice, shone brilliantly athwart the blue-vaulted dome of the heavens. Baron de Ginckell now ordered his troops to take up the respective posts assigned to them, while himself advanced, with a strong guard, to view more closely the position of the Irish camp. He also sent forward detachments to clear the rising ground in front of where the Irish videttes were stationed of every obstacle to the speedy advance of his army. On his approach, the Irish outposts retired to within half-a-mile of their own camp, and thereby enabled the Baron to observe, from a high hill to his left, the strong position of the Irish army. On surveying the preparations of the *Sieur de St. Ruth*, he perceived the danger of risking a battle at present, particularly as his fine field of artillery had not yet reached him. However, to try the courage of the Irish soldiers, he commanded a Danish Captain, on whose courage and military skill he had great reliance, to take sixteen horsemen and endeavour to force the Pass of Urachree, where a small Irish

outpost was then stationed. As soon as this party engaged the Irish they were repulsed, not being able to withstand the shock they received. Although their Captain endeavoured to lead them on, and they were aware that De Ginckell eagerly watched their movements, still they turned and fled, abandoning their commander, notwithstanding that the enemy were inferior in number. The Baron de Ginckell, though rather displeased, was not discouraged by the cowardly conduct of the Danes, but, considering it safer to carry on the attack in the *commencement* with the *English* troops, ordered up 200 of Sir Albert Conyngham's Dragoons to the ditches, near a small ford over one of the branches of the river which protected the right wing of the Irish, to prevent them from crossing there and engaging his forces. By the time this order was obeyed it was two o'clock in the afternoon; but, notwithstanding that it was so far advanced in the day, and that he had already received considerable reinforcements, De Ginckell did not think it prudent to enter into a general engagement with the Irish. His officers also advised him not to do so, and gave their opinion that, as he had commenced the attack, he had better wait to see what measures would be adopted by Lieutenant-General de St. Ruth. Still, seeing the utility of possessing the ford and other passes to the right of the Irish camp, in case he had to fight, he ordered Sir Albert's Dragoons to cross the ford, with strict orders to 'drive back the Irish from that post, but not to advance farther.'

It was De St. Ruth's intention, on the other hand, to entrap the enemy into this position, which Baron de Ginckell felt quite sure he had ably provided against. The Irish outposts returned the fire of Sir Albert Conyngham's Dragoons, and then retreated, for the purpose of drawing the English on to the ambush. The latter, imagining the enemy was seized with fear, and neglecting their orders, impetuously charged the retreating foe, but were soon brought to a stand by a deadly discharge from a party of Irish who were placed under cover for the purpose of opening fire on them. Several of the English dragoons fell dead, and others who were only wounded were trampled to death by the steeds that a few minutes previously had borne them triumphantly in pursuit of the enemy. As soon as the survivors recovered from their surprise, they galloped to the rear of a neighbouring hedge. Here, being protected from the enemy's fire, they quickly dismounted, and, letting their horses run loose, advanced, sword in hand, to meet the Irish, most of whom they quickly despatched, being more than twice the number of those in ambush. However, the Irish cavalry posted as a reserve on the hill, and at the rear of the ancient



Manor House of Urachree, soon came to the rescue, and, charging on Sir Albert's Dragoons, amply revenged the death of their companions. The English fled in great confusion towards their camp, being as much afraid of their General, on account of their disobedience, as they were of the enemy who hotly pursued them. Baron de Ginckell, observing this defeat, and seeing the likelihood of his men being cut off, ordered Brigadier-General d'Eppinger's Dragoons, who were about 1,100 strong, to their assistance, with instructions to steadily approach, and endeavour to get between the pursuing cavalry and the Irish camp. De St. Ruth, observing the advance of the latter, despatched reinforcements to assist his cavalry. The Irish, thus assisted, charged the united forces of Brigadier d'Eppinger and Sir Albert Conyngham's Dragoons, and drove them back with considerable loss. Baron de Ginckell immediately sent the greater part of the Earl of Portland's Horse to the rescue of his retreating troops ; but they were quickly thinned by the Irish, who slew them in great numbers (113). Among the slain was Major-General Holtzapfel, who led them to the charge, and was one of the first to fall.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, the victorious Irish cavalry again fell into the same regular order they occupied at two o'clock, when the assault was made by Sir Albert Conyngham's Dragoons, and the English forces, numbering over 1,600 men that were engaged, retreated from the ground which they had vainly endeavoured to maintain. This great success, gained by such an inferior force on the part of the Irish, indicated so much military skill and boldness, that the English at once ceased hostilities, and Baron de Ginckell remained undecided as to whether he would again renew the contest or not, for, on viewing the enemy's camp, he now beheld before it, cold in death, several of the bodies of his bravest soldiers. The consequence was that he immediately convened a council of war, to determine the best course to pursue. The Duke de Wirtemberg, and most, if not all, of the veterans in the Williamite army, were for postponing the battle until the following morning, assigning as a reason that, owing to the determined and unexpected resistance they had already received from the Irish, it was most probable the fight would continue during the night, which would be greatly to their disadvantage, on account of the strong position occupied by the Irish, and the dangerous character of the surrounding ground. So many were of this opinion that Baron de Ginckell gave orders to have his tents and baggage, which he had that morning sent to Athlone, brought back, and pitched for the night between his army and the Irish position. However, Major-General Mackay, who differed

with the Dutch, Danish, and other foreign commanders, gave as his opinion that it would be much more advantageous to renew the battle, and suggested that the plan ought to be at once to endeavour to out-flank, and attack with a strong force, the right wing of the Irish army stationed at Urachree, as the ground there was more open and better adapted for such an undertaking, and because such a manœuvre on the part of the English would necessarily compel the Irish to strengthen the Pass of Urachree with numerous reinforcements from their main reserve, and strong parties of cavalry from their left wing. This movement of the left wing of the Williamite army against the Pass of Urachree would enable the right wing of that army to march against the Pass of Aughrim with a good chance of success, as the strength of that place would be considerably weakened by the removal of so many troops from it. Another circumstance in favour of Mackay's plan was that during the time that would be employed by those detachments in marching a distance of about two miles, and the excitement likely to ensue from such an unexpected event, it was more than probable that time would be obtained to sound the marsh in front of Kilcomedan Hill. If this movement could be successfully accomplished, and that it was discovered the marsh was solid enough to admit of foot soldiers crossing, the Scottish veteran proposed sending infantry regiments to engage the Irish centre, as he considered this was the only available way of having the whole of the English army engaged at the same time. The council sat until half-past four in the afternoon, when, having adopted Major-General Mackay's scheme, they separated. Baron de Ginckell now rescinded the command which he had previously given to have the tents and baggage returned, and had his army drawn up in the following order, to renew the attack on the Irish.

Fifteen regiments of foot, in two lines, were placed in front of the marsh, and the entire of the English and foreign horse, consisting of forty-nine squadrons, were divided into two divisions, for the purpose of attacking the right and left wings of the Irish army. Twenty-four of these squadrons were to march against the Pass of Aughrim, and the remaining twenty-five against the Pass of Urachree.

Baron de Ginckell completed all his arrangements in a very short time, and at five o'clock the fighting recommenced, with great energy on both sides. The Danish horse, accompanied by some infantry, marched to the left along the side of the river, where the English forces were beaten back in the morning. De Ginckell's motive in ordering this movement was to compel the Irish to extend themselves so much to the right that a great number of their cavalry would thereby be prevented

from rendering assistance in any other quarter. The Danes, who were experienced soldiers, and who had been well trained on the Continent, unlike Sir Albert Conyngham's Dragoons, adhered strictly to their orders, by remaining stationary on the English side of the river, without attacking the Irish.

To the right of the Danes, the regiments of Brigadier General la Mellionere, Du Cambon, and Belcassel, numbering between 2,100 and 2,300 well-disciplined men, advanced against the ditches on the extremity of Kilcomedan Hill. Those three Huguenot regiments charged gallantly, but were met with a stern determination by the Irish which they did not anticipate ; and, without exaggeration, it may be safely asserted, that more bravery was displayed in this engagement, on both sides, than in any other that took place during the battle. This bloody and fierce contest was carried on, with unabated vigour, until six o'clock in the evening. The Sieur de St. Ruth, now observing from his post on Kilcomedan Hill how severely his troops at the Pass of Urachree were assailed by the Dutch, Huguenot, and Danish cavalry and infantry regiments, ordered a reserve of cavalry and foot, from the second line of his left centre, to march to their assistance. Perceiving this wise movement, Mackay, who was always desirous of assisting his Commander-in-chief, strongly advised him to withdraw some of the forces that were sent against the Pass of Aughrim, and order them up to Urachree. Baron de Ginckell at once saw the utility of adopting this measure, for he knew that, after withdrawing from the Pass of Aughrim the necessary number of men requisite to reinforce Urachree, still his remaining force there would be vastly superior to the Irish opposed to them.

The next move on the part of the Williamites was to sound the marsh, which though rather deep and very muddy, was still firm enough to admit of the troops crossing. On satisfying themselves on this point, they determined, without further delay, boldly to attack the Irish centre. Of the success of this project Mackay was most sanguine, and he also considered that on its accomplishment chiefly depended the fate of the English. The four regiments of Colonels Abraham Creighton, Thomas Earle, Charles Herbert, and Richard Brewer were ordered by De Ginckell to proceed by the narrow part of the bog near Urachree to the ditches occupied by the Irish, and near Aughrim Pass, where the marsh was considerably wider and more dangerous, a large body of foot were directed to cross. This latter force, which was by far the most numerous, received strict orders, when they would have crossed, to divide into two divisions, and respectively march to the right and left. The left division was to proceed to a corn-field quite close to where the first four

regiments were to halt, and the right was to form in order on the uneven ground near to where they had crossed the marsh. When these parties would have taken up the respective positions assigned to them, they were to remain inactive, and on no account endeavour to advance up the Hill of Kilcomedan until the three were ready to assist each other. While they would be crossing the marsh, it was arranged by Baron de Ginckell that Major-General Tollemache, with the right wing of the English cavalry and a strong force of infantry, was to march round the old Castle of Aughrim, and, by attacking the Irish army at the Pass of Aughrim, thereby prevent them from opposing the troops while crossing by the marsh. Since the fight was renewed at five o'clock, the artillery of both armies kept up an incessant and deadly fire, and the loss sustained, in killed and wounded, appeared to be about equal, although the Williamites had more than four times as many guns as the Irish.

Lieutenant-General de St. Ruth, with the eye of an experienced officer, viewed the manœuvres that were being made by De Ginckell, and expressed his opinion to the officers who were near him that he was very much surprised he would order or sanction such absurd movements, as it must be evident to him that his three divisions could not patiently stand under arms in the face of an enemy until they would have joined each other. The only thing which appeared in their favour was that there was a probability that Major-General Tollemache might succeed in passing at Aughrim, and come up to relieve them. However, as the Pass of Aughrim was so very narrow, and as excellent arrangements had been made by De St. Ruth to fortify the old castle, once the residence of a branch of the sept of O'Kelly, its ruined outworks, and the adjacent ditches, he felt certain that if all his instructions were fully carried out, it would merely be a waste of time and men on the part of the Williamites to attempt effecting a passage in that quarter. As soon as the reinforcements began to march in the direction of the Pass of Urachree, Baron de Ginckell took advantage of the movement, and ordered the infantry regiments intended for that purpose to cross the bog with as much haste as possible, and by the shortest route in front of the centre of the Irish army. Colonel Earle's regiment led, and was closely followed by the other regiments, the four comprising about 3,000 men. Their progress, however, was slow and difficult, owing to the softness of the marsh, and the weight of their arms and accoutrements. When they reached the first of the ditches at the foot of Kilcomedan Hill, which there extended farther into the bog than at any other point, and consequently was the shortest way across the marsh, they were about to halt, according to orders, until the larger body of infantry

would have crossed the marsh lower down, or nearer to the Pass of Aughrim; but the Irish infantry who lined the hedges opened fire on them, and then retreated, without difficulty, through the various openings to the next hedge. The English having suffered severely by this galling fire, and seeing the Irish retreat, became enraged and pursued them in haste. While they were rapidly advancing to the next hedge, the Irish, having reloaded, fired on them with as much success as before, and again retreated to the third hedge. With great anxiety Baron de Ginckell beheld his troops ensnared by this stratagem; while, on the other hand, De St. Ruth was well pleased with the signal success he had met with. The Irish continued to retreat from hedge to hedge, and while doing so gave the English who still pursued them a heavy volley from each. The English continued in pursuit for about half-a-mile, when, finding themselves quite close to the main reserve of the Irish army, who were ready to attack them, and observing the infantry, who had purposely retreated before them, now forming into order to rush down upon them, and the Irish cavalry preparing to charge, they saw the fatal mistake they had made in disobeying their orders, by not waiting for their foot to come up, and, being seized with fear, eagerly sought the shortest way by which they could retreat. Colonel Earle did all he could to encourage them to stand their ground, but in vain. He advanced several yards in front, and flourishing his sword, called out—"Come on, my men, there is no way to come off but by being brave." However, all his efforts to do so proved futile, and, seeing they were determined not to fight, he resolved to retreat in order, if possible, by making them proceed from one hedge to another, firing back on the Irish from each as they retreated. But in this the Colonel was also disappointed, as the soldiers, who paid no attention whatever to his orders, fled in wild confusion down the hill towards the bog, closely pursued by the Irish infantry and dragoons, who succeeded in making prisoners of Captain Bingham, Captain Gooking, Colonel Herbert, and Colonel Earle. This latter officer, who was captured three successive times by the Irish in this engagement, and as often rescued by his men, being severely wounded, again fell into their hands, with other officers of distinction, independently of those already named. In the meantime, the larger division of the Williamite infantry, comprising the regiments of Lord George Hamilton, Brigadier William Stewart, Colonels Zachariah Tiffin, John Ffoulke, and Thomas St. John, with many other regiments, all under the command of Major-General Mackay, were endeavouring to cross the bog. The Major-General, having succeeded in crossing the marsh with the advanced guard, ordered the Prince de Hesse-d'Armstadt, to take up his position



in the corn-field to the left of the marsh, and to remain there, without engaging any of the Irish, until he (Major-General Mackay) would have reached the ditches to the right; and, further, to make no move whatever, until he observed him, with his division and the rest of the foot, advanced far enough in that position to flank the Irish on that side. The *Sieur de St. Ruth*, observing *Prince George* separating from *Mackay*, resolved to engage the two divisions separately, being aware that if he dispersed one, or both, while thus separated, they would be compelled to retreat over the bog, which was certain to be attended with difficulty and loss of life. Before *De St. Ruth*, however, had time to give the necessary orders for the carrying out of this resolution, the Irish got an ample opportunity of encountering the English. The *Prince de Hesse-d'Armstadt*, with all the vigour and rashness of youth, and anxious to distinguish himself, disobeyed orders, and advanced to the ditches to engage the enemy. The Williamite fire was fully reciprocated by the Irish, who, from their sheltered position behind the hedge, were enabled to take steady aim. After this effective volley they quickly retreated to the next hedge. Here, having taken up their position and reloaded, they poured a second volley into the ranks of the advancing foe, with as much, if not more success than the first, being reinforced by fresh parties of infantry. The English now found themselves hemmed in on all sides, as the Irish, when they retreated from the first hedge, passed by the openings to the others on the right and left, and by this means returned to the first hedge again. While engaged in executing this manœuvre, fresh parties of Irish infantry, moving forward, took possession of the hedges in advance of the enemy; and now a galling fire was opened from front and rere on the surprised and terrified English soldiers. *Prince George*, seeing the mistake he had made, and knowing he would be held accountable by *Baron de Ginckell* for disobeying orders, endeavoured to rally his troops; but his utmost endeavours to do so proved unavailing. The Williamites turned and fled, cutting their way through the Irish stationed at the first line of hedges, and hastened to the corn-field where they had been previously drawn up. Great numbers of them, afraid to remain even there, continued their flight across the bog, where many of them perished. This defeat of the Williamites was so complete that their Commander-in-chief regretted having adopted *Mackay's* plan; but the latter, knowing it was occasioned by the rashness of the impetuous *Prince George*, steadfastly adhered to his determination of carrying out his first design. *Mackay* now returned in haste to assist the *Prince de Hesse-d'Armstadt*, and sent a messenger to *Tollemache*, with orders to stop his march against



the Pass of Aughrim, and to hasten with some Huguenot infantry to his own and Prince George's assistance. On the advance of the Williamite troops through the bog, the Irish occupying the ditches concealed themselves so well that the enemy doubted their presence there. However, they were soon convinced, for, when they advanced to within twenty yards of the ditches, the Irish received them with a tremendous fire, which they bore manfully, and returned with little effect; for the smoke was so dense that they could not see their enemies, or even distinguish each other. At this time victory was in favour of the Irish—so much so, indeed, that the officers who surrounded De Ginckell expressed their belief that before a quarter of an hour would have expired the Irish would be masters of the battle-field. The Irish troops fought bravely, and most of them drawing their long skians and daggers, which had round wooden handles, now placed them in the muzzles of their muskets, and, giving a loud cheer, charged with such determination, that they drove the foot which composed the English centre back to the very mouths of their own cannon, planted on the margin of the bog. This was the greatest success achieved by the Irish army during the day, as the English were now prevented from using their ordnance, lest they should destroy their own men, who were intermingled with the Irish. The number of the slain in the Williamite army was very large; but still they continued to fight on bravely, although they had the worst of it in every part of the field. Three times they compelled the Irish to retreat with great loss, but as often were obliged to retire themselves before the equally obstinate native and Anglo-Irish troops, who stoutly maintained their centre against all the force of the Williamites. In the various assaults up to this hour, Ireland lost a large number of her most distinguished and devoted sons, and several were severely wounded. In the last charge, Colonel Constantine Macguire, of Tempo, in the county Fermanagh, surnamed More from his tall stature, a chieftain of ancient lineage, considerable influence, and much ability, was surrounded by great numbers of the enemy; but, together with a few of the Irish soldiers, he made a desperate resistance for some time. Captain Forster, observing the odds were against them, quickly charged with a large party of his troop, amongst whom were Sergeant Power and Ralph Malbrough, and made a fierce dash against the English forces. At this moment the brave Colonel Macguire was shot through the heart, and Sergeant Power severely wounded. Three infuriated Dutch soldiers, advancing from the ranks, now attacked Captain Forster, seeing he was the leader of the assault, which being observed by Donal Bran, he called on Conor

O'Shaughnessy and Kelly of Loughcutra to follow him manfully, as he was resolved, at all risks, to fight his way to where the young Captain was engaged with the enemy. In the meantime, after a short combat, the young Captain succeeded in killing two of his assailants; but the third, having rapidly retreated to some distance, took deliberate aim, and fired at him! Owing to his excitement, the soldier allowed the muzzle of his gun to drop at the moment of pulling the trigger, and, missing his object, the ball entered the breast of the horse, which immediately fell dead under the gallant Irish Captain. The disappointed Dutchman then rushed forward, with an oath, to slay him. Captain Forster raised his sword to defend himself, at the same time endeavouring, with difficulty, to become disengaged from his fallen horse, which had rolled over his legs. Finding himself in this awkward and painful position, he resolved to sell his life as dearly as possible, believing there was now no hope for him; but he had scarcely parried three thrusts, when a shot, fired by a cornet who had advanced from the Irish ranks, laid the Williamite dead. In the confusion which ensued, Captain Forster had only time to exclaim hurriedly to his deliverer—"If you survive this battle, call at Clooneene, near Gortinsiguara, and your services to me will be rewarded." "I will," said the soldier; "my name is O'Flanagan" (114). Captain Forster having disengaged himself from his horse, beheld Donal Bran and Kelly, who quickly mounted him on one of their horses, while Conor O'Shaughnessy placed the wounded Sergeant Power before him on the saddle, and conveyed him to the rere, where his wounds were carefully bound up by Ralph Malbrough. When Conor O'Shaughnessy returned, he took the standard from the firm grasp of Malachy Hanrahan, who was shot through the head during his absence; and Donal ordered some of the Rapparees to dismount, and, under the command of O'Shaughnessy, to pursue the English across the bog.

While the battle raged thus in the Irish centre, an obstinate fight was also taking place at the Pass of Urachree between the Irish right—except that portion kept out of action for the purpose of watching the Danes—and the remainder of the English left. This wing was composed of foreign troops, under the immediate direction of the Baron de Ginckell himself. About six o'clock in the evening, when the attack between the centres of the Sieur de St. Ruth's and Baron de Ginckell's armies took place, the latter ordered a general assault on the Irish line—that is, that part of it which extended from the border of the bog, near the Pass of Urachree, to the hedged and entrenched ground occupied by the Irish foot, who were opposed to the three Huguenot regiments

already mentioned. This assault was made with great bravery, but notwithstanding De Ginckell's utmost efforts to make it effectual, his troops were beaten back by the Irish cavalry, which compelled him to call to his assistance portions of two cavalry regiments, the Marquis de Ruvigny's and Sir John Lanier's, which formed part of the strong force on the right under orders to attack Aughrim. Until these troops came up, which took a considerable length of time, owing to the broken nature of the ground between Aughrim and Urachree, the contest was not here renewed. By thus repulsing their assailants the Irish cavalry obtained the double advantage of insuring the defeat (to their left) of Colonel Earle's and the other divisions of the infantry stationed in the centre of the Williamite army, which undoubtedly would not have occurred had De Ginckell's foreign horse succeeded in getting round by the bog near Urachree. This was of great importance to the Irish, as it prevented the march of De Ginckell's troops up the Hill of Kilcomedan.

In the meantime the three Huguenot infantry regiments were engaged in a fierce conflict with the Irish stationed in the hedges and behind the banks of earth which were thrown up one above another. This attack, which was ordered by De Ginckell solely for the purpose of driving the Irish from the excellent position they held in the hedges, had exactly the opposite effect, for the regiments of Du Cambon, La Mellionere, and Belcassel found it almost impossible, although protected by their *chevaux-de-frize*, to resist the charge of the Irish, who frequently repulsed them with great loss. So successful were they that instead of maintaining the defensive position they at first occupied, they now became the assailants, and having taken possession of the enemy's outer defences, either shot or cut down a great number of them, and twice made themselves masters of the *chevaux-de-frize*. De St. Ruth, observing how valiantly the Irish infantry maintained their ground against the superior numbers of the enemy, became so excited—at the time when he should be most cool—that he threw his hat into the air with delight on seeing the Williamite infantry repulsed for the third time in disorder to the mouths of their own cannon. Indeed, on witnessing the wretched condition of the enemy, he felt certain of success, and with the lively imagination of a Frenchman already beheld the English retreating from the field before his victorious troops. Turning to his officers he said—“By St. Louis, Monsieurs, I will now beat their army back to the gates of Dublin.” Those memorable words clearly prove that De St. Ruth was fully satisfied with the progress his army had made; that he was proud of their conduct, and confident of success. The divisions that

marched from the Irish left centre to the right at Urachree succeeded in frustrating the plans of the English, Huguenots, and Danes there. In fact, their assaults against the Irish centre were scenes of slaughter and confusion. The only matter De St. Ruth had now to rectify was a lodgment made on the left of his army by some English infantry, where the troops had been withdrawn to reinforce Urachree. The right wing of De Ginckell's army, comprising his choicest regiments of cavalry and some battalions of infantry—including Majors-General Kirke's and Gustavus Hamilton's—marched towards Aughrim by the narrow pass which lay between the two bogs. They had with them some field pieces, which they planted on the firm land that jettied into the bog, near the Pass of Aughrim. Having accomplished this, they dislodged the Irish outpost at the mouth of the defile, but the battery which was erected by the Sieur de St. Ruth on the side of the hill did not open fire on them, owing to the English and Irish being so much mixed. The English, however, hesitated to pass on, for in the fields beyond the central marsh and the small river which crossed the road leading to Aughrim, and flowed into the bog to the right, they observed the Irish strongly posted, their infantry in the hedges, and their cavalry in the background, preparing to charge to their aid at a moment's notice. The Irish were most successful up to this time, but all the advantages they had gained were now nearly lost to them, either through the treachery or mistake of one of their officers. The Sieur de St. Ruth ordered Brigadier-General Henry Luttrell to march with the *second line* of the Irish stationed there to the Pass of Urachree, but that officer led off a *battalion of the first line* to march with the rest (115). The English, who did not venture to pass while this battalion remained, now laid a number of hurdles across the bog and passed over. This breach of the Sieur de St. Ruth's orders greatly weakened the Irish, as several strong bodies of both horse and foot were removed. Their loss was soon felt, and the remainder of the Irish lay under the impression that they were betrayed by Luttrell, which still made matters worse, as they soon became disheartened, and, consequently, did not make as determined a resistance as they otherwise would have done. The foot, who had fought all day with an undaunted courage that any nation might feel proud of, now fled from hedge to hedge before the English, halting at each to return the deadly fire of the enemy with ill-directed discharges which had little effect. The Irish continued to retreat until they reached the hollow plain at the rere of the old castle. Here the Sieur de St. Ruth had stationed a reserve of Irish cavalry, and now part of them, coming to relieve the flying foot, charged the English with such

vehemence that they were driven back to the ditches with great slaughter, where having taken shelter, they opened fire on their pursuers. As the foot did not come up to second the cavalry, who had so bravely rescued them, the latter were obliged to retreat outside the range of the enemy's fire, who did not pursue them, feeling it safer to keep the hedges between themselves and their foes.

By this time the regiments of Lord George Hamilton and Sir Henry Bellasyse had advanced across the widest part of the bog, in the direction of the lined hedges, and the right wing of De Ginckell's cavalry, having with them some large field-pieces, were endeavouring to march round by the old castle to rescue their foot, who were compelled by the Irish cavalry reserve to shelter themselves behind the hedges, and afterwards to aid the foot regiments of the centre, who were then struggling in the bog, at the foot of Kilcomedan Hill. On the advance of this wing of the army over the narrow road leading to the Pass of Aughrim, it was reinforced by the regiments of Major-General Kirke and Colonel Hamilton. It was previously arranged that these two latter regiments were to attack the outer defences of the old castle, and that the cavalry were to pass by the narrow way adjacent to that fortress.

When the English entered on this road, the Irish garrison who defended the Castle of Aughrim, having no bullets, were directed by Colonel Burke to break open eight barrels of ammunition which he had received from the camp, and four of which, he stated, contained bullets, and the remainder powder. The rage and disappointment of the garrison baffles description when, on staving these casks, they found them to contain cannon ball, instead of musket bullets. They resolved, however, not to allow the Williamites to advance without making an effort to prevent them, and for this purpose, in their wild excitement, they actually tore the buttons from their clothes, which they used as a substitute for bullets. When these were exhausted, they next had recourse to pebbles which they found in the building. At last, in despair they fired their ramrods into the ranks of the enemy, who continued to press forward. Further resistance on the part of the garrison was now impossible, but the Irish soldiers stationed in the outer fortifications still exerted themselves in opposing the progress of the Williamite troops, who were well supplied with ammunition. While the English cavalry were thus slowly advancing, the two infantry regiments before mentioned were engaged in barricading the broad way, or open ground which led to the rear of Aughrim Castle, and which was made by order of Lieutenant-General de St. Ruth, to facilitate the charge

of the cavalry reserve stationed to the rear of that place. The English now boldly pressed forward, the Irish having no means of opposing them, save the wretched fire already mentioned, and without much loss took possession of the outer fortifications, those who defended them being obliged to retreat into the castle. While the Irish were being thus beaten from the outworks, their cavalry resolved, if possible, to capture the artillery, which the Williamites had brought up. Taking a semi-circular route, they wheeled to the left to the rear of De Ginckell's cavalry, where the cannon were planted, but finding it impossible to take them on account of the strong position which the Williamites now occupied, they returned in good order. The English cavalry still continued to press forward, though very slowly, owing to the difficult ground over which they had to pass. Sir Francis Compton, with part of his troop, was the first to engage the Irish, on the firm ground beyond Aughrim Castle, but with little or no success. The Irish maintained their position manfully, and twice caused De Ginckell's cavalry to fall back with great loss. The Williamites, being then reinforced by some of Major-General the Marquis de Ruvigny's, Colonel Byverley's, and Colonel Langston's regiments of horse, and Brigadier Levison's dragoons, again renewed the assault, and gained ground on the enemy, although with great loss to themselves.

Before the English had succeeded in passing the Castle of Aughrim, Lieutenant-General de St. Ruth, being informed of the fatal result of Brigadier Henry Luttrell's having removed the *front battalion*, instead of the *second line*, rode forward to rectify in person this grievous disaster. The Commander-in-chief, for this purpose, took with him the cavalry which during the battle had formed his body-guard, and left at the rear of the Irish centre, as a reserve, the larger portion of his cavalry, under the command of the Earl of Lucan, whom he directed to remain there until he received further orders. De St. Ruth having perceived on his march the right wing of the English horse endeavouring to pass by the narrow path near the Castle of Aughrim, and not being aware that the garrison were without bullets, with surprise asked the Chevalier de Tessé—

“What do they mean by trying to pass there?”

The Chevalier replied—

“General, they are certainly endeavouring to pass there for the purpose of attacking you on the left wing.”

Fully confident of success, De St. Ruth remarked—

“They are brave fellows. It is a pity they should be so exposed.”

The overthrow of De Ginckell's cavalry by the Irish would easily



allow of Kirke's and Hamilton's regiments being driven back, together with three other battalions in the hedges, for now all was against the English, owing to the great difficulty of the pass. When De St. Ruth saw the position the English held, he rashly determined to abdicate the functions of a general and become a fighting soldier. His manner of arranging and carrying into effect during the entire day, all his masterly plans was admirable, and he had also confined himself strictly to his proper duty as a general, in superintending the various movements which he directed to be made, and which were so successfully carried out by the Irish soldiers to his full satisfaction. He now, however, unwisely resolved to head in person, a charge which he knew if made would be successful, and have the effect of putting an end to Baron de Ginckell's attacks, and consequently gain the victory for the Irish. Had the Sieur de St. Ruth directed any of his officers to head this charge, while personally at a distance he superintended the operations of his army, all would have been well; but his prudence now appeared to forsake him, and he seemed to forget that the whole plan of battle was confined to his own mind, as he had not communicated it to any of the Irish generals under his command. Mounted on a splendid and favourite white charger; dressed in his magnificent uniform, and wearing the decorations of his order of knighthood, he placed himself at the head of his brigade of horse, and continued to ride slowly on towards the struggling wing of De Ginckell's army. When he arrived near his battery on the left side of Kilcomedan Hill, he made himself still more conspicuous by leaving the brigade of horse, and riding over to the battery. Here he halted, and directed the gunner to point his fire in a particular direction against the enemy. He then returned to the head of his brigade, and pushed on to the place where the English had endeavoured to come over, and reach the spot of ground opposite to the emerging enemy, which was on the slope of Kilcomedan Hill, under the Irish camp.

A better situation for the charge of his cavalry brigade could scarcely be imagined.

The Irish cavalry, in addition to the advantage of being able to charge with full force down the hill, were not fatigued, as they had been kept as a reserve during the previous part of the day. The Williamite cavalry, who by this time had reached the firm ground beyond Aughrim Castle, consisted of four squadrons, quite worn out by the severe work they had performed, and were now slowly forming into order. Lieutenant-General de St. Ruth, confident of success, now placed himself at the head of the cavalry, at the same time remarking to those

about him—"Monsieurs, they are beaten : let us beat them to the purpose." This Lieutenant-General the Sieur de St. Ruth was, unfortunately for Ireland, unable to do, for he had scarcely uttered the last syllable when a cannon-ball swept off his head, and in a few moments after the headless body of the man on whom the destiny of Ireland depended fell from his horse a disfigured corpse (116).

Though Lieutenant-General de St. Ruth was thus unexpectedly slain at a time so favourable to the Irish, his death was not caused by a stray shot, but was owing to the perfidious treachery of two wretches who were traitors to their country. These individuals were a farmer named Kelly, and Mullen, his herd. It appears that on the 11th, the day previous to the battle, some of the Irish soldiers, being in need of food, took possession of a few of Kelly's sheep. Being informed by his herd of the circumstance, both went before the Commander-in-chief, who after having heard their complaint, addressing Kelly, said he was more than astonished that any Irishman would refuse food to the brave soldiers who were now making a last stand against an usurper whose army was superior in number, discipline, clothing, arms, and pay—an army which, if successful, would deprive him not only of all his stock, but his property also, and perhaps even of his life, or force him to become an exile far away from the land that gave him birth. The patriotic sentiments expressed by De St. Ruth had no effect on Kelly, who was of a penurious disposition, and who, not fearing the future, continued to demand the restoration of his stock. The General, being enraged at the despicable selfishness of Kelly, ordered him to quit the camp at once on pain of instant death. Seeing remonstrance was in vain he desisted, and turning to Mullen, addressed him in the Irish language as follows—"Mark the appearance of the Frenchman well, in order that we may know him again." The herdsman replying in the same tongue, said he would do so, and added—"Master you are robbed, but ask the Frenchman at least for the skins of your sheep." Rain having fallen on that day, and the soldiers, being badly supplied with bedding, required the skins for that purpose, and the General, being surprised at this request, after the determined manner in which he had already spoken, said—"If you do not quickly depart, I will immediately order you to be hanged." Kelly and Mullen took the hint, and, determined to have revenge, repaired to the Williamite camp, and gave themselves up to the Marquis de Ruvigny's horse, demanding to be brought into the presence of the Baron de Ginckell. The Dutch General listened attentively to what they stated, and then sent for an experienced artillery officer of his, whose name was Finch, and commanded him to take

Kelly and Mullen with him, and when Lieutenant-General de St. Ruth was pointed out by them, to endeavour to bring him down. Finch took with him some of the best gunners, and pushed over the bog to the English right, on the Aughrim side, a light piece of cannon, by means of shifting planks, and then lay in wait a long time for the appearance of De St. Ruth. At length the herdsman exclaimed in Irish—"Master, master, I see the Frenchman," as Lieutenant-General de St. Ruth appeared mounted on his white charger. He was pointed out by the herdsman to the sergeant who accompanied the party, and the field-piece being brought to bear upon him, the gallant General fell. When the smoke cleared away, Finch said to Mullen—"Is the Commander-in-chief hit." The herdsman replied—"He is on his horse still; you have only blown off his hat." But, taking a second glance, he continued—"The head and hat are both off, for I see them rolling down the hill together."

As soon as Lieutenant-General the Sieur de St. Ruth fell from his horse, his martial cloak was thrown over his body, which was quickly conveyed by some soldiers to the rear. Notwithstanding all the endeavours that were made to conceal the death of the Commander-in-chief, the first squadron of the Life Guards discovered the fact and halted, and the remainder doing the same, caused great confusion and delay, and no orders were now given when most required. The report of De St. Ruth's death spread quickly from man to man, and the cavalry commenced to retreat. In a short time, however, they recovered from their confusion, but it was too late. Valuable time had been lost, and in the great delay which had taken place the Williamite horse were allowed to effect a passage through the pass at Aughrim Castle. The Irish now drew up and formed in order, but Major-General Mackay, who commanded at Aughrim, instead of Major General Tollemache, whom he had sent to rally the Williamite broken centre, now pushed forward with a large division of the English, Dutch, and foreign cavalry; and, taking advantage of the confusion of the Irish in this wing, compelled by dint of numbers, the Duke of Tyrconnell's regiment of horse to retreat, while a portion of the Marquis de Ruvigny's horse, with some difficulty, drove a regiment of Irish dragoons from a good position, which they had held with determination. However, two lines of the Irish foot still preserved order, regardless of the enemy's fire, in the hope that the Earl of Lucan and his large body of fresh cavalry would charge down the hill to their speedy assistance. But no assistance whatever came, owing to his Lordship not having heard of De St. Ruth's sudden death, until it was too late to send succour to them, and they were taken in flank by Mackay, who was reinforced by the

English infantry, and, after a long and obstinate resistance, at last broken.

The success which attended Major-General Mackay, and Sir Francis Compton on the right, enabled Major-General Tollemache to repair the great disorder of the English centre, and make another attack on that of the Irish. On arriving at the middle of the bog, where the English regiments were being defeated, two hundred yards distant from the outmost ditch at the foot of the hill, Tollemache reformed, and strengthened with fresh troops the defeated and disordered regiments, and then drove back, after a fearful resistance, the Irish with a loss of about 300 men.

A result equal to that obtained by these successive movements of De Ginckell's right and centre, was also gained by his left at Urachree. The detachments from the Marquis de Ruvigny's and Sir John Lanier's regiments, arrived from Aughrim just in time to aid the foreign cavalry, in their endeavour to force their way round the bog. De Ginckell directed De Ruvigny to take command of the detachments of his own regiment, Sir John Lanier's the Queen's Regiment of Horse Guards, and the Earl of Portland's or King William's own Regiment of Horse Guards, amounting to between 1,200 and 1,300 choice men. At last, the English succeeded, with great difficulty, in getting round the bog; and, so determined was the opposition they had to encounter, that their Commander, for a long time, entertained serious doubts of their ever being able to accomplish their design.

Notwithstanding that the two lines of the Irish were now broken and in disorder, and that they were in want of a leader to give them uniform orders, they still bravely and resolutely fought on. Now, the Williamite cavalry and infantry on the right, mixing with those of the Irish left, a heavy and continued fire was exchanged, and a desperate dispute, fiercely maintained all along their line. The Irish, bravely resolved to keep possession of their ditches, while the English, Dutch, Danes, and other foreign troops, were as fully determined to drive them out of them. The old Castle of Aughrim still resolutely held out, but, as the entire of the English right wing had already passed, its possession was of no further consequence to the Irish army.

It was now very near eight o'clock in the evening, and Major-General Mackay on the right marched with horse and foot against the Irish left wing. Major-General Tollemache pushed up from the centre, and was joined by the Marquis de Ruvigny's horse, from Baron de Ginckell's left wing at Urachree, and all advanced together up the hill. Still, with their two lines of battle broken, the Irish contended stoutly

against those three hostile bodies, and defended every ditch along the hill to the camp. In the struggle to reach the top of the hill, the Williamite infantry threw off their coats, and the prophecy of the Irish was thus fulfilled, that the Gauls, which meant English, or other foreigners, would find their coats too heavy going up the hill at the fight of Aughrim O'Kallagh.

The Earl of Lucan, who was stationed on the top of Kilcomedan Hill, to the rear of the Irish centre, impatiently waiting for orders from Lieutenant-General de St. Ruth, did not once during the day take part in this sanguinary battle, or assist his countrymen in fighting, until now, as he was not aware of the death of the Commander-in-chief, and was too good a soldier to disobey orders. Seeing that all was now lost, owing to the death of their leader, he resolved to render his unfortunate countrymen all the assistance in his power, by seeing that they retreated in regular and proper order. The English pursued the Irish infantry to the top of Kilcomedan Hill, with a cry of 'Blood, blood,' and resolved to give no quarter. Here, having destroyed the camp which had protected the Irish, the latter fled in the direction of the large red bog, while their cavalry, under the gallant Lord Lucan, retreated towards the town of Loughrea, bringing with them the remains of the brave, but unfortunate, Sieur de St. Ruth.

The events which had taken place on the right and centre occurred opportunely for the safety of the Huguenot regiments, for, after being repeatedly repulsed with great loss by the Irish, they took shelter behind a *chevaux-de-frise*. But, notwithstanding this defence, the Huguenot infantry were on the point of being cut to pieces by the Irish, who rushed upon them, sword in hand, when a regiment of Danish Guards—the King of Denmark's—about 800 strong, came up to their aid, and rescued them from the impending danger, by attacking the Irish flank, and compelling them to fall back. However, as soon as the Irish recovered from the effects of the charge, they again, not fearing the reinforced Huguenots, boldly renewed the attack, and drove them back with the same success they had achieved before the King of Denmark's Foot Guards had come up. Major-General the Marquis la Forrest, observing the great danger to which his brave countrymen were exposed, resolved to bring to their assistance a still greater force. The arrival of this second body of troops gradually gave a turn to this long-continued and deadly struggle. The Marquis la Forrest then formed the three Huguenot regiments, the Danes, and all the others he had brought up, into one division, which charged the Irish most determinedly. The first battalion of Irish, after making a last struggle, were compelled to

retreat before this strong host. This disaster threw the Irish in the rear also into a state of disorder, and the whole of their battalions, after standing their ground up to this so manfully, now gave way before the superior force of the Marquis la Forrest. The loud and rapid report of musketry was now heard by them from the top of the hill, and they saw with dismay that De Ginckell's troops had succeeded in depriving them of any assistance, by defeating their left and centre. Thus the brave Irish, who for over two hours had fought without intermission, and maintained the Pass of Urachee, were reluctantly obliged to give way, and do the best they could to save themselves. However, the Danish cavalry on the extreme left were kept at bay by the Irish there; and many of the latter afterwards effected their retreat, but so slowly that a great number of them were put to the sword by the enemy. The Irish force stationed along the little river, on the most remote part of De Ginckell's left, still held their ground. They comprised horse and foot, and were closely watched by De Ginckell's Danish cavalry and infantry. The Danes acted very cautiously, however, and did not venture to attack the Irish here, until certain that Mackay had succeeded at Aughrim, and that the whole of De Ginckell's army were marching up the hill. When the Danes engaged the Irish, the latter, though disheartened by the defeat of the rest of their army, resolved to make all the resistance in their power, which they did most creditably for over half an hour, at the expiration of which time they were obliged to retreat before the overwhelming numbers brought to bear against them. All the foreign cavalry in the Williamite army, but particularly the Danes, now fell upon the broken and disordered Irish ranks, instead of pursuing the Irish cavalry, who were retreating in perfect military order under Lord Lucan; and a scene of the most disreputable slaughter took place. Those who survived of the Irish generals, captains, other officers, and chaplains, made every exertion to facilitate the safe retreat of the defeated troops.

A circumstance now occurred which shows clearly how capable the Irish are of remaining cool, even on the most trying occasions, and which saved the lives of several of them. Father James O'Reilly on the retreat of his regiment, observing it was closely followed by the enemy, commanded a drummer to beat a charge. This stratagem had the desired effect. The Baron de Ginckell's troops, imagining the Irish soldiers were about to stand and attack them, halted, and formed in order to resist them, and the time thus gained enabled the Irish to gain the bog, and get beyond the reach of their enemies. It was now after eight o'clock, and, as if to cast a veil over the scene of slaughter, a fog



arose, and thick misty rain began to descend. This was providential, as it aided the Irish infantry to retreat, some of whom wended their way towards Galway, but the greater portion to Limerick. De Ginckell, seeing matters were to his satisfaction, captured the old castle of Aughrim, and massacred all the Irish there, with the exception of Colonel Burke (117), his major, eleven officers, and forty soldiers. This was an instance of great clemency on the part of the English, contrasted with their treatment of others who belonged to the Irish army, both here and at the Boyne, for not more than 450 were taken prisoners, including the officers, and the wounded Irish, who were very numerous, were mercilessly put to death.

A body consisting of 2,000 of the Irish, who were cut off by the movements of De Ginckell's army, threw down their arms, and asked for quarter, but were all murdered on the spot, and Viscount Galway was perfidiously slain after the English had promised to give the Irish quarter.

Owing to the retreat of the Irish from Aughrim, the bodies of their slain were left unburied on the battle-field, with very few exceptions; and, consequently, great numbers of dogs, ravens, and other carnivorous animals collected to feast on the dead. A remarkable instance of the gratitude and affection of the canine species occurred on the field of Aughrim, under the following circumstances. An officer in the Irish army had a favourite wolf-dog, to which he was very much attached. This faithful animal had followed him all through the war, and during the warmest attacks could not be separated from him. At length when the officer bravely fell in charging the English ranks, the wolf-dog lay across the dead body, whining piteously, until forced by hunger to seek food. It then joined the other dogs, and satisfied its appetite on other bodies, but on no account would allow anything to meddle with the remains of its departed master. It thus continued alternately to keep guard, and appease its hunger, until at last, all the bodies were devoured with the exception of its master's. The wolf-dog still remained, though there was now nothing left but the skeleton, retiring each night to the neighbouring villages to procure food. In this manner, the noble animal continued until the month of January, a period of nearly six months, when a soldier in Colonel Ffoulke's Regiment, being stationed near the place, one day accidentally passed where the skeleton lay. The ever watchful dog, imagining he had come for the purpose of disturbing his master's bones, sprang at the Williamite, and endeavoured to seize him by the throat. The former stepping aside with great agility raised his musket to his shoulder, took steady aim

and fired. In a second the faithful dog fell dead over the relics of its master.

The loss sustained by the Irish army in this battle was about 4,000 killed and 450 prisoners. It must be also remembered that previous to the sudden and unexpected death of Lieutenant-General de St. Ruth, their Commander-in-chief, the Irish had not lost many men, while the Williamite forces under Baron de Ginckell were beaten back with great slaughter in several unsuccessful attempts, which they made upon the Irish army up to that time. The number of Irish officers taken prisoners was 111, and those killed between 500 and 600, including De St. Ruth, and others of distinction. It will be observed by these figures that the Irish gentry were not sparing of their blood in the cause of their religion and country, and that they intended keeping their word, when they unanimously said that at Aughrim they were resolved to die or conquer; and their descendants should feel justly proud of the long and noble struggle which they maintained against superior numbers, for although they were defeated at Aughrim it cannot be alleged that they lost that bloody battle dishonourably.

Baron de Ginckell's loss in killed and wounded was something more than 3,000 men, including seventy-three officers killed—namely, one major-general, two colonels, one lieutenant-colonel, four majors, nineteen captains, twenty-four lieutenants, and twenty-two ensigns and cornets. Amongst the wounded were one hundred and eleven officers, most of whom died. Baron de Ginckell captured all the tents of the Irish army, their military stores, provisions, a great quantity of arms, nine heavy field-pieces, thirty-two colours, and eleven standards.

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## CHAPTER XXXIV.

### THE RETREAT UNDER THE EARL OF LUCAN.

WHEN the main body of the cavalry, under the command of the Earl of Lucan, retreated from their post on Kilcomedan Hill, they marched on in regular order by the road to Loughrea. All the other detached parties of cavalry shortly after joined them, and his Lordship assisted the officers to put them in order, so as to conduct their retreat properly. The Williamite horse pursued, but did not come to close quarters with them. After having marched about three miles, it became very dark,

and Lord Lucan resolved to wait for the approach of the advanced portion of Baron de Ginckell's cavalry. Accordingly, he drew up near Ballydonnellan, in view of the large and ancient castle erected in 1412, and which was the principal residence of the Chiefs of Clan Bresal, one of the most powerful Milesian septs of Connaught. Here his Lordship, at the head of a regiment of horse, made a brisk and determined charge, killing several of the enemy. The remainder fell back in haste, taking care not to close again with the Irish, who rapidly pushed on in the direction of Loughrea.

During the charge at Ballydonnellan, The O'Donnellan, who held a colonel's commission in the Irish army, and was wounded at Aughrim, took leave of Captain Forster and his other friends, and returned home, resolved to follow the army as soon as he recovered.

Donal Bran and his band, who led the way during the retreat, were most useful, from their perfect knowledge of the country.

About midnight the Irish army reached Loughrea, and found that many of the inhabitants were flying to the adjacent mountains. Here the body of Lieutenant-General the Sieur de St. Ruth was interred by torchlight, in the old convent of the Blessed Virgin Mary; after which Lieutenant-General d'Usson and other officers, with some men, resolved to secure Galway from the grasp of the enemy.

Lord Lucan resolved to proceed, without delay, to Limerick, and therefore quickly left Loughrea. They had a very weary march all that cold, sad night to Gortinsiguara, but could not rest on the way, lest the whole of the Williamite cavalry might overtake and intercept them. When they reached Gortinsiguara, it was still dark, and Lord Lucan consulted with Captain Forster, as he knew all that part of the country well, and resolved not to proceed by the direct road to Tubberindony, but to take a rougher route near the mountains of Burren, in the county of Clare. Leaving Gortinsiguara behind him, he turned to the right, and reached Kilmacduach Abbey just at day-break. Here he held another consultation with his officers, and Captain Forster gave his opinion that they ought to march to Rathorpe, where plenty of cattle could be procured for the use of the men. But his Lordship still maintained his resolution of marching on without delay, lest any further attempt might be made to intercept him. The cavalry had suffered severely, being under arms since six o'clock on the previous morning, during which time they had neither food nor rest.

Donal Bran, Conor O'Shaughnessy, and Kelly were directed to disperse, and return to their homes, where they were to procure means of disguising themselves, and afterwards return to Loughrea for the pur-

pose of endeavouring to obtain information relative to the enemy's movements, which they were to convey as soon as possible to Lord Lucan.

Again the fatigued cavalry mounted, and, travelling by the rere of Bunnacippaun Wood, passed down by Derryowen Castle, to Tubberindony.

Captain Forster, although quite convenient to Rathorpe, did not leave his troop, but went on with the others to Limerick, resolved to make another stand in the cause of his country.

Sergeant Power, though wounded, still held on, and many of the soldiers followed his example.

Having passed through Tubberindony, the Irish cavalry entered the county of Clare, and at Crusheen, near the ancient ruins of Inchicronan Abbey, halted, and rested for some time, and then slowly moved on towards Limerick.

Donal Bran sorrowfully looked after the troops as they left Kilmacduach, and, after bidding farewell to his friend Michael Fahy, who resided close to the venerable Round Tower, followed by his unbroken band, he proceeded to Clooneene.

The sun was appearing above the horizon when the Rapparee arrived at the height of Crushnabawn, and soon after he was passing through its dark wood, with his wearied and faithful followers, and at length reached the demesne of Clooneene. He then went direct to the gate of the outer courtyard. Outside the arched gateway he met some of the Chief's tenants and followers, who kept watch every night during those troubled times. Before Donal Bran spoke a single word, they instinctively knew he was the bearer of sorrowful tidings, and exclaimed—

“Have we lost the battle?”

“Yes, yes,” said Donal, “De St. Ruth is dead, and we are beaten.”

With unutterable grief they heard those dreadful words, and would have loudly given expression to their sorrow; but Donal sternly desired them to remain silent, and not disturb the Chieftain and his family.

“Is the young gentleman up?” he inquired.

“Yes,” replied Hanrahan, the Stockmaster, “and so is Mr. Fenwick. They have not slept much this week back, waiting from day to day to hear news of our army; but you have not told us if the young Captain has escaped through the battle uninjured.”

“That is the only good news I am the bearer of, to comfort the family,” responded Donal.

"Thanks, Donal, at all events for this pleasant intelligence, but you must feel tired, so I will call Costellan, who is in the mansion."

The Rapparee and his men then dismounted, and their horses were taken the best care of by their friends.

In a short time, John Forster, Cuthbert Fenwick, and Costellan appeared. They successively warmly shook the honest Donal by the hand, and he, in a few words, conveyed to them the sad tidings of their defeat, and told them that young Captain Forster had accompanied the Earl of Lucan to Limerick, but that he had desired him say he was in excellent health and only troubled by the late defeat of the army.

John now perceiving that several of the Rapparees were wounded brought them into the retainers' hall, and despatched a horseman to Gortinsiguara for Doctor Egan, his grandfather's physician, and refreshments were prepared for the whole band.

John next proceeded to the Chieftain's room, and knocked gently at the door. The Chief of Clooneene was already dressed and bade him enter. John then said—

"Grandfather, prepare to hear the worst news."

"After the loss of Athlone," said the Chief, "I am prepared to hear anything; therefore, tell me without hesitation is the battle lost."

"Lost!" replied John. "Our brave army is defeated. Donal Bran has just arrived with the sad tidings."

"Call him here," said the Chief, "I am anxious to speak to him."

Donal soon entered, hat in hand. His clothes were torn in many places, and besmeared with dust and blood, and his blackened visage, added much to his melancholy appearance.

"Sit down on that chair, Donal, my man," said the Chieftain, "and tell me all about the battle."

The Rapparee, being exhausted, at once obeyed, and with tears in his eyes commenced to narrate the various incidents of the obstinate fight. While he described the successful charges made by the Irish troops during the day, the Chief's eyes beamed with pleasure, and he exclaimed—

"I knew they would fight as Irishmen ought if only properly led on to the charge by their officers."

When Donal related the danger his grandson, young Captain Forster, had escaped in the battle, the old Chieftain was much affected.

"Be not uneasy, sir," said Donal, "he is now quite safe in company with the brave General Sarsfield, for I, like the other Rapparees, prefer calling the Earl of Lucan by the fine old name he bore when he blew up the English cannon and saved Limerick."

Donal then told him how Lieutenant-General de St. Ruth, seeing some of the English cavalry pass at Aughrim Castle, left his post at the Hill of Kilcomedan, to head a charge against them; of his sudden fall; of the many struggles made by the Irish afterwards, and their final retreat, some to Galway, and others to Limerick.

"Can you inform me, Donal," said the Chieftain, "who amongst my friends are safe? for I am certain, from their patriotism, that many have fallen."

"After the battle," returned the Rapparee, "I saw the Chiefs of Cratloe, Moyriesk, and Ennistymon, The O'Donnellan of Ballydonnellan and Captain O'Brien, the two last of whom are badly wounded, but I missed The O'Kelly of Mullaghmore, Lord Galway, and the Stacpooles, and fear very much they are slain."

Donal Bran was now desired to retire to bed for some time, and Costellan ordered cattle and sheep to be immediately slaughtered for food for the soldiers who were likely to pass by Clooneene on their way to Limerick.

Doctor Egan had by this time arrived, and was now busily engaged attending to the wounded men.

Towards noon several bodies of Irish infantry began to arrive, but merely waited a short time to refresh themselves, as they feared they might be intercepted and cut to pieces by parties of Williamites.

In the evening one of the tenants from Ballinascagh brought some handsome bridles to Clooneene, which he found near a large rock on the lands of Cahirbroder. A few of the Irish cavalry having taken their way, while on their retreat, through the lands of Cahirbroder, and their horses being unable to proceed farther from fatigue, they took off the bridles and turned them loose (118).

All this day and the ensuing night parties of Irish soldiers continually passed by Clooneene, and were provided with food by its hospitable Chief.

By mid-day the loss of the battle of Aughrim had spread far and wide, and both the gentry and peasantry were in the greatest alarm for the safety of their families and property. Some drove their stock to the mountains of Clare, and even fled themselves and hid in caves. The families of Clooneene, Rathorpe, Ardemilevan, Ballygegan, Bunahow, Tillyra and Lissine, had all their jewellery and plate secreted. The infamous character of Baron de Ginckell's foreign troops, as pillagers and murderers, was by this time well known, and during the day and night about Clooneene and Gortinsiguara great anxiety prevailed, as the people did not know what moment parties of De Ginckell's troops



would appear in their neighbourhood. A long consultation took place in the course of the day, between the Chief of Clooneene, his son Major Forster, Dermot Oge Cloran, and Conor O'Shaughnessy, and it was unanimously resolved to send some active and intelligent scouts towards Loughrea, to endeavour to obtain the latest news relative to the Williamite army. Early next day one of the retainers who had acted as a scout returned, and informed his Chief that the English were still encamped on the field of Aughrim, and that Baron de Ginckell had given Protections to the nobility and gentry in that neighbourhood, and, amongst others, to the sept of O'Donnellan. On hearing this, another consultation was held, and it was proposed by Dermot Oge that the Chief of Clooneene ought also to apply for a Protection, as if he did not obtain one like the rest of the aristocracy, the families of his retainers and tenantry would be murdered, their houses burned, and their cattle seized by the victorious Williamites, but the Chieftain and his son resolved to wait for further intelligence. Late in the evening a second scout returned, with information that Baron de Ginckell was still at Aughrim resting his men, and that many other gentlemen had received Protections from him ; and, also, that he had interred his dead, but that all the Irish who were slain were left unburied where they fell. After a long debate, the Chief resolved to allow his eldest son to apply for a Protection, as there was no other way of securing their tenantry, particularly the females, from the grossest insult. Accordingly, early next morning a messenger was despatched to Aughrim, where he found many of the Protestants of the county, who now threw up the Protections they had received from King James, and a few of the lower and more bigoted class, unmindful of the clemency they had experienced from the Catholics, trying to prevent the Dutch General from giving Protections to some of them, in the hope of obtaining grants of their estates and goods. The Commander-in-chief, up to this time, had not refused any of the Catholics for Protections, as he was most anxious to terminate the war speedily, and return with his army to assist the Prince of Orange in maintaining the Dutch power on the Continent. Therefore, he had numerous copies of Protections printed, with blanks for the names and addresses of the various persons who would apply for them, and for the name of the camp where the English army might happen to be stationed at the time. Amongst those who now made application for one of these was Ffrench of Rahasane, a highly respectable Catholic gentleman, of large property and ancient descent. On being admitted to the presence of De Ginckell, he requested a Protection, which he had previously expected as a matter of course ; but, to his astonishment, the Commander-

in-chief refused to grant it on hearing his name, and desired him to retire. Ffrench left the tent in great grief, knowing well the danger his family and property would be exposed to. Outside he met one of his Protestant neighbours, Major Charles Morgan, of Kilcolgan Castle (119), who asked him why he looked so dejected?

The Chief of Rahasane replied that he was just after speaking to Baron de Ginckell, who refused to give him a Protection. Morgan, who had great influence with the Baron, having known him intimately on the Continent, heard this with surprise and told Ffrench that he would at once go to his friend De Ginckell's tent, and ask him why he refused a Ffrench so reasonable a request. Having walked to the door of the tent, he sent in his card by one of the soldiers, and was immediately admitted to the Baron's presence. Major Morgan then asked De Ginckell why he refused to protect Ffrench of Rahasane? Baron de Ginckell replied, that he had received a very bad character of him, and was privately advised on no account to give him, or any of his family, a Protection. Morgan said it was utterly impossible that any man could give a bad character of his friend, who was an honourable man, and one who had acted with great prudence and humanity all through the war, and he would therefore be glad to know who it was that dared to speak so falsely and uncharitably of his friend Mr. Ffrench.

"I have no objection whatever to tell you," said De Ginckell: "my informant is a person named Walter Taylor, and resides at Ballymacraith."

"What!" exclaimed Morgan indignantly, "the base scoundrel has told you an untruth of Ffrench, for the purpose of obtaining an opportunity to plunder his estates and goods."

On hearing this, Baron de Ginckell said he sincerely regretted having taken any notice of Taylor's information in regard to Mr. Ffrench, and that he was now fully satisfied that gentleman's character had been altogether misrepresented to him. The Baron then directed Mr. Ffrench to be recalled, and at once presented him with the desired Protection.

Major Forster of Rathorpe was also supported in the application he made for a Protection, by a gentleman in the English army, who was acquainted with his relatives in Northumberland, and who laid before Baron de Ginckell his honourable conduct as High Sheriff of the County of Galway during the two previous years, and the disinterested and gentlemanly manner in which he had acted during the war. The Protection given him included his family and tenantry, with their stock and goods, provided they returned all such stock, goods, or other things

which they might have taken from, or received of, any Protestant during the war.

All this day, Wednesday, 15th of July, numerous bodies of the Irish soldiery passed by Gortinsiguara, Crushnahawn, and Clooneene. After the battle they assembled on the mountains over Loughrea and its vicinity, and were now wending their way to Limerick, to make another stand, with the main body of their army, against the Dutchman. They were supplied with food by the gentry and people, on the way, and the Chief of Clooneene took care to have the large boilers well supplied with meat, and also plenty of bread baked for their use. Indeed, during these three days, between uneasiness of mind and grief for the loss of many of their relatives and friends, most of the people throughout the province of Connaught were in deep affliction, and loud lamentations were heard in all parts of the country.

The industrious Dermot Oge was much perplexed in endeavouring to protect the Gortinsiguara property, but took good care to secure the family papers, plate, and other valuables, as he did of old, in places of safety. Lady Helena O'Shaughnessy still resided at Fidane Castle, and in the afternoon of this day, Dermot Oge went to Clooneene, to consult the Chief on matters of business. After dinner, Shane O'Halloran entered the parlour, and presented his Chief with a letter which he had just received from a courier who arrived from Galway. The Chieftain broke the large seal of red wax, opened the packet, and having looked over it, said—"Dermot Oge, this is from my friend, the Mayor of Galway, so you may read it." He then handed the missive to Dermot Oge, who read as follows—

"For

"CAPTAIN FRANCIS FORSTER, *of Clooneene,*

"These.

"DEAR CAPTAIN FORSTER,

"Ye Lieutenant-General, the Baron de Ginckell, Commander-in-chief of the English army, is now expected at the Citie of Athnery, with his soulders, and will be comying on us very soon, I expect. Any that would give up to him here, were soon prevented by Monsieur the Lieutenant-General d'Ussou, who confined y<sup>m</sup>. We have only abt 2,500 men, and they want arms, which is ye first and chiefest thing. If you can spare some of yer retainers and tenants, send y<sup>m</sup> to us at once, with a good leader-man. The loosing

of ye battle of Aughrim was, I think, the last greate blow to K. James, his cause—ye sounde of the cannon was heard at our gates.

“ Y<sup>r</sup> Faithfull Friende,

“ ARTHUR FRENCH,

“ Mayor.

“ Done at Galvey, this ye 15<sup>th</sup> day of July, 1691.”

It was then agreed that Houloughan the steward at Crushnahawn, should have the men assembled at Clooneene, at six o'clock on the following morning.

“ Captain,” said Dermot Oge, “ who will you entrust with their command ?”

“ My grandson John,” replied the Chief, “ is at present unwell, and Kelly of Loughcutra, Donal Bran, and Conor O'Shaughnessy intend starting for Limerick to-morrow, or after, so I am really at a loss to know who to appoint. As you are aware, Dermot, it requires a person well versed in military tactics, as there is every probability of their meeting with, and being attacked by, parties of the Williamite army.”

“ Captain,” said Cuthbert Fenwick, “ if you have no objection, it will give me great pleasure to take the command. I have been long enough inactive, in consequence of the mistake made about the commission I was promised, while in Dublin, by the Duke of Tyrconnell ; but by your placing me in charge of your men, I will be permitted by Lord Dillon to take part in the resistance the townspeople are about making against Baron de Ginckell.”

“ There is no doubt,” said Dermot Oge, “ if Brigadier Balldearg O'Donnell, with his forces, marches from Iar-Connaught to assist the citizens in defending the town, the efforts of De Ginckell will prove fruitless. But, to tell the truth, I have no great faith in him.”

“ Well,” said the Chief, “ as you feel inclined, you can have the command of my tenantry, Cuthbert, and I have no doubt, but you will distinguish yourself in the siege, and prove yourself worthy of the name you bear, while in command of the Clooneene Foresters.”

“ I will do my utmost,” replied Fenwick, “ and trust Balldearg O'Donnell will come to assist the people of Galway. It would be a matter of great importance, as at present their garrison consists of only a few troops of horse and seven regiments of foot. If he had been at Aughrim, with his 1,000 men, it is my firm conviction that our army would have been victorious ; and it would not at all surprise me to hear, after the way in which he was snubbed by Tyrconnell, who has usurped the title of his House, that Balldearg joined the English army.’

“After his treachery in absenting himself from the battle of Aughrim,” said the Chief, “I am convinced he will prove false to our cause; but, on the other hand, if he comes to assist the people of Galway, it will undoubtedly discourage the Baron de Ginckell; but after the disgraceful manner in which O'Donnell was treated, both by Tyrconnell and Colonel Gordon O'Neill, it is difficult to say what he will do. However, though the garrison is small, I am sure the town will make a gallant resistance, for the citizens of Galway are well known to be courageous in time of danger.”

After some further conversation, Dermot Oge returned to Lissine, and shortly after the whole household retired to rest.

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## CHAPTER XXXV.

### THE CLOONEENE FORESTERS—GALWAY IN 1691.

At break of day next morning, a considerable number of men were collected before the hall-door of Clooneene. Long before six o'clock Cuthbert Fenwick had breakfasted, and, walking from the parlour into the hall, took from off the wall a green flag, on which was embroidered the armorial bearings of the Clan Forster. At this moment the Chief descended the principal stairs, and, observing Fenwick, said—

“Cuthbert, you are not the first of your family who fought under that flag.”

“I am aware of that, Captain,” replied Fenwick, “and I recollect, when very young, while on a visit with my uncle at Wallington, having read, with great delight, of how my clan fought for Sir John Forster, Lord of Blanchland, in the Raid of the Reidswire” (120).

Shane O'Halloran, who had been actively engaged distributing guns, spears, and pistols amongst the Clooneene Foresters, now entered the hall, and told Cuthbert that all was prepared for his journey. Fenwick then took leave of the Chief, mounted his horse, and rode off at the head of his party in high spirits. No event of any import occurred until they arrived within four miles of Galway. Here the road slightly curved, and the quick eye of Cuthbert observed, at some distance from Oranmore Castle, a party of over sixty men, partially concealed behind a large heap of stones, about one hundred yards in advance. He im-

mediately gave the order to halt, but as his men had loaded before leaving Clooneene, his only delay was to form them into line. The party of Williamites, for such they were, knowing by this movement that they were observed, rushed forward, shouting at the same time—"Long live King William the Third." Cuthbert Fenwick's party answered with—"Ireland for ever," and received the enemy with a heavy fire. The Williamites being worsted, and imagining from the dress worn by the Clooneene Foresters, whose only distinguishing marks were green boughs in their hats, that they were surrounded by the Rapparees, turned and fled; and Cuthbert, fearing they were only the skirmishers of a larger force, merely waited until his men had collected the arms the enemy left behind them, before continuing his march, which he then did with all speed.

On approaching the ancient city of Galway, Cuthbert was astonished to observe the numerous changes which had taken place in its suburbs since he was there last, by the removal of all the houses, walls, bushes, and everything else calculated to afford shelter to an enemy. These preparations for the coming siege, together with the removal of the strong forts in the east liberties, were carried out by the Earl of Clanricarde, who was empowered to do so by the Common Council of the town. From the desolate aspect of the suburbs, the fortifications looked larger than they actually were. On his left stood Shoemaker's Tower, from the top of which rose a narrow, square turret; next, on the same side, was Penrice's Tower, which was square, and smaller than the former, both in height and circumference; then the tower surmounting the great gate, in which was placed the town clock, and from a staff, which was in the form of a cross over it, floated a large flag, on which was embroidered the arms of Galway—*azure a chevron; or, between three castles, triple-towered, and masoned argent*, under which were the letters S. P. Q. R. To the right stood Middle Tower, which was similar to Penrice's in form and size; and beyond it was visible Tor an Leoin, which was the largest and strongest of the fourteen towers on the walls of Galway. Fenwick was challenged at the gate, but having produced the Mayor's letter to the Chief of Clooneene, he was admitted by the officer in command of the guard without further delay. After seeing the Clooneene Foresters provided for, he proceeded to the Mayoralty House, in Great Gate-street.

This commodious and handsome mansion was erected by Sir Valentine Blake, of Menlough Castle, while Mayor of Galway, in 1630, and was generally known as Sir Valentine's Castle. Over the Gothic arch which led to the spacious courtyard the armorial ensigns of the



Blake and Caddell families were sculptured in relief, surrounded by a wreath of shamrocks, beneath which was a cornucopia, supported by an angel.

Here he met Captain Arthur Ffrench, of Tyrone, the then Mayor of Galway; Lord Dillon, the Military Governor of the town; the Earl of Clanricarde, Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Galway; Lord Enniskillen, Lieutenant-General d'Usson, late Governor of Athlone, Colonel Burke, of Tyaquin; Colonel Oliver O'Gara, who was wounded at the last siege of Athlone; Lieutenants-Colonel Burke, Browne, Bodkin, and O'Reilly; Major Dillon, Captains Valentine Blake, Jasper Ffrench, George Morris, Marcus Lynch, and Stephen Kirwan; together with the Sheriffs, Oliver Ffrench, and William Clear, who had assembled to discuss the best measures to adopt for defending the town against Baron de Ginckell. They were all delighted to see Cuthbert Fenwick, who gave Colonel Burke of Tyaquin and the Mayor letters from the Chief of Clooneene. After inquiring for their friends in the country, Colonel Burke informed Cuthbert that Lord Galway, The O'Kelly of Mullaghmore, and the Stacpooles, were not only missing, but that nothing was heard of them since the battle of Aughrim, and that he feared they were slain in that fearful engagement.

After a while the consultation, which was interrupted by the entrance of Cuthbert, was resumed.

"Monsieur d'Usson," said the Governor, "what is your opinion of the strength of our fortifications? Do you think they will be able to bear a long siege?"

"They are strong, indeed, Monsieur le Gouverneur," replied D'Usson, "but I regret exceedingly that we have not more men and arms at our command. However, gentlemen, I have every reason to believe that my great Sovereign, King Louis, will send us valuable assistance in a very short time, to carry on the war against the heretics of all nations who maintain the unjust cause of the ambitious Prince of Orange."

"The brave citizens," said Colonel Burke of Tyaquin, "will be able to hold out successfully against De Ginckell and his large army for a week at least, but unless the promised assistance which we have been so long expecting from France arrives within that time, I fear they will have to surrender, as I think our provisions will not last much longer."

"We have enough for a week, at all events," said the Mayor, "and I think for a longer period, but we are certain not to run short until Baldearg O'Donnell, who is now, I believe, in Iar-Connaught, arrives here, which will be at the farthest, in three days, if I have been correctly informed."

The Earl of Clanricarde then asked if the town walls had been lately repaired?

The Mayor replied—

“There is not much to be done to them my Lord, as last year the fortifications of the town were examined by the commissioners, who ordered Barachalla to be fortified, and to have the town walls repaired. These improvements cost £800, and orders were made by the corporation, on the 3rd and 11th of July, for this sum to be levied on the citizens, which they unanimously and cheerfully paid.”

Lieutenant-General d'Usson said—

“The cannon are planted in the best possible position. I have eight guns on the Upper Citadel, near which is a strong platform, on which are six good pieces; ten are placed at the south-east corner, five on the river side, and three on the Turret that commands the bay. Some of our guns are almost useless from age, and more of them are wretchedly mounted.”

“It is a great pity,” said Major Dillon, “that so many of the brass guns scattered through town are altogether useless, for in their day they were very good.”

“Oh! indeed,” exclaimed Colonel Burke of Tyaquin, “we have plenty of guns if we could only use them; but there are a great many ancient iron ones planted on the bank of Lough Corrib, at Menlough Castle, and if you think they are required, you had better apply in time to Sir Walter Blake.”

Several matters of great importance having been arranged, the council broke up, and each retired to his appointed post, except Lord Dillon, Lieutenant-General d'Usson, Colonel Burke, and Captain Jasper Ffrench, who remained to dine with the Mayor of Galway.

“Cuthbert Fenwick was not very familiar with Galway, though so long a resident in the county. He had only been there on one other occasion, and even then had but a bad opportunity of seeing the town; so now, in order to satisfy his curiosity, he strolled out until dinner hour would have arrived. He first walked in the direction of Faheibeg (121), and was much struck with the beautiful scenery of the expansive bay, which is one of the finest in Ireland. Due west were dimly visible in the distance the Islands of Arran, so famous in olden time for their monasteries and learned men, who went forth to preach the Gospel to pagan nations, and gained for them the enviable name of the Isles of the Blessed. Before him stood Mutton Island, with its romantic old castle (122), reflected in the blue waters of the vast Atlantic; and in the distance the gigantic mountains of Thomond, whose dark peaks rose

high above the level of the sea, lending to the scene an air of picturesque grandeur, which was considerably heightened by the gentle rays of the brilliant noon-day sun. Beyond Lough Atalia, the earth-works of Cromwell's Fort were visible, and between Hare Island and Mutton Island, in the distance, could be seen the extensive wood of Ardfry, the beautiful residence of one of the leading branches of the House of Blake, and the birth-place of Sir Richard Blake, Speaker of the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics of Ireland assembled at Kilkenny in 1648. He was a Privy Councillor in the reign of King Charles I., Mayor of Galway in 1627, and Knight of the Shire for the county of Galway in 1639. Along the shore were several of the hardy sea-faring inhabitants of the Claddagh, dressed in comfortable white flannel jackets, blue trousers, and round woollen caps of a green colour, mending their nets. Cuthbert, addressing one of them, bade him good day, but the fisherman only shook his head, mysteriously muttering at the same time a few words which were quite unintelligible to Fenwick, who, surprised that a person residing so near the town could not speak the English language, walked on to view the Church and cemetery of St. Mary of the Hill. This ancient Dominican Friary is situated on a slight elevation near the sea shore, and is erected on the site of the older Convent of St. Mary of the Hill, a daughter of the Holy Trinity, of the Premonstratenses of Tuam, which was founded by a chieftain of the sept of O'Halloran at an early period in the history of Galway, but the exact year is now unknown. On being deserted by the nuns, the secular clergy took possession of it, and resided there for many years; but the inhabitants of the town having petitioned Pope Innocent VIII., it was granted in 1488 to the Dominican Friars of Athenry. From the commencement, this Friary was liberally supported by the rich and enterprising merchants. James Fitz-Stephen Lynch, who was Mayor of Galway in 1493, erected the choir at considerable expense. On the 9th of March, 1570, Queen Elizabeth granted part of the possessions of this house, which was then lately dissolved, to the Corporation of Galway. In 1642, Lord Forbes landed here, and having taken possession of the monastery, converted it into a barrack. Having failed in his attempt to take the town, he ruined the church, tore open the graves, and burned all the bones and coffins; after which he took shipping, and sailed from Galway. In 1652, the patriotic friars surrendered their church and monastery to the corporation, who soon after razed them to the ground, in order that they might not be converted by Cromwell's soldiers into a fortification during the long siege. There was an understanding, however, between the friars and the corporation, that on

the restoration of peace the whole should be restored at the expense of the inhabitants.

Cuthbert shortly after returned, and, entering the town by the gate called In-Sparra-Heir, proceeded over the West Bridge, which was built of stone, and erected in the year 1342. Having reached its centre, he passed under the Middle Gate, with its heavy winding leaves, and then through Bridge Gate ; entered Bridge Gate-street, and having admired the quaint architecture of the Castle of the Blakes of Ardfry, turned to the left into Lombard-street, in which was situated the College of Priests and Pastors, proceeded up North-street by Athy's Castle, and the fine old mansion, with its heavy, arched entrance and bow windows, which was, in the reign of Charles II., the residence of Sir Peter Ffrench. He then turned to his right into Little Gate-street at the end of which, on the right-hand corner, stood the Convent of the Society of Jesus ; and, turning to his left, walked up North Gate-street, to Sir Valentine's Castle, which he passed by, and, leaving the town by the North Gate, walked across the Green, where many of the townspeople were playing at the game of bowls, though in view of the gallows on which the ghastly skull of some unfortunate criminal was spiked. The sickening sight caused Cuthbert to meditate on the nothingness of life, as he walked through Bohermore, in the centre of which was a lake, and it was, therefore, with a feeling of relief that he beheld Laght More ni hien, the emblem of man's redemption (123). After examining this ancient monument, he returned to the Mayoralty House, where he arrived just in time for dinner. In the course of the evening, he remarked to the host how surprised he was to find that a fisherman quite convenient to the town could not speak a word of English to him.

"You are not the only person who has expressed surprise at the backward condition of these people, Cuthbert," replied the Mayor ; "but their manners and customs are peculiarly their own. They elect a king and an admiral from among their own people. The king, who holds office for life, assisted by the Circle of Wise Men, settles all disputes and differences that arise between them, and they never trouble our courts of law. The admiral, who is annually elected, on St. Nicholas's Day, manages all the affairs relating to the sea during the fishing seasons. When on shore, this official, though shown great respect by these strange people, bears no mark of distinction, but when at sea his boat carries a white sail, and always has a flag flying from the mast-head. They consider it a disgrace to know English, or to send their children to school ; and even the Celtic dialect spoken by

them differs very much from that of the peasantry of Iar-Connaught. Though the offices of king and admiral are not hereditary, still those who fill them must be chosen from a particular family."

It was now half-past eight o'clock, and Lord Dillon arose, apologised for not being able to remain longer, and said his duties as Governor called him away. Lieutenant-General d'Usson also arose to depart, pleading that he would have to meet the Earl of Clanricarde and Lord Enniskillen in council at nine o'clock, at the house of Oliver Ffrench, in Crosse-street.

• The next day was spent in making great preparations for the defence, and the hospitable Mayor invited the principal officers of the garrison to dine with him. As it was Friday, and the company Catholic, the dishes consisted entirely of fish—the principal of which was composed of the delicious salmon, for which the celebrated Weir of Inchora More, on Galway river, was so famous from olden time. On the following morning, which was the 18th of July, the Mayor was informed that a Protestant merchant, named Shaw, and some others of the same persuasion, had escaped from the town, and that it was generally believed they were gone to the English camp at Athenry, to give information to the Commander-in-chief of what was going on in the town, and to let him know the real strength of the garrison. After breakfast, Cuthbert again walked through Galway. In several places he found the French very busy repairing the fortifications. They had already thrown up several strong works near the East Gate, and many of the citizens were engaged on the fort, at the south-east corner of the wall. Arriving in Plud-street, he examined carefully, and with interest, the strong fortification known as The Rampire, and then ascended the battlements by the stairs called Steire Naguinagh. Here several of the garrison were employed in arranging the guns along the walls, and after spending some time in conversing merrily with the soldiers, Cuthbert proceeded to the Governor's quarters, where he procured a map of the city, and then returned to the Mayoralty House, where he spent the remainder of the day in studying it, and making himself through this medium familiar with the different streets and buildings.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

## THE SIEGE OF GALWAY.

THE whole Williamite army marched on the 17th of July, five days after the battle of Aughrim, to Athenry, or 'Ye Citie of the Barons,' which historic old town was in ancient times the Norman capital of the province of Connaught; and though once a place of the greatest importance, at this time it consisted of only about thirty houses which were all deserted, the inhabitants having fled on hearing of the result of the battle of Aughrim, and taken refuge in the mountains of Slieve Boughta. However, though Athenry was so much reduced from what it was in olden time, it was still surrounded by a strong stone wall, and the fortifications were in a good state of preservation, having been all newly repaired on the 1st of June, 1689. The army having encamped on the plain outside the town, Baron de Ginckell, taking a strong guard with him, advanced in the direction of Galway. Not thinking it prudent to advance further, he contented himself with a very imperfect view—from a rising ground—of the city and bay. In the latter were six ships, some of which had brought provisions to the town, as they would be required for the use of the garrison during the siege. He then returned to his camp at Athenry; after inspecting which, he took up his quarters for the night in that town, and next day rode to Oranmore, which was burned a few days previously by the inhabitants of Galway. On his return to the camp he found Shaw the merchant, and the other Protestants who had accompanied him in his flight from Galway that morning, impatiently awaiting his arrival. They advised the Commander-in-chief to attack Galway without delay, and assured him that the town was not prepared to stand a siege.

Some days previously a large party of the English forces, by order of Baron de Ginckell, arrested the Right Honourable Denis Daly, of Carrow-nakelly, in the county of Galway, Second Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and a Privy Councillor of Ireland. This gentleman, who was in high favour with King James, was of opinion for a long time past that the cause of that sovereign was hopeless. Still, he told the Williamite Commander-in-chief that it would be nonsense for him to think of taking the city of Galway—that he would not be able to do so—and if he attempted it, he would only have to retreat with loss and dishonour, as the fortifications of the town were strong, and the whole of the Irish army



expected to arrive there in a few days from Limerick. This information was corroborated by some stragglers, who protested that Galway was garrisoned by over 5,000 men, all of whom were well clothed, armed, and drilled, and impatient to revenge the loss of Aughrim, which they attributed to the perfidious treachery of Colonel Henry Luttrell; that Lord Lucan, with all the Irish cavalry, and Balldearg O'Donnell at the head of 6,000 well-armed regular troops, were on their march to relieve the town, that the French fleet was hourly expected in the harbour, and that there was nothing to prevent their vessels from sailing up the bay, as the castle on the Island of Bophin was garrisoned by a strong party of Irish, under Colonel Timothy O'Riordan. On hearing this startling intelligence, Baron de Ginckell was of opinion that the siege of Galway would continue until the winter would have set in, but Shaw gave him a true account of how matters really stood with the townspeople, and said that the speedy surrender of the garrison would be of the greatest importance to King William's cause. De Ginckell believing that Shaw's information was the most reliable, determined without further delay on marching to Galway, and accordingly informed the Williamite Lords Justices of his intention. When they were made acquainted with his resolution, they directed Captain Cole, who commanded several ships of war stationed on the Shannon, for the purpose of preventing the Irish in Limerick from receiving any assistance from France, to prepare immediately and sail to Galway, and at the same time invested him with power to offer conditions to the citizens, provided they made advantageous proposals of surrender.

Early on the morning of the 19th of July, 1691, Lieutenant-General Baron de Ginckell, at the head of over 14,000 men, marched to Galway from Athenry, leaving the remainder of his forces, 3,000 horse and dragoons at the latter place, under the command of Major-General the Marquis de Ruvigny and Lieutenant-General Scravenmore, to secure the different passes for conveying the cannon from Athlone, should he require it during the siege of Galway. The English forces marched in two columns, with a rear-guard consisting of 100 men attached to each wing, and commanded by a Lieutenant-Colonel. They marched in regular order until within view of the city, when their van was attacked by some Irish soldiers sent out to skirmish by order of Lieutenant-General d'Usson. After harassing the English, and killing a considerable number of them, the Irish retreated quickly within the walls shouting loudly, and applauded by all the citizens. Cuthbert Fenwick was stationed on Tor an Leoin, or the Lion's Tower, from which he had an excellent view of the English army as it advanced. The Williamites,

annoyed at the sudden and unexpected attack made upon them by the garrison, rushed forward to seize the outworks, but were repulsed with great loss. They then sent strong parties to attack the Castle of Tiroilén then called Tirellan, where some of the Irish soldiers were stationed, who received the enemy with a heavy fire, but knowing that they could not maintain the castle long against such heavy odds they set it on fire, and then retired into the town.

This ancient castellated mansion, the residence of Lord Bophin (124)—a scion of the noble House of Clanricarde—and, from time immemorial, the residence of his ancestors, was soon enveloped in lurid sheets of flame, and immense clouds of smoke, ascended from the burning mass, which indicated to the inhabitants of the country, for miles around, that the siege of Galway had commenced. By this conflagration, a great amount of valuable property was destroyed, but in time of war such considerations are not taken notice of, particularly when they tend to check the progress of an enemy. While the Irish were retreating from the outworks of the burning castle, they killed many of the enemy, and also set fire to the suburbs on the north-west side of the town, lest the Williamite marksmen might take shelter behind them while firing at the ramparts. No sooner had they passed the gates than they were received with loud acclamations of applause by the besieged inhabitants, which shewed Baron de Ginckell that he would have a great deal more trouble in reducing Galway than he at first anticipated; for he now clearly saw, that the citizens were determined to fight to the last man, and he began to entertain serious doubts, as to the truth of the information he had received from Shaw. The Dutchman was so astonished at the determined resistance he received, that he considered it prudent to summon the garrison; which, though small, he feared was able to protract the siege for a longer time than he at first imagined. Accordingly, he drew up his army at some distance from the walls, and sent a trumpeter into the town, to offer its inhabitants and garrison, the full benefit of the Proclamation issued by the Lords Justices, but the only answer he received from Lord Dillon was—"Monsieur d'Usson, myself, and the rest of the garrison, are fully resolved to defend this town to the last man, and therefore refuse to accept of the terms offered by Baron de Ginckell, or the so called Lords Justices appointed by the Prince of Orange." All this time the soldiers on the town walls cannonaded the Williamites, which circumstance was afterwards made a subject of complaint (125). When night was approaching, Baron de Ginckell ordered the regiments of Lord George Hamilton, Du Cambon, St. John, Tiffin, one Dutch, and one Danish, with four squadrons of

horse and dragoons, all under the command of Major-General Mackay, to cross the river on floats at Menlough Castle, the residence of Colonel Sir Walter Blake, Baronet, at break of day next morning. However, in this attempt they were opposed by a party of Irish dragoons stationed at Dangan ; who, after a severe skirmish with the English, were obliged by superior numbers to retire to the town. During all this time, the Irish engineers were hard at work, constructing a new fort near Fort Hill (126), which they had nearly completed, when one of the garrison deserted to the besieging army. This traitor advised Baron de Ginkell to attack the fort immediately, as if he allowed it to be finished, it would cause him much trouble. The Commander-in-chief having taken his advice, on the next morning ordered the Count de Nassau, and Major-General Tollemache, with the deserter for their guide, to commence an attack on the fort. The Williamites, by throwing in their grenades, forced the small party of Irish stationed in the fort to retire to the town, which, however they did not do, until they had killed one lieutenant and five privates, and wounded two lieutenants and eight privates. The Williamites now entered the unfinished fort, but the gunners on the walls of Galway firing furiously, killed and wounded a great number of them, and their principal engineer, Monsier de Madronet, was shot dead while directing his men. Up to this period, no symptoms of surrender were shown by the garrison, but now a deputation of some of the principal inhabitants of the town waited on Lord Dillon, and after a long argument, persuaded his Lordship to agree to a surrender. The Governor accordingly sent a letter to Baron de Ginkell, at ten o'clock in the morning, stating that he would surrender the town, on condition that fair terms were granted to the garrison and inhabitants. De Ginkell was delighted on receiving this unexpected proposal, as he well knew, that if Galway did not surrender he would have to undergo all the hardships of a long siege, but particularly so, as he wished to proceed to Limerick, with all possible speed, where he anticipated a desperate resistance from the patriotic Earl of Lucan. Therefore, hostilities now ceased, and Cuthbert, who had acted with great bravery, left his station on Tor an Leoin, resolved to seek out his friend Colonel Burke, of Tyaquin, whose post during the siege was Penrice's Tower. Not finding him at Sir Valentine's Castle, he proceeded by High Middle-street, Market-street, Jail-street, and Kea-street, to Boher eddir na Stronda, where he succeeded in meeting him.

“ Well, Burke,” said Cuthbert, “ what do you think of the intended surrender ? ”

“ Our provisions could not last much longer, I think,” replied the

Colonel, "and even if they did, we would be only shedding blood in vain, for, as the King of France has sent us no aid, we would be eventually beaten; so I think, on the whole, my young friend, it is the wisest plan."

"We have no alternative now," replied Fenwick, "but to try and bargain for the best terms with the Dutchman. But you see," he continued, "Captain Forster was correct in the opinion he always entertained of Baldearg O'Donnell. By St. George, I always considered, myself, that the fellow would betray us."

In reply to this latter remark, Colonel Burke only shook his head, and taking Cuthbert's arm, they both returned by Sraid Tober an Iarlagh, New Tower-street, and Glover's-street, to the Mayoralty House, where they expected to find the Governor.

In the afternoon hostages were exchanged by the belligerents. Those on the part of the town were Lieutenants-Colonel Burke, O'Reilly, and Lynch; and on the English side Lieutenants-Colonel the Marquis de Rheda, Coote, and Purcell. Baron de Ginckell being anxious to terminate the siege as quickly as possible, was satisfied to grant reasonable terms to the citizens; but in a council held in the town, the garrison were much divided with regard to the nature of the conditions which they would accept. It was the opinion of some that the town ought not to surrender, unless the inhabitants were allowed to enjoy all their rights and privileges as in the reign of King James; while others were content to give up the town, provided they received free pardons for having taken part in the war, and were allowed to continue in the peaceable possession of their estates. The French officers, at the head of whom was Lieutenant-General d'Usson, were resolved to fight to the last, or otherwise be permitted to march out of town, with all the honours of war, to Limerick. However, at ten o'clock on the morning of the next day, Tuesday, which was the time agreed on for deciding the matter, the garrison being still divided, Baron de Ginckell resolved to recommence the siege. That nobleman accordingly ordered four mortars, and eight large guns to be placed on the fort which he had captured on the previous day, owing to the treachery of the vile deserter; and sent a drummer to the Governor with a message, demanding the release of his hostages; but the citizens requested the Baron to allow the cessation of hostilities to continue for some time longer. He consented to this, in hope they might agree, though much against the inclination of the blood-thirsty Tollemache, who, several times unsuccessfully endeavoured to persuade the Commander-in-chief to take the town by storm, and put the inhabitants to the sword. Baron

de Ginckell having waited a considerable time, and finding that the garrison had still come to no definite conclusion, sent different messengers to urge them to it immediately. This greatly encouraged Tollemache, who began to entertain hopes that the siege would be again renewed; and he sent the following message to the garrison by Lieutenant-Colonel Burke, one of the hostages, who was permitted to return to the town:—"When you are ready to begin afresh, give us a signal to secure ourselves, by firing a gun into the air." The answer which he received from Burke was—"We will not fire from within, until we are provoked to do it by you from without." However, after a good deal of parley, the articles of surrender were agreed to on the 21st of July, and having been signed Lord Dillon gave over to Baron de Ginckell as hostages, the Earl of Clanricarde, Lord Enniskillen, Colonel Browne, Lieutenant-Colonel Bodkin, and Major Dillon (127). On the morning of Sunday the 26th of July, at seven o'clock, Lieutenant-general d'Usson proceeded to Baron de Ginckell's camp, where he delayed half-an-hour, and then marched on to Limerick to join the Earl of Lucan. At ten o'clock the same morning, Lord Dillon, at the head of the garrison, with six pieces of cannon, drawn by horses given for that purpose by De Ginckell, and accompanied by a strong guard of horse and dragoons, marched out with all the honours of war on his way to Limerick.

The Mayor requested Cuthbert Fenwick to remain with him for a week or two, but the latter excused himself by saying that although it would afford him much pleasure to stay with him at any other time, he regretted exceedingly he could not avail himself on the present occasion of his kind invitation, as he knew his kinsman, the Chief of Clooneene, would be impatient to hear the result of the siege of Galway, and should therefore return to Clooneene as soon as he had paid a visit to Sir Walter Blake, of Menlough Castle.

The Clooneene Foresters all went with Lord Dillon to Limerick, with the exception of two soldiers who remained to escort Fenwick on his return to Clooneene. After the garrison left the town he proceeded to De Ginckell's camp and obtained a pass certifying that he and his attendants had been in Galway during the siege, and as they were therefore entitled to the privileges granted to the garrison and inhabitants of the town by the Articles of Surrender, no loyal subject of King William was to offer them violence or injury, or otherwise molest them. Cuthbert next walked to the Wood Quay to hire a boat, for being a great lover of the picturesque, he preferred going to Menlough by the lake.

At twelve o'clock on the day of the surrender Baron de Ginckell

marched into the town by Great Gate-street, and was received with every mark of respect by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder. The latter having read a congratulatory address on the occasion, De Ginkell took possession of the town, and being handed the keys of the gates which he consigned to the care of Sir Henry Bellasyse, he viewed all the objects of interest in it, particularly the collegiate church of St. Nicholas. On Monday, the 27th, that portion of the Williamite army which had been encamped beyond the river under the command of Major-General Mackay, marched into the town, and the soldiers, by order of the Baron de Ginkell, commenced to repair the damage done to the fort, which the garrison had commenced on the south-east corner of the wall (128), and all the sick and wounded soldiers who were not able to march, were ordered by the Governor to be attended to, and others were sent in waggons to Athlone.

On the 28th, the Williamite army returned to Athenry, and the inhabitants of Gortinsiguara were rejoiced to hear the enemy did not intend marching through their hamlet. While on their march Captain Cole with nine men-of-war, and eighteen smaller ships, in pursuance of the orders he had received from the Lords Justices previous to the siege, appeared in the harbour, but Baron de Ginkell sent him word to return to the Shannon without delay.

On the 29th, De Ginkell's army marched to Loughrea, where they remained in consequence of the heavy fall of rain and the roughness of the weather until the 31st, when they again moved forward, and proceeded as far as Eyrecourt Castle. Here they encamped for the night, and on the next day, Saturday, the 1st of August, went on to Banagher, where they were joined by Colonel Matthew's dragoons, and also by Colonel Lloyd's foot, who were ordered to Athlone, lest Baldearg O'Donnell might besiege that town. On Monday, the 3rd, they marched to Birr, rested during the next day, and continued their march on the 5th to Borrisokane, and on Thursday the 6th, reached Nenagh, where Baron de Ginkell halted, and remained four days, for the purpose of providing his large army with provisions and other necessaries. A messenger arrived here on the 8th, and demanded a private interview with the Commander-in-chief. Being admitted to his presence he informed that nobleman that his name was Richards, and that he was commissioned by Brigadier-General Don Hugh O'Donnell, to enter into a treaty with his Lordship, namely—that Don Hugh O'Donnell, commonly called Baldearg, would desert the Irish cause, surrender to Baron de Ginkell, and enter King William's service, and that he would also prevail on many hundreds of the Irish peasantry, Rapparees, and



others who believed he was to be the deliverer of their country, to follow his example, provided he received a pension of only £2,000 a year, and was created Earl of Tyrconnell, with all the rights and privileges which his ancestors enjoyed, while they bore that title, which was forfeited to the Crown on the attainder of Roderick O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell, and Chief of his Sept in the reign of King James I. De Ginckell considering that several of the Rapparees whom he knew to be stubborn foes would be among those, and would join him if he agreed to this treaty, as it was still fervently believed by many of the Irish that O'Donnell was the person foretold by an ancient prophecy who was to free his country from the yoke of England, thought it advisable to bring over Baldearg to his side. The Commander-in-chief therefore agreed to the proposition, provided King William was satisfied with it. Richards after transacting his business with the Dutch nobleman departed for Dublin, well pleased with his success.

On the 9th, the Baron published a proclamation offering a free pardon to all the Irish then in arms, who would submit within three days of the date thereof, and also the restoration of their estates. This showed he feared the siege of Limerick would be long and wearisome, and that eventually he might not be able to take it. Indeed the remembrance of the repulse of the Prince of Orange from before its walls the previous year, greatly tended to increase his anxiety about its capture. However, he resolved to venture, and therefore on the 12th marched to Tullagh, where he halted, and sent spies into the city of Limerick to learn all they could of the enemy's movements, and on the 14th, the Williamite army under his command reached Cahirconlish.

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## CHAPTER XXXVII.

### MENLOUGH CASTLE.

WHEN Cuthbert Fenwick reached the Wood Quay he was accosted by a middle-aged active-looking boatman, who respectfully touching his hat, said—

“A fine day to take a sail, sir; the lake is as smooth as glass, and there is not a better boat afloat than the May Queen. Menlough Castle is a fine old building, and Sir Walter Blake never refuses any one permission to view the handsome grounds. He is one of the real old Irish

stock, and proved it at Aughrim. There is the ruin of Tirellan Castle which was burned the other day, and more is the pity, also to be seen. Many a pleasant day Lord Bophin spent there ; however, the times are greatly changed since the Dutchman came to the country, but come, sir, have a sail, it is well worth your while."

Cuthbert, though a young man, had travelled much, and being well acquainted with the world, at once saw he was an intelligent man, who knew the locality, its families, and traditions, and being bound for Menlough, engaged the boat, highly pleased with having met one who was likely to afford him much amusing and interesting information of the good old times. The light skiff was soon unmoored, and as she slowly made headway against the current, he had an ample opportunity of contemplating the magnificence of the scenery by which he was surrounded. Behind him stood the historic town which had hitherto been a scene of bustle and activity, but which was now quite tranquil, for the inhabitants were in mourning since its surrender to, and occupation by the Williamites, while on either side the view extended for miles, forming a vast panorama, whose strangely contrasting features were in unison with the many other peculiar characteristics of the remote West. To the right, and stretching far away lay a vast tract of undulating landscape, varied with brown heath, green fields, and wild shrubs. Here and there might be seen patches of dark forest and craggy pasture, while the horizon was bounded to westward, which he was now approaching by the grey and lofty chain of the mountains of Connemara, in the ancient principality of Iar-Connaught. Nor was the prospect to the south less interesting. There lay in one unbroken expanse the mighty arm of the great Atlantic which forms Galway Bay, with its picturesque islands and sequestered creeks. On the opposite side of the coast the rugged and boulder-bound hills of Clare, anciently the classic kingdom of Thomond, reared their dark peaks, and the effect of the vista was considerably heightened by the white sails of the numerous craft belonging to the hardy and industrious fishermen, which now like so many fairies gracefully glided over the unruffled surface of the silvery waters of the beautiful Corrib. After Cuthbert had taken his seat, the boatman remarked—

"These are very disturbed times, sir, and the awful state the country is in at present has injured my business very much. I am afraid Galway will again have to suffer as severely as it did when I was a boy. About thirty-eight years ago, Peter Stubbers, who was a great ruffian, and one of Oliver Cromwell's colonels, was governor of this town, and a worse man never came into it, as I often heard my poor father say."

“Indeed,” said Cuthbert, “I have frequently heard of the atrocities committed by Stubbers, and I am sure you must recollect him.”

“Though I was then but a boy, sir, replied the boatman, “I well remember those dreadful days. After Galway was taken by him in 1652, the chapels were closed up, the nuns were banished from their convents, and no Catholic could walk the streets. My father and I were then turned out of our comfortable home, in the village of Menlough, and the house where all my people had dwelt was thrown down. The castle and demesne were given by Cromwell to one Matthews (129), after having been taken from Sir Valentine Blake, who was a good landlord and a brave soldier. When I was young I often saw old Jack Matthews the weaver, walking by himself up and down the avenue reading his Bible. He was always talking of the Church of England, and abusing the priests. That was the time that Menlough was changed, sir. None of the little boys were allowed to play in the demesne, and the townspeople were prevented from coming there on May Sunday, which was always the custom; but when King Charles came from Holland, Sir Valentine got Menlough back again, and a happy day it was for us all. Jack Matthews was driven out, and we had a funny day throwing his prayerbooks and tracts into the bonfire that was burning in front of the castle. All then went on well for a time until Sir Valentine, who was a spirited man—one of the Blazers you know—had a quarrel with another gentleman, and they determined on fighting a duel. Sir Valentine having mortally wounded his opponent, was about leaving the field when the dying man requested him to return and shake hands with him. Sir Valentine was going to do so when his adversary drew a pistol which he had concealed in his breast, and fired at him. By this shot the Baronet was mortally wounded, and they both expired at the same time. Sir Valentine was much lamented by all his tenants and the people of Galway, who had elected him their representative in Parliament in 1639. He was afterwards expelled in 1642 for being on the right side, and in the following year the brave townsmen elected him their mayor, to show the country their contempt for the authority that expelled their representative. He was succeeded at his death by his brother Sir Walter, who now resides at Menlough, and would have been at the siege of Galway the other day, but was prevented by the wound he received at the battle of Aughrim.”

Cuthbert now interrupted the talkative boatman by saying—

“I am well acquainted with Sir Walter, and was delighted to hear from Colonel Burke of Tyaquin, that he is now nearly recovered. I

hired your boat for the purpose of visiting him, and am pleased to find that you are a follower of his family."

As Cuthbert concluded, the boat rustled through the tall bulrushes and thick sedge which skirted the banks of the river between Jordan Island and the main-land, to the right on which stood the now ruined and sombre castle of Tirellan, a fortress which but a few days previously had ranked amongst the strongest in the province, but which now presented a sad and memorable emblem of the devastating horrors of internal warfare. Those lofty halls where many a bold and restless spirit, endowed with all the fiery disposition of their ancestors, had throbbed to the sound of martial music such a short time before, now lay a lonely pile of blackened and calcined ruins. Not a sound disturbed the stillness of the noontide air, where a few days previously all was animation and military parade, and nought was to be seen but the sturdy fishermen as they removed from among the *debris* the smouldering remains of the ponderous oak beams which had so recently supported the strong roof of the now dilapidated castle, and bore them away in the direction of the Claddagh, to form parts of the stout boats by which they earned their dangerous and precarious livelihood. But the silence which had hitherto prevailed was soon broken, as their manly voices joined in the lively chorus of some ancient Celtic sea-faring song, which was kept time to by the measured splash of the pliant oars, as their heavily laden boats directed their course towards the town.

From its foundation, Tirellan Castle was possessed by the noble De Burghs, Lords of Connaught, and Earls of Ulster, many of whom, surrounded by their kerns, and gallowglasses, here held court in all the rude splendour of feudalism. In the year 1560, Conor O'Brien, third Earl of Thomond and Chief of his Sept, highly exasperated by the daring forays which had been repeatedly made into his patrimony by Sir Morough na d-tuadh O'Fflahertie, raised a powerful army of his kinsmen and followers, and marched through the territory of Clanricarde without interruption until he reached the ford at Tirellan Castle. Here his Lordship was opposed by a large party of the citizens of Galway, and many of the combatants on both sides were drowned in the river, but another portion of the burgesses favouring the Earl's designs, he continued his victorious march without further molestation, and having passed through Oughterard, entered Joyce's country. Sir Morough O'Fflahertie fled rapidly before him towards the western mountains of Connemara, and the Earl of Thomond persevered in the pursuit, but being unacquainted with the country was unable to capture his enemy, and returned to Ennis laden with valuable booty, after

having laid waste Iar-Connaught and slaying many of the O'Fflaherties whom he encountered on his return. On the 23rd of October, 1641, the greater part of Ireland rose in rebellion against the English Government. On the 28th of the same month, Ulick de Burgh, fifth Earl of Clanricarde, and Governor of the town and county of Galway, wrote a letter to Sir Richard Blake of Ardfry, in reference to the rebellion, and directing him to put the town of Galway into a state of defence in as short a time as possible. Accordingly the gates were repaired and the guards redoubled. On the 6th of November, the Earl of Clanricarde himself arrived in the town, and spent two days in making the necessary preparations for the war. He augmented the two companies then stationed in St. Augustine's Fort on Abbey Hill under the command of Captain Anthony Willoughby, son of Sir Francis Willoughby, the Governor, who was then in Dublin, and ordered the Mayor to provide them with provisions. His Lordship also took 100 firelocks, and a like number of pikes for the use of his own company during the rebellion, which was then stationed at Loughrea. The uneasiness of the hitherto peaceful and industrious mercantile inhabitants of Galway was greatly increased by Richard Boyle, the Protestant Archbishop of Tuam, having fled from his castle, and taken refuge in St. Augustine's Fort, and by hearing of the surprisal of the Castle of Aughnenuire in Iar-Connaught, which belonged to the Earl of Clanricarde. On the 11th, a large and influential meeting of the townspeople, under the presidency of the Mayor, was held in the Tholsel, where, amongst other things, it was unanimously resolved "that to the last man the said town of Galway would lose their blood and lives in his Majesty's service, in the defence and for the safety of the said fort and towne." The fort was then furnished with provisions by order of the Corporation, but Captain Willoughby's tyrannical conduct soon made him obnoxious to the loyal citizens, and caused disputes to arise in 1642 between the residents of the town and the garrison of the fort, and Captain Willoughby, who was Governor of the latter place *pro tem.*, on some trivial pretence caused a considerable number of the townsmen to be forcibly arrested, and placed guards on the goods and ships belonging to the merchants. The infuriated townspeople soon retaliated, and in turn violently seized and cast into prison some soldiers belonging to the fort. On hearing of these unexpected disturbances, the Earl of Clanricarde hastened to the town, and on the 13th of March succeeded in getting the townsmen to sign a declaration, in which they stated the fast fidelity of their ancestors to the Crown of England, and how far their ancient colony hath been trusted and beloved by their Kings

successively, and in what happy condition and prosperity they lived under their powerful protection. Notwithstanding the influence of Lord Clanricarde, the patriotic party in the town, under Sir Valentine Blake of Menlough, the Warden the Reverend Walter Lynch, and others, soon stirred up the people to join their Catholic countrymen, and to be no longer guided or intimidated by the influence of those persons, who had the interests of England at heart. Accordingly Dominick Kirwan, a native of the town, at the head of a party of young men and some merchants, determined on capturing a vessel that lay in the bay, and which had on board twelve pieces of ordnance and a dozen muskets. For this purpose, while the Commander, Captain Clarke, was in the fort, and the greater part of his men employed in procuring ballast, Kirwan's party disguised themselves as boatmen, and armed to the teeth, boarded the vessel, killed the master's mate and one of the sailors, overpowered the rest and captured the ship. Captain Willoughby's suspicions being aroused, he commanded the gunners on the fort to fire on the ship in order to sink her, but ere they could do so, her captors succeeded in getting her beyond range of the fort. After this enterprise, they returned to the town, which was then in a dreadful state of excitement and confusion. They immediately closed the gates, placed double sentinels on the walls, disarmed all the English, and took possession of the collegiate church of St. Nicholas, by the advice of Sir Valentine Blake, whom they appointed Governor of the town. They then framed a Catholic Oath of Union, which was taken by the patriot party, who entered into communication with the rebels of Mayo and Iar-Connaught, and requested that they would come speedily to their assistance. Sir Valentine next commanded a battery to be raised to cannonade St. Augustine's Fort, and the townspeople stopped all the passages leading to it, in order to reduce it by famine. They were now joined by some county gentlemen, and 1,400 hardy men from Iar-Connaught. Captain Willoughby then burned the east suburbs, and laid waste the country about Lough Atalia, to prevent these forces from lodging there or procuring forage. Shortly after the Earl of Clanricarde sent him 140 cars laden with wheat malt, and other necessaries from his castle at Oranmore, and at the head of 700 foot, and nearly 200 horse, his Lordship, on the 2nd of April, advanced towards Galway to his assistance. The forces of the town, under Sir Valentine Blake, were encamped on a craggy piece of ground near the road, from which, for the present, the Earl did not deem it prudent to attempt to force them. He resolved to starve the town into obedience by cutting off its communication with the country districts, and for



that purpose placed strong garrisons in the castles of Clare-Galway, Oranmore, and Tirellan, the latter being under the command of Lieutenant Dermot O'Daly, of Lerra Castle, and comprised only three companies and thirty musketeers. The remainder of Lord Clanricarde's troops were quartered on the lands of the townsmen, and on those of their friends in the barony of Clare. His horse, in all directions, prevented access to the markets of Galway, but while this sad state of affairs existed, an armistice for one month was agreed to by the belligerents. Commissioners were then appointed by the town to treat with Lord Clanricarde, and on the 23rd of April, Sir Valentine Blake, and Theobald Burke for the county, and Sir Dominick Browne, Richard Martyn, and Alderman Browne, on the part of the town, laid before his Lordship their demands, to which the Earl would not consent on any condition. However, they afterwards held several other conferences on the subject, during which Captain Ashley, Commander of the *Resolution*, a man-of-war of thirty guns, 400 tons burthen, and 130 men, arrived in the bay, and sent into the fort two pieces of heavy cannon, forty large barrels of powder, and 30,000 cwt. of biscuit and other provisions, which he had brought with him for that purpose. Captain Willoughby now eagerly desired to bombard the town, and wreak vengeance on the people, but was prevented by Lord Clanricarde, who did not wish to see the fine old town, in which he took an interest, destroyed. In this strait, their provisions being cut off by the besiegers, the townspeople had no other alternative but to submit. They, therefore, though reluctantly, agreed to all the propositions of the Earl of Clanricarde, except that no powder or arms should be allowed to land in the town, but brought directly to St. Augustine's Fort. The camp, which was occupied by the town and county forces who were engaged in besieging the fort, being at this time reduced to the most dire distress by the want of provisions, broke up and dispersed, so that on the 10th of April Lord Clanricarde was enabled to take possession of their now abandoned trenches, and immediately after poured thirty-three great shot in rapid succession from his heavy guns into the town, and then summoned it by trumpet to surrender to him without further delay. At length, after much controversy and difference of opinion, a treaty was signed, which was strenuously opposed by Sir Valentine Blake and one or two other persons of influence. On the following morning, John Blake and Geoffry Browne, both eminent lawyers, and Martin Skerrett and Peter D'Arcy, merchants, were delivered to his Lordship as hostages. On the 13th, the gates were accordingly thrown open, and the Mayor, Aldermen, and several of the burgesses, attired in their

robes of office, received the Earl of Clanricarde with much ceremony at the cross, which divided the town and fort. Here the Corporation acknowledged the King's authority, and the Mayor delivered the keys of the city to the Earl. The corps of the Young Men laid down their arms, and Lord Clanricarde publicly announced that he again took the town into the King's protection until his Majesty's pleasure concerning the citizens would be notified to him.

A vessel belonging to Francis D'Arcy, a native of Galway, had brought over from Brest, in France, where he had settled, corn, arms, and a considerable quantity of ammunition. The arms, which were of the best French manufacture, comprised ten pieces of cannon, sixty muskets, and the ammunition, 2,700 pounds weight of powder. The provisions were ordered by Lord Clanricarde for the use of the fort, and he directed the arms to be distributed among the different garrisons of the county.

The Lords Justices of Ireland, who were in Dublin, were at first greatly displeased with his Lordship for having entered into a treaty with the town, and directed him and all the other commanders in Ireland who recognized the King's authority, to receive no more submissions, but to prosecute the rebels and their adherents, harbourers, and relievers, with fire and sword; in fact, to exterminate all the Catholics in Ireland, without exception, who did not recognise the authority of England. Sir Richard Blake of Ardfry, Sir Robert Lynch of Castle Carra, in Mayo, Patrick D'Arcy of Kiltulla, the famous lawyer, Charles Ffrench, Richard Martyn, Patrick Kirwan, John Blake the Recorder, and others, were most anxious for peace, as the town was in a very distressed state, but the intolerable tyranny of Willoughby and Captain Ashley of the Revolution, which still lay at anchor in the harbour, again fanned the flame of war in the neighbourhood of the town. Ashley, who was extremely covetous and bigoted, was also a rank Parliamentarian. He therefore unhesitatingly seized Francis D'Arcy's ship, although it was under the protection of the fort at the time, and with his boats fearlessly plundered all the craft on the bay, pillaged Sir Richard Blake's castle at Ardfry, and carried away his cattle and those of his numerous tenantry. An aged tenant of Lord Clanricarde's, having come by a boat to Galway which was laden with valuable goods, to pay his rent, was robbed by the entire of Ashley's crew, who were deaf to his remonstrances, and defied him to do his utmost with regard to them. Captain Willoughby, forgetful of the stubborn opposition which he had met with from the high-minded citizens, who would not tamely submit to his insolence, again encouraged his

lawless soldiers in every act of violence which they unscrupulously perpetrated on the unoffending citizens. They daringly seized on an inn called the Bull, the proprietor of which was an English Protestant. Here Captain Willoughby placed some of his soldiers to fire on the inhabitants of the town, and offer them other insults. He also placed garrisons at Castlegar and St. Dominick's Abbey, in the west suburbs, and disorderly sentinels outside the different gates, who killed several of the inhabitants, robbed the poor people coming to market, and grossly insulted many others who passed the way. Notwithstanding all these unprecedented outrages, the only reply the people of Galway received to their many complaints on this subject was, that if they did not know how to behave themselves, and treat Willoughby and his garrison with more respect, he would very quickly bring them to their senses by cannonading the town. Accompanied by Captain Ashley, at the head of parties of horse and foot, he frequently entered the country, burned the houses, carried away goods, and in a short time plundered stock to the amount of 1,000 sheep, and 200 head of black cattle, the owners of which never received any compensation. On one occasion he made a prisoner of Redmond Burke, who served in the forces, which the Right Honourable John de Burgh, first Lord Viscount Clanmories, had raised for the service of the King. Burke was a man of high character, a brave and experienced soldier, much esteemed in the country, and most respectably allied. He was bound by Willoughby's men, and with two others carried into the fort, where the three were immediately hanged in full view of the indignant townsmen, who viewed from the walls of the city this legal murder; for Willoughby a short time previously had received full power from the Lords Justices to execute suspected persons by martial law. After this additional crime he proceeded to burn the suburbs, the rent of which was over £1,000 per annum, killed many of the inhabitants, both old and young, and cannonaded the town without intermission for four-and-twenty hours. Lord Clanmories unable to obtain satisfaction from the Earl of Clanricarde, although that nobleman was his relative, became discontented, revolted and withdrew his troops and followers from the King's service. His Lordship, who had sworn to be revenged on his enemies, soon after surprised a party of soldiers stationed in the fort, while pillaging the comfortable village of Renville, where they murdered, in cold blood, six unoffending people, amongst whom were Geoffry Fitz Tibbot, aged seventy years, and his old and infirm wife, both of whom were lying in a malignant fever when they met their death. Lord Clanmories succeeded in seizing three of the soldiers and a serjeant whose name was Rowbright, whom he caused to be

immediately hanged in retaliation for this unparalleled outrage, and in revenge for the death of Redmond Burke, which act of Willoughby's had first caused his Lordship to become a rebel.

While the affairs of the town and its neighbourhood were in this disturbed state, the fears of the citizens were heightened by the appearance in the bay of a fleet consisting of seventeen ships, under the command of the Right Honourable Alexander Lord Forbes. The intention of this formidable squadron was, at first, a mystery to the inhabitants of Galway; but it was soon surmised by them that it was of a hostile nature, for, no sooner had the vessels cast anchor at Mutton Island, than they were observed to communicate with the fort on Abbey Hill. Lord Forbes, who had been appointed by the English parliament Lieutenant-General of the forces, raised by the London adventurers for privateering purposes on the Irish coast, shortly after his arrival in the bay, made known his proclivities, and the citizens, consequently, took additional measures to protect the town against any attacks that he might make. Having manned several boats, he landed them in the county of Clare, where their crews slew numbers of the peasantry, burned the mansions of Daniel and Torlough O'Brien, and carried off their cattle, and also their furniture, which they smashed and burned. What then but the most rigorous persecution could be expected from a man who commenced by plundering those gentlemen who were the allies of Captain Willoughby, whose friendship he himself claimed. Lord Forbes next sent a messenger into the town with a letter addressed to the Mayor, containing a copy of a treaty of surrender, which he demanded of the citizens, by which they should confess themselves to have been rebels, and humbly submitting to beg his Lordship's intercession for them with the parliament, and declaring that they would submit to such governors as the state should choose to appoint over them, and, in the meantime, place themselves under his protection. He then issued a proclamation of safe conduct for the townsmen to repair to his ship, but they resolutely refused to make the degrading submission which he required, or to trust themselves to fictitious protection. In their perplexity and distress, they applied to the Earl of Clanricarde to observe his treaty of capitulation with them. The Earl accordingly addressed a letter to Lord Forbes, stating the fatal results which would certainly arise from a breach of the pacification, and that hostilities against the town would endanger the peace of the whole country, which he would be unable to prevent. Lord Forbes, however, who was advised by the sanguinary and fanatical Hugh Peters, his chaplain, who was afterwards hung and quartered at Tyburn for his evil actions, was

determined on plundering and slaying the Irish both in Galway and Clare ; and for that purpose landed at the Claddagh, to the west of the town, immediately took possession of the now deserted church of St. Mary of the Hill, where he planted two heavy pieces of cannon, and sent out parties in various directions to plunder and burn the houses, and murder the inhabitants. On hearing of those frightful outrages, Lord Clanricarde, accompanied by Lord Ranelagh, then President of Connaught, took up his quarters in his hereditary Castle of Tirellan, and here, in view of the persecuted town, earnestly but vainly endeavoured to suppress this barbarous state of affairs. In fact, so little was his Lordship noticed by those inhuman butchers, that he could observe from the windows and battlements of Tirellan Castle, the pillaged country on fire for miles around, and hear the piercing screams of widows and orphans who, no longer possessed of a home, mourned in the open air their dead, while, subject to the scorn and ridicule of the heartless soldiery. At length, the troops having commenced to grumble for their pay, and seeing what little effect his cannon had upon the town, Lord Forbes withdrew to his ships, but, before doing so, defaced the beautiful church of St. Mary, tore up the graves, and burned all the coffins and remains of the dead. On the 4th of September this ruthless commander sailed to Limerick, where he was also guilty of many atrocities. After his departure the town still continued to suffer without any hope of redress. Willoughby having seized William Lynch, one of the freemen, had him executed on board one of the vessels in the bay, and kept Geoffrey Lynch, one of the citizens, confined in the fort, under sentence of death, although he was an innocent man, who was guilty of no crime. After repeated onslaughts on both sides having been made, the townspeople agreed to make a treaty with Willoughby, on condition that he and his soldiers would swear to be loyal subjects to the King, and not admit into St. Augustine's fort, or within range of their cannon, any adherents of the parliament of England. But Captain Willoughby who was insincere, and hated the inhabitants, while cavilling at, and raising objections to the proposed treaty, allowed his restless soldiers into the country. They first murdered twelve peasants, nearly all of whom were women and children, and then carried off what remained of the stock of Sir Richard Blake, from Ardfry, whom they had often before plundered. At last the forces of the town and county, unable any longer to endure such insolence, at the suggestion of Sir Valentine Blake, combined to take the fort, and compel its garrison to respect them. Colonel John Burke, of Mayo, was unanimously appointed their commander, inasmuch as his long and brilliant

services in the Spanish army were undoubted proof of his skill in all military affairs. He had been a short time previously made Lieutenant-General of the province of Connaught, by the Confederate Catholics assembled at Kilkenny, and at first endeavoured to settle affairs amicably with Captain Willoughby. However, on the 28th of February, Captain Thomas Burke of Anbally Castle surprised and took the Earl of Clanricarde's Castle of Clare Galway, after which he called upon the most influential gentlemen in the county to support him in attacking St. Augustine's Fort, and for ever putting an end to the atrocities of Willoughby and the other Cromwellians stationed there. Accordingly, he was joined in the month of April by Sir Valentine Blake of Menlough Castle, Sir Ulick Burke of Glynsk, Sir Robert Lynch of Castle Carra, Lieutenant-Colonel William O'Shaughnessy of Gortinsiguara Castle, Lieutenant-Colonel O'Flahertie, Francis Birmingham of Athenry, Hubert Burke of Dunamon Castle, Redmond Burke of Kilcornan, Rickard Burke of Derrymacloughlin Castle, Tiege O'Kelly of Gallagher Castle, Tiege O'Kelly of Aughrim Castle, Tiege O'Kelly of Mullaghmore Castle, Captains Richard Beytagh, Murrough na-mart O'Flahertie, Anthony Brabazon, Ulick Carragh Burke, Walter Morris, Ulick Burke of Castle Hacket, Edmond O'Flahertie, John O'Madden, Jonack Mac Thomas, John Browne, John Garvey, William Burke of Cloghan, William Fitz John Burke, with several other gentlemen of distinction, who marched against the fort. Towards the end of the month, provisions becoming rather scarce in the fort, Willoughby sent a party of his soldiers into Iar-Connaught on a plundering expedition, which the citizens of Galway being informed of, they despatched some companies in pursuit, who, having succeeded in getting between them and their boats, most of them were cut off.

In the month of May, the siege was carried on in a most creditable and determined manner by the forces of the town and county. They erected two strong batteries, one on the point of Rintinan, and the other on the opposite point at Renmore. A heavy chain was then placed between these batteries across the entrance to the harbour, to prevent access from the sea, while the troops stationed at Clare Galway and Athenry prevented the Earl of Clanricarde, who then resided in Tirlellan Castle, from assisting Captain Willoughby, though he was most anxious to relieve him. Rear-Admiral Brooke arrived in Galway Bay in the beginning of June, with a supply of arms and provisions for the fort, but the batteries on the points of Renmore and Rintinan opened fire on him, which prevented his approach. Admiral Brooke then endeavoured to throw in supplies, under cover of the night, into the



fort, through the medium of his long boats, which being met by those of the town, manned by the Young Men, were quickly obliged to retire, without being able to accomplish their object. Captain Willoughby and his soldiers being thus hemmed in on all sides, he requested permission from Lieutenant-General Burke to deliver up the fort to the Earl of Clanricarde. This request was refused by General Burke, owing to the Earl's former conduct, unless his Lordship consented to take the oath of the Catholic Confederation, which he declined to do. Accordingly, on the 20th of June, Willoughby, who was reduced to the greatest extremity, surrendered St. Augustine Fort and the Castle of Oranmore, without the Earl of Clanricarde's consent. The day after the capitulation was signed, three large ships from England arrived in the bay, but, unfortunately for Captain Willoughby, they came too late to render him any assistance. The ex-governor and his men embarked on board these vessels on the 25th, and great was the universal rejoicing in Galway, on the occasion of their departure. Prayers were offered up in thanksgiving to the Almighty, for the providential surrender of the fort, which had been so long an annoyance to the town. On the 18th of June, the Catholics repossessed themselves of St. Nicholas's church, and High Mass was solemnly celebrated therein, after which an impressive sermon was preached by the Reverend John Kegan, a Jesuit. On the 6th of August, the townsmen threw open the gates to the Irish, and raised £300 to enable them to besiege Castle Coot, in the county of Roscommon, which, except Loughrea and Portumna, was the only place in Ireland that still held out, for they had already possessed themselves of Tirellan Castle.

Towards the end of the month of February, 1651, Stephen de Henin, Abbé of St. Catharine, Ambassador of the Duke of Lorraine, arrived in Galway with offers of assistance to the Confederate Catholics of Ireland. On hearing of his arrival, Ulick de Burgh, fifth Earl of Clanricarde and second Earl of St. Albans, who was created Marquis of Clanricarde in 1644, came to the town and took up his residence in Tirellan Castle. He appointed a committee of the bishops, nobility, and gentry then in Galway, to arrange with him. The propositions made by the Ambassador were, that the Duke of Lorraine should be received as Protector of the kingdom of Ireland, with regal powers, and that Galway and other towns should be given up to him, as security for the several sums which he would advance to King Charles I. for the defence of the country. The Marquis of Clanricarde refused those terms, as infringing on the rights of the King, prepared to leave Tirellan and denied the Abbé an audience before leaving for Portumna Castle. On hearing this, the surprised

Ambassador consented to waive part of his proposed terms, and to advance £20,000 on the security of the city of Limerick, and the town of Galway alone. This was agreed to by the Marquis, who directed that all articles should be adjusted by a treaty, to be entered into at Brussels, to which he sent Nicholas Plunkett and Geoffry Browne, to conclude the treaty in conjunction with Lord Taaffe. General Preston being pressed by the tide of war, with a few troops under him, took refuge in Galway, where he received the chief command, and was appointed Governor of the town.

This year also, Sir Charles Coote, one of the Parliamentary generals besieged the town, and blockaded it on every side. He succeeded in capturing the castles of Tirellan, Oranmore, and Clare Galway, but the town did not surrender to the Cromwellians, until the following year.

While passing the Castle of Tirellan, the boatman remarked—

“I never thought I would live to see the castle in such a ruined state, and the noble Earl banished by the pack of foreigners that are now plundering the country. The day the Castle was burned, there was a woman in one of the top rooms, who did not know the place was fired, until the flames broke out in every direction, and she was so much afraid of being burned to death, that she flung herself from the battlements, and was instantly killed. It is believed that her spirit haunts the castle, and very few boatmen on this lake, would venture after night-fall, up or down the river, between Wood Quay and Menlough.”

“Her death was a tragic one, at all events,” interrupted Cuthbert, “and though I was in the town during the siege, I am surprised I did not hear of it from any of those who abandoned the Castle, at the approach of Baron de Ginckell’s army. It is certainly a pity the Castle was destroyed, but such is the case in time of war, that those in command are frequently obliged to sacrifice the places which they hold, for the benefit of their cause.”

“I know, sir, its destruction could not be avoided,” continued the boatman—“but, speaking of the woman that leaped from the battlements, I was told on yesterday, by some of the other boatmen on the lake, that they saw her the other night sailing up the river in a little boat, but that when they pursued her, to see who it was, both herself, and the small skiff she was in, vanished in a mist, when near Menlough Castle.”

Cuthbert smiled at this strange story, and remarked that he was most anxious to hear any legends or traditions there might be about the De Burghs, and would therefore be thankful to the boatman, if he re-

lated some story about them. The boatman willingly complied, and then told him the following tradition.

“The O’Fflaherties of Aughnenure Castle, whose ancestors formerly possessed the barony of Clare, in this county, were the Chieftains of Iar-Connaught, and were, for a very long time, the stern and most determined opposers of the De Burghs, Earls of Ulster, which Earldom they maternally inherited from the noble family of De Lacy. The De Burghs were not then Earls of Clanricarde, that peerage having been first conferred on Ulick-na-Cean, or Ulick of the Heads, after he recognised the authority of the English, and submitted to King Henry VIII. Well, the O’Fflaherties becoming jealous of their increasing influence, declared war against them, and invaded the territory of Clanricarde. After many severe engagements, in which the Earl of Ulster was nearly always successful, the O’Fflahertie sept was greatly weakened, and the Chief, who was compelled to retire to his mountain fastnesses in Connemara, was soon reduced from his former power, and obliged to undergo the greatest hardships, and encounter many dangers in endeavouring to escape from his enemies, who lost no opportunity of harassing him. On one occasion, the distressed but stubborn old Chieftain of Iar-Connaught, while accompanied by one or two devoted adherents, being hotly pursued, was obliged to conceal himself in the large and intricate wood of Glan. Here, exhausted from fatigue and hunger, the unbending Chieftain and his clansmen fell into a sound slumber, having no other canopy than the leafless branches of the huge trees, and no softer pillows than their battle-battered shields. After some hours, the mail-clad followers of De Burgh, having discovered their retreat, surrounded the place and were closing in upon them, but the O’Fflaherties still slumbered heavily, quite unconscious of the impending danger. At this critical moment, when the Chieftain was about falling into the hands of his foes, a lizard approached him and bit his ear, as if to warn him of coming danger, and in memory of this event, the O’Fflaherties ever since bear a lizard as their crest. He immediately sprung to his feet and aroused his companions. Seeing themselves surprised, they at once slung their shields on their left arms, and, unsheathing their trusty swords, cut their way through those who were between them and their galley; pushed off and succeeded in reaching the Castle of Aughnenure in safety. The De Burghs being shortly after reinforced, marched to the Castle, and surrounding it, cut off all communication between the Chieftain and his clan. After a long and trying siege, the garrison were at length obliged to capitulate, and acknowledge the authority of the Earl of Ulster, while the Chieftain of Aughnenure was bound, by

the treaty of surrender, to pay annually a large quantity of corn, cattle, and wool, as tribute to the Earl of Ulster, and his heirs, whom he acknowledged as Lords of Iar-Connaught. However, the Earl's forces had no sooner returned to the territory of Clanricarde, and their leader taken up his residence in Tirellan Castle, than O'Fflahertie deeply regretted ever having signed the treaty. He therefore dissembled with the victors for three years, during which period he postponed the payment of the stipulated treaty, by giving various plausible excuses to the different messengers sent by the powerful Earl to Aughnenure Castle, to demand of him the fulfilment of the conditions of his treaty of surrender. In the meantime, the old Chieftain was busily engaged in strengthening and disciplining his retainers and followers, who were ever ready to follow their Chief to the field of battle. At the expiration of the third year, the Earl, who had become impatient, resolved to send his own son for the tribute which was owed him by the Chieftain of Iar-Connaught. One of the sentinels on the battlements of Aughnenure Castle, on seeing the young horseman approach, informed his Chieftain, who gave directions to lower the drawbridge, raise the portcullis, and to receive him in the hall of the castle with every mark of respect. Soon after his arrival, O'Fflahertie descended to the hall, and after the usual salutations on such occasions were exchanged between them, endeavoured to convince De Burgh, that neither he, nor any of his family, had any claim to Iar-Connaught, and that himself, as its Chieftain, was not bound to pay tribute to the Clanricardes, as he had been forced to capitulate. However, the fiery De Burgh, who listened impatiently to his remonstrances, soon commenced to upbraid the old Chieftain with having broken faith with them, and with having acted a dishonourable part. The blood of the old Chieftain swelled in his veins on being thus accused, and observing that De Burgh happened to be standing on the trap stone in the centre of the hall, in his fury he touched the spring. In an instant, the slab revolved on its axis, and the brave youth was precipitated into the river which flowed beneath the castle, and which was grated on either side. After a short time, O'Fflahertie caused his body to be taken up and removed to the courtyard, where he struck off the head with a single blow of his battle-axe, which he placed in a large bag. The Chieftain of Aughnenure Castle at this period had three grown up sons, and calling the eldest he thus addressed him—

“ ‘ Here, take this bag to Tirellan Castle, and tell the Earl of Ulster that your father, O'Fflahertie of Aughnenure, sent it as his tribute to him, and that it is the only chiefry the O'Fflaherties will ever pay to him or his descendants.’ ”

“ ‘Father’—he replied—‘I will not do so, for if I did, I feel sure I would never return alive. It is not that I fear the De Burghs, for at the head of your followers and retainers, I would willingly give them battle, but to bring that unfortunate young man’s head to his father’s gate, I never will.’

“ ‘If you disobey my orders’—exclaimed his father—‘I will disinherit you; a coward shall never enjoy a foot of my property.’

“ ‘I shall not go,’ replied his son, ‘for if I did, it would be to certain death, and of the two I prefer being disinherited to losing my head. At the time this castle surrendered you acknowledged the authority of the Earl, and as many of our ancestors did before you, bound yourself by solemn treaty to pay him an annual tribute. I consider that you are bound in honour to fulfill the conditions of that treaty, and I will not, therefore, bring your ghastly and unwelcome tribute to Tirellan Castle.’

“So saying, he left the hall, and the old Chieftain, who was much enraged, sent for his second son of whom he made the same request, but this youth refused to go in like manner. The youngest, who was standing by all the time, and closely observing what his father said, now stepped forward and exclaimed—

“ ‘Father, give me Deelish, your favourite horse, and I will faithfully deliver your message at Tirellan.’

“The fact was that the youngest son, who was wild and daring, had never ceased regretting that he had no property to inherit, and knowing his father’s stern determination and implacable hatred of the De Burghs, he now offered to undertake this perilous journey. The old Chief was delighted on hearing him speak thus, and having given him Deelish, he departed at full speed for Tirellan. The Chief of Aughnenure, now recollecting the danger his son would be exposed to, resolved to follow him. He, therefore, directed his gallowglasses to sound their horns from the ramparts, which was the signal for collecting his followers. On hearing the well-known summons, they all flew to arms, and the Chief was soon at the head of a numerous, and well disciplined force, who, at his command, marched towards Galway.

“When young O’Fflahertie started from the Castle of Aughnenure, he encountered no opposition, and making no delay he soon passed Dangan, reached the western suburbs of Galway, and having entered the town by St. James’s Gate, passed through In-Sparra-Hier, crossed the West Bridge under the middle and inner gates, rode up through Bridge Gate-street, Market-street, Jail-street, High Middle-street, when turning to the left, he passed through Little Gate-street, and out by the

Abbey Gate in Blake's Tower, and continuing his course soon reached the outer fortifications of Tirellan. As was then customary, he blew a loud blast from the horn which was suspended at his side, and the drawbridge was at once lowered. The warder having then advanced to ask his name, and the nature of his business, received the following reply.

“ ‘I have come with the tribute, which my father O'Fflahertie, of Aughnenure Castle, owes the Earl of Ulster. Here it is, and tell my Lord Earl, that it is the only tribute the O'Fflaherties of Iar-Connaught will ever pay to the De Burghs of Clanricarde.’ ”

“ So saying, he flung the bloody bag, containing the ghastly head of young De Burgh, on the pavement of the courtyard, and putting spurs to his horse, dashed through the castle-gate in the direction of Galway. The Abbey Gate through which he had again to pass on his return, like the Lion's Tower to which it was convenient, at this time was occupied by a party of the Earl of Ulster's retainers. However, their suspicions were not aroused on seeing O'Fflahertie returning, and they allowed him to pass unmolested. The astonished warder on opening the bag for the Earl, who was enraged at the message already repeated to him, was dumbfounded on beholding its contents, while the Earl swore a mighty oath that he would annihilate the O'Fflaherties in revenge for the death of his son, and not leave a vestige of their presence in Iar-Connaught. When the sad tidings of the death of the Earl's son became known, the greatest consternation prevailed among the inmates of the Castle, and they were so utterly confused that they neglected signalling to their friends in the Lion's Tower, who could have easily arrested the fugitive, had they known who he was. By the time they had recovered from the effects of the shock caused by this unexpected affliction at Tirellan, knowing that O'Fflaherty must have passed the guards in the town, they took to their boats, and rowed rapidly across the river in order to intercept him, before he could have reached Dangan. At this time, the Earl had not many troops stationed in Tirellan, and, lest the Castle might be attacked in their absence, only a portion of those under the command of the Lieutenant of the Guard pursued the flying Chieftain. On reaching the opposite bank, they sprang from their boats, and hastened towards the road, which they gained just as O'Fflahertie was riding past on Deelish, who appeared much exhausted from over-exertion, and seeing they could not stop him, one of the foremost of the party flung his spear, which missing the rider penetrated the horse's flank. But Deelish continued to press forward, and the Earl's retainers to pursue until exhausted from loss of



blood, the faithful animal fell dead on the top of Borenacranny Hill. The pursuers now pressed forward with renewed vigour, and the Lieutenant of the Guard, who was considerably in advance of the others, hastened up the hill, full of expectation to arrest O'Fflahertie, but to his dismay, on reaching the top, he beheld a large force of armed men ascending from the other side. These were the old Chief of Aughnenure, and his armed clansmen and retainers, coming to succour his son. On recognizing them, he hastily returned to put his men in order. When the Chieftain reached the summit of Borenacranny, observing his enemies, he thus addressed his followers in the Irish language.

“ ‘Now you have them, let every blow you give be to the marrow, and do not allow one of them to escape.’ ”

“ Though their numbers were unequal, a determined fight was maintained for a short time, when the Earl's party were compelled to retreat, and of those who had crossed the river, but few lived to return, indeed only those who were not up in time, and who witnessed the massacre of their friends from a distance. From this daring attack made by O'Fflahertie of Aughnenure on the Earl of Ulster, his lordship did not consider himself safe for the future in Tirellan Castle, lest his now formidable enemy might sail down Lough Corrib, in his galleys ; and he, therefore, commenced to erect a new castle, about two miles beyond Galway, to the North, which, when completed, he furnished expensively, and took up his residence there. The first night which he spent here, he came to the conclusion, that old O'Fflahertie of Aughnenure would not have much difficulty in attacking him in his new abode, as it was only necessary to break down the road that led from the Abbey Gate to Tirellan Castle, in order to open a passage for his galleys to the Earl's new residence. He, therefore, removed from thence to Portumna, and from his short residence in it, having only remained one night, it received the name of Castlegar, or the Short Castle. Though Portumna was from thenceforth their principal residence, still, whenever their presence was required in Galway, they always stopped at Tirellan. The last of the De Burghs that resided there was Lord Bophin.”

As the boatman concluded this interesting tradition, the boat neared Menlough, the time-honoured residence of the Blakes, who were for centuries identified with the best interests of the town of Galway. The castle, which was of the Elizabethan style of architecture, was probably remodelled out of the older one, about the period when the first Stuart monarch ascended the throne of England. It stood proudly over the waters of the deep translucent river, in which its square tower, and ivy-clad gables were now mirrored, while from the tall flag-staff waved a

broad green flag, on which was emblazoned the armorial bearings of the Blakes on a shield *Argent a fret gules*. Crest—A cat-a-mountain passant *gardant* proper. Motto—“*Virtus sola nobilitas*.” The aspect of this handsome retreat was still further enhanced by the beauty of the scenery by which it was surrounded. Romantically seated on the emerald banks of a laving river, which hyphens, as it were, the noble Lough Corrib to the broad Atlantic, and encompassed by dense woods, now clad in all the luxuriant greenery of their summer foliage, deep vales, and craggy slopes, it certainly ranked high amongst the picturesque scenery which adorns the rugged West. Immediately before the castle stretched a verdant lawn, nearly forming a crescent, until it met the murmuring waters of the ever-flowing tide. Along the sedgy banks of the river, the young wild-duck flapped their tender wings, and sported among the waving rushes in the shallow waters, while the light-feathered tribe, high amongst the clustering branches of the lofty oak in the forest, lifted their siren voices in joyous glee, and filled the woods with melodious song. Over the daisy bespangled lawn, and among the artistic pleasure-grounds, the errant bee sipped the honey from the blooming flowers, and, as the boat gently glided over the numerous waterlilies, and struck the shore, the timid rabbits, frightened as her keel grated on the beach, scampered off towards their warren in the adjoining wood. In truth, all the wayward beauties of nature seemed to be here concentrated; and as the meditative Cuthbert gazed with admiration on this fair abode, where ease and hospitality had found a home, he could not help observing all the peculiar architectural characteristics which Menlough Castle presented.

The boat being safely secured to a very old looking brass cannon, the muzzle of which was imbedded in the earth, Cuthbert crossed the lawn, over which proudly strutted several peafowl and pheasants, and, having announced himself, was immediately admitted to the parlour of the castle, where he was received by Sir Walter Blake.

The Baronet was a man of stout build, having a high commanding forehead, large dark, brown eyes, prominent features, and a mild good-humoured countenance. He was dressed in a green coat, the enormous cuffs of which were handsomely embroidered, and round his neck he wore a large white kerchief, the deep folds of which reached down to his waist. He was Mayor of Galway in 1648, in which year he received the honour of knighthood, and succeeded to the Baronetcy on the death of his brother Sir Valentine Blake the “Younger,” Knight and Baronet, who was elected a member of parliament for Galway in 1639, but was expelled from the House of Commons on the 22nd June,

1642, for having joined the rebellion. However, he was elected Mayor of Galway in 1643, but, having fallen in a duel, without leaving male issue, he was succeeded by his brother Sir Walter, the second son of Sir Thomas Blake, Knight and Baronet, M. P. for Galway in 1634, and his wife Eleanor, daughter of Sir Henry Lynch, Baronet, of Castle-Carra, county of Mayo, Baron of the Exchequer in 1689, son of Sir Robert Lynch, M. P. for Galway in 1639. Sir Walter, who was now one of the members of parliament for the county of Galway, was also second colonel in the Earl of Clanricarde's infantry regiment, which that nobleman raised for the service of King James II.; but after the battle of Aughrim, in consequence of a wound he received there, returned to Menlough. Sir Walter married Anne, daughter of Sir John Kirwan of Castle Hacket, Mayor of Galway in 1686, who first introduced glass windows in their present form into Galway, and in whose house the first tea-kettle seen in Connaught was used.

The lower portions of the walls of the apartment were ornamented with handsome panelling, on which was carved, in relief, many armorial bearings. Over the mantel-piece hung a large painting of a stern-looking warrior, clad in armour, which was said by family tradition to be the portrait of Sir Richard Blake, Knight, who accompanied Prince John, then Earl of Mortagne, and afterwards King of England, on his expedition to Ireland in 1189; and, having obtained as a reward for his distinguished military services, grants of extensive lands in the counties of Galway, Clare, and Mayo, he settled in the town of Galway. He married Eleanor, only daughter and heiress of Walter Caddell, who was head of a noble Welsh family, for a long time settled in Galway, and became ancestor of the Blakes of Connaught. The room was also decorated with several other handsome paintings of the baronets who had preceded Sir Walter.

The hospitable Baronet was rejoiced to see Cuthbert, particularly as he wished to hear the latest news, and all about the capitulation of the garrison of Galway, from one on whom he could depend, as of late his residence being so remote, he found it difficult to obtain authentic information regarding the movements of both armies.

"You are welcome to Menlough, Fenwick," said he, "these are strange times, when the proprietor of this old castle cannot fire a salute on the arrival of a friend; but the fact is, I sent all my cannon into Galway before the siege commenced, as I knew that Lord Dillon and Arthur Ffrench would make good use of them."

"I saw them on the ramparts, and was told they were yours, Sir Walter," replied Cuthbert, "and the townspeople appeared very grate-

ful to you for having sent them. They were well managed by d'Usson's gunners, and, I have no doubt, when they are brought back to the castle, that you will preserve them carefully, as interesting relics of the siege."

"It is not the first time, Fenwick, they were used in defending the town in time of danger, as it was customary with my ancestors from the time of their first settlement here, to lend them to the Corporation, whenever they were required; but you must take some luncheon, a sail on the river generally gives one an appetite. I am so sorry I did not know of your coming—and Lady Blake, who drove to Galway a short time ago, will also regret not being aware of it, as she would have been delighted to stay at home to receive you. Since the battle of Aughrim, I could hear no news, except what I gathered from the boatmen on the river. As I am now quite recovered from the effects of my wound, I intend proceeding to Limerick in a few days, and am greatly pleased at hearing of the resolution which Lord Lucan has formed, of defending that city until we will have received further assistance from France."

After luncheon Sir Walter took Cuthbert through the garden and pleasure-grounds, and during their walk, Fenwick gave him an exact account of how affairs really stood with the Irish in Limerick. On their return to the castle, after a long conversation, Cuthbert took leave of Sir Walter, saying, that he should return immediately to Clooneene, as he was anxious to proceed to Limerick, to take part in the resistance which the Earl of Lucan was about offering to the army of Baron de Ginckell. The hospitable Baronet endeavoured to persuade him to remain for dinner, but Cuthbert, who was pressed for time, declined, saying:—

"I assure you, Sir Walter, I would be only too happy to accept of your kind invitation, but really I cannot delay on this occasion. I was told by Colonel Burke of Tyaquin, that you were wounded at Aughrim, and being very anxious to know how you were progressing, I determined on paying you a visit, in order that I might be able to inform your friends in the army of the state of your health. I should have marched with Lord Dillon and the garrison to Limerick, but Baron de Ginckell acted in a very gentlemanly manner towards me, and gave me a pass, by which I can at any time travel with safety through the country. However, I trust you will excuse me for not remaining, as I consider it my duty to repair to Limerick at once, in order to be in time to take part in the coming siege."

"I admire your attachment to our cause, Fenwick," said the patriotic

Baronet, "and, under the circumstances, I would, indeed, be sorry to detain you, as I know you are a brave youth, and have no doubt, but you will give the Earl of Lucan cause to be proud of your services. I wish you every success, and you will not forget remembering me to all my friends, but particularly to the jolly Sir Toby Butler. Tell them that I expect to be able to join them in a short time, and that, in my opinion, they should not yet despair, for, if King Louis sends us the promised aid, we will, undoubtedly, retrieve our past losses."

Cuthbert having promised to comply with Sir Walter's wishes, bade him an affectionate farewell, and, proceeding to where the May Queen was moored, he took his seat, and, in a few moments, was on his return to Galway.

Cuthbert, in answer to the inquisitive boatman, having said that he was much pleased with Menlough Castle and its surrounding scenery, asked him if he had ever heard of Doctor Morogh O'Lee, the hero of the enchanted Island of O'Brazil (130).

"Indeed, sir," he replied, "I have often heard of the enchanted Doctor and his wonderful cures. His family were hereditary physicians to the O'Fflaherties of Iar-Connaught, and, if you wish, I can tell you what brought them first into that territory."

Cuthbert being anxious to while away the time, requested him to do so, and the boatman then told him the following story:—

"The first member of the O'Lee family that settled in the territory of Iar-Connaught, came from the county of Meath, and was a young adventurer of prepossessing appearance, and considerable mental attainments, who came to seek his fortune. After having spent some time in that part of the country, he became acquainted with the Chief of the O'Fflaherties, who then possessed that portion of Connemara which adjoins Lough Corrib. The Chieftain invited O'Lee on a visit to his residence at Aughnenure Castle, and the invitation was accepted of by him. His handsome figure, and winning manners, soon made him a great favourite with the family, and a warm attachment sprung up between him and the Chieftain's daughter, which was not only countenanced, but approved of by her father. This mutual friendship soon ripened into love, and O'Lee feeling he had a good chance of success, proposed to the old Chieftain for his fair daughter's hand, and was accepted by him. In due time their marriage was celebrated, and O'Fflahertie conferred the lands of Glan on his daughter as her dower. O'Lee and his beautiful bride soon after settled here, and in the spring of the following year, he commenced to cultivate a portion of his estate. However, one of O'Fflahertie's sons being

annoyed that his father had given away Glan, opposed his brother-in-law, and endeavoured to prevent him from tilling the soil. This was the cause of a fierce altercation, which ended in blows; and O'Flahertie withdrew, vowing eternal vengeance against his sister's husband. Having represented the affair entirely in his own favour to his brothers, he succeeded in inducing two of them to join him in an intrigue against O'Lee. Before any of the family were aware of their dreadful purpose, they quickly proceeded to Glan, where their unsuspecting brother-in-law was quietly proceeding with the culture of his land. They then fell upon the defenceless man, and ruthlessly slew him. Shortly after their departure from Aughnenure Castle, two other sons of the chieftain, together with their uncle and four of his sons, having received intimation of the danger O'Lee was in, hastened to his rescue, but unfortunately came too late to accomplish it. After the murderers had perpetrated this foul deed, they sought their own sister, for the purpose of destroying her, while their hands were yet red with the blood of her husband; but the almost distracted widow succeeded in evading them by concealing herself in a neighbouring wood until night-fall, when she managed to escape. Fearing to enter her father's house, as she feared her brothers would seek an opportunity of being avenged on her also, she determined on proceeding to her father-in-law's, in the county Meath. After travelling for several days, during which time she took little or no rest, she, at length, arrived at his residence. Having made known who she was, she was received with delight by the old man—and, after a short time, broached to him in as soothing a manner as possible, the circumstance of his son's death; and then she informed him that the assassins were her own brothers. After a feeling appeal for his protection, she modestly intimated that she would soon be a mother, and said, she feared if she remained with her own family for the present, her relentless brothers would even go so far as to slay her child. The old man listened most attentively to her statement, and, while tears of regret for the loss of his son coursed down his aged cheeks, he exclaimed—

“ ‘ Your affliction, my dear child, makes you a thousand times more welcome to me. It is well that you have come, for I will guard you as my own daughter; and all I ask in return is, that you will keep secret all you have told me, from every other person, until whatever time I may think it right to ask you to disclose it.’ ”

“ Having gladly acceded to this request, the disconsolate widow, continued to reside with her father-in-law, and after the lapse of a short time, she gave birth to a son. As years rolled on the child grew up in



strength, and beauty, and old O'Lee, who saw in his handsome features, the image of his murdered son, became doubly attached to the winsome boy, and consequently paid particular attention to his education. The ablest teachers were engaged to instruct him, and being both apt and attentive, on arriving at man's estate he was master of nearly all the accomplishments of the age. On the anniversary of his twenty-first birth-day, old O'Lee invited all his relatives and friends to do him honour on the occasion, and on the third day of the feasting, while joy and festivity reigned around the board, he arose from the table, and in deep and solemn accents requested his daughter to tell her son, in the presence of the assembled company, her long pent up secret regarding his father's cruel death. While she recited, with emotion, the circumstances of the sad affair which had so many years ago bereft her of a fond husband and left her only child an orphan, the guests paid great attention, but of the many who were present her own son was the most absorbed in the contemplation of all she told. When she concluded the narration of this affecting story, and while the guests were yet labouring under the surprise it created, her old father-in-law again rose, and asked her son what he intended doing in a matter which concerned him so much. Without a moment's hesitation, the brave youth replied—

“ ‘I will be avenged ; the murderers of my father must die though they are my own kindred, and as soon as Providence enables me to procure a sufficient number of faithful companions, I will at once proceed to Aughnenuire Castle, and take ample revenge.’ ”

“ On hearing this bold declaration of his grandson, the old man said—

“ ‘Give me your hand, my son, you are a true O'Lee, and here amidst the strength of my relatives and friends, I feel certain, you will obtain a sufficient force to carry out your laudable object, and enable you to pay back with interest the debt you so long owe the murderers of your father—the murderers of my son !’ ”

“ The old man here became much affected, as the recollection of his long lost child flashed across his mind, but recovering himself with an effort he continued—

“ ‘I now call on all the young men who are present, and who know what it is to love a parent, to accompany you, and let those who are willing arrange themselves by your side.’ ”

“ This appeal was at once responded to by four score of as stout and athletic young men as could be found in the country, who enthusiastically declared they would lose the last drop of their blood, or succeed

in obtaining satisfaction for their deeply injured friend. Young O'Lee then addressed these generous volunteers, and having returned them his sincere thanks for their proffered services, he requested to know when it would be convenient for them to proceed with him to Iar-Connaught. Having unanimously declared they were ready at any moment, young O'Lee said—

“ ‘Then this is the time, my brave friends, to arm and march, for I burn to avenge the death of my father.’

“The necessary preparations for their departure on this dangerous expedition were soon made, and at the head of his faithful party of young friends, O'Lee wended his way towards the Castle of Aughnenure. Having travelled as fast as the uneven state of the roads would permit of, on the fifth day they entered Iar-Connaught, and while approaching the castle, they observed the O'Flaherties in an adjoining bog, inspecting the cutting of some turf. The reminiscences of former and happier days now tortured the widow's mind, who also accompanied this daring band, as she gazed with tearful eyes on her ancestral home, and when her son said—

“ ‘Mother, which of them slew my father,’ she had no difficulty in recognizing the assassins of her husband, and replied—

“ ‘The three men beyond the second trench are they who spilt your father's blood.’

“Fired by these words, young O'Lee dashed forward and cleared the first trench at a single bound, while he was closely followed by his companions. When the old Chief of Aughnenure saw with what agility he performed this feat, he exclaimed aloud—

“ ‘If there are any of the O'Lees living this young man is certainly one of them.’

“The daring youth pressed on, and with shouts of vengeance slew his three uncles with his own hand, and not yet satisfied, was advancing to attack the others, when his mother cried out to him—

“ ‘Stay your hand, my son, the murderers of your father are no more, but the others would fain have saved him.’

“On hearing his mother's command, the youth obeyed, and as the O'Flaherties were unarmed, they did not attempt making any resistance. Explanations having ensued, and the cause of O'Lee's just wrath having been explained the Chieftain of Aughnenure stepped forward, and said—

“ ‘What has occurred to day has fallen heavy upon me in my old age, and the death of my three sons gives me cause to lament. But, on the other hand, when I consider that they were the slayers of my son-

in-law, who, one-and-twenty years ago, fell a victim to their evil passions, I feel I have not so much reason to complain, particularly as my grandson was justly entitled to revenge. I therefore, my dear daughter, again receive you with tenfold pleasure. Take your son to reside with you, and he and his posterity will henceforth inherit the lands of Glan. These good friends who have accompanied him I will also willingly take under my protection, as long as it is their pleasure to remain at Augnenure Castle.'

"These conditions were gladly accepted of by young O'Lee and his mother, and when the feelings of sadness, caused by the death of his sons, had subsided, the old Chief of Augnenure and his family ever afterwards lived on terms of amity with them, and this was the way, sir, the O'Lees first got their patrimony in the territory of Iar-Con-naught."

The boat had now reached the Wood Quay, and Cuthbert having first generously remunerated its owner for his services, he proceeded on his journey, accompanied by his guard. On arriving at Clooneene, Cuthbert found the Chieftain, his son Major Forster, and Dermot Oge, in the parlour, who were all rejoiced at his safe return. Having narrated to them the particulars of the siege, and the brave conduct of the Mayor, who had fought sword in hand until the capitulation, and by whose coolness and determination the citizens were much encouraged, he informed Major Forster, that his brother-in-law, Colonel Burke, of Tyaquin, had escaped unhurt. While he spoke, the Chief appeared absorbed in grief, for the loss of the ancient and brave town of Galway was keenly felt by him. Arousing himself from his reverie, and addressing Fenwick, he said :—

"Cuthbert, I fear Limerick will also fall into the hands of our enemies, unless King Louis compels his Minister of War to send assistance speedily to the Earl of Lucan. The base and vile traitors who lurk about will, I am sure, betray us to De Ginckell, who, with the vast amount of English gold which he has at his command, will find no difficulty in corrupting them. Sending that wretched traitor, Colonel Henry Luttrell, to relieve Galway was a most foolish move, for after his conduct at Aughrim he never should have been trusted with command again."

Soon after, the family retired to rest, and early next morning Cuthbert Fenwick departed for Limerick, to again take command of the Clooneene Foresters.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

## BARON DE GINCKELL BESIEGES LIMERICK.

On the 14th of August, the day on which the Williamite army, under the command of Lieutenant-General Baron de Ginckell, reached Caherconlish, the Duke of Tyrconnell, King James's Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, died within the city of Limerick, which sad event caused great excitement, but very little regret among the inhabitants, for many of the king's adherents had believed, for a long time past, that he was privately in league with the Prince of Orange. His Grace was quietly interred in the Cathedral Church of St. Mary (131).

The garrison now became divided into two parties: one wished to acknowledge the Prince of Orange as William III., and to submit on the best terms that could be obtained from his Commander-in-chief, while the other, believing that Louis XIV. would be faithful to his promise, preferred holding out at all risks.

Early on the morning of the 15th of August, 1,500 horse and dragoons, under the command of Major-General the Marquis de Ruvigny, and 1,000 foot as a reserve, commanded by Prince George de Hesse-d Armstadt, accompanied by Baron de Ginckell and all his principal general officers, advanced towards Limerick to reconnoitre. The Irish outposts, after a short skirmish with the enemy's advanced guard, retired into the city, leaving to the ever-vigilant and active Rapparees, the difficult task of cutting off the Williamite stragglers and convoys. After some hours spent in making observations, De Ginckell returned to his camp, and was much pleased to find, that a large number of strong waggon<sup>s</sup> had arrived there, with a plentiful supply of bread. On the 16th, a strong detachment of horse and dragoons, under Major-General the Marquis la Forrest, was sent by De Ginckell to meet and escort to the camp the artillery, ammunition, and other necessities which he expected. On the 17th, Sir William King, ex-governor of Limerick, who was imprisoned by the Irish, escaped to the Williamite camp, and nothing of any importance afterwards took place on either side until the 23rd. On this day the Commander-in-chief, impatient at being kept so long inactive by the bad weather which prevailed, sent 250 draft horses to hasten the arrival of the artillery, and ordered

each regiment to have prepared 2,000 fascines for the coming siege. Two soldiers were also hung for theft by De Ginckell's order, and a sutler suffered the same fate, for having received the goods which they had stolen. In the evening the cannon having appeared in sight of the camp, De Ginckell gave orders to have the army prepared for an early march next morning, which was to have an advanced guard of 600 horse, 300 dragoons, 1,000 foot, and 200 grenadiers. The advanced forces were to march in two lines, at the head of each wing of the main body, with four cannon, and twenty-five pioneers, to clear the way. After the detached foot, the whole of the horse were to march, after these the foot, and the rear was to be brought up by all the cannon. It was further directed, that the army was to form in order, without beat of drum, or any other noise that might create a suspicion in the city of their approach. At dawn on the morning of the 25th, the Williamites advanced to Limerick, with the exception of two regiments of foot, and 100 horse, that were to remain until the park of artillery would have arrived. On coming before the city, they commenced the siege, by making an attack on Old Church Fort, and Ireton's Fort (132), the former of which they found evacuated by the Irish. From the latter, the Irish retreated on the approach of the Williamites. In the evening, Count de Nassau attacked Cromwell's Fort, which he succeeded in taking after a short engagement, and changed its name to Nassau's Fort. Baron de Ginckell fearing the Irish would sally forth, ordered the horses not to be unsaddled, and the men to hold themselves in readiness during the night for any emergency that might occur. This evening, a random shot from the walls of the city, killed Colonel Donep, an officer who was much esteemed by De Ginckell, and who commanded the advanced guard of the besieging army. On the 26th, the park of artillery arrived, with a large quantity of ammunition, and the Williamites commenced to throw up earth-works, behind which, when completed, the Danes were placed, by order of Baron de Ginckell. While engaged in constructing these works, several of the soldiers were killed by the constant and steady fire maintained from the battlements. The garrison, on the 27th, having planted two field-pieces on the opposite side of the Shannon, opened such a galling fire on the two regiments stationed near that river, that they quickly forced them to retreat. De Ginckell also opened a heavy fire on the city from his batteries. During the afternoon, eighteen men-of-war sailed up the Shannon, and opened fire on the Irish cavalry stationed on the Clare side of Limerick. On the morning of the 28th Baron de Ginckell sent a courier to Kinsale, to order all the vessels laden with provisions in that port to sail up the Shannon to Limerick.

He afterwards went on board the ships already in the river, and ordered several of their cannon and mortars to be sent on shore for the immediate use of his army. At the close of this day, the Williamites had completed all their earth-works, the progress of which was greatly retarded by the close fire kept up by the Irish during the entire day. They then commenced to erect a strong battery, on which they intended to plant ten great guns, and seven mortars, and worked so hard during the night, that they had it finished at break of day. On the 30th, they mounted the guns and mortars on this battery, and immediately opened fire on the city and Thomond Bridge. Showers of shell and grenades were now thrown into Limerick with such success, that the more exposed houses in the English Town were soon enveloped in flames, which, however, were as quickly extinguished. Still the Irish held out bravely, and kept up a heavy and destructive fire on their assailants. The unfortunate proprietors of the dilapidated houses fled in disorder to the King's Island, where they took shelter in tents made of the scanty supply of bed-clothes which they had with difficulty saved from the flames. Notwithstanding the bitter privations they were thus obliged to endure, their love of country was so great that they did not for a moment upbraid Lord Lucan, but unanimously agreed that his Lordship was perfectly right in holding out against the enemy to the last. The English artillery continued to fire on the city during the whole of the 31st; but Baron de Ginkell, not yet satisfied with the number of his batteries, now ordered another to be erected nearer to the walls of the city. Finding, however, he could not spare the foot-soldiers for this purpose, who had already enough to do, whole regiments of them being placed on duty every second night, he employed four men out of each troop of horse and dragoons to perform the required work. These men being only accustomed to do duty on horseback, he considered the erection of the fort would take a reasonable time, but in this he was agreeably mistaken, as they had it completed at the first dawn of the morning. Brigadier Levison was despatched to Kerry on this day, and succeeded, though not without considerable trouble, in subduing part of that county. In the evening, eight large cannon were conveyed to the new battery, but Baron de Ginkell having changed his mind, and considering it was not close enough to the city, they were not mounted. During the night and the next morning the entire of the Williamite artillery played incessantly on the city of Limerick.

On the evening of Tuesday, the 1st of September, the Irish garrison made a bold sally, by which they gained no advantage, and on the evening of the 2nd two great mortars were brought from on board,



one of the ships then stationed in the River Shannon, from which several shells were thrown into the city, but with little effect. As the batteries already erected, though very numerous, did not suit De Ginckell's purpose, or in any way satisfy him, on the 4th, the Duke de Wirtemberg proposed building another on that side of the river next the King's Island, and about three hundred yards distant from the walls of the city. There were four strong forts erected on this day between the King's Island and the old church. The evening of the 5th, being very dark, it was resolved to commence the battery suggested by the Duke de Wirtemberg. The Williamites succeeded in carrying on this work for some time undiscovered by the garrison, but the moon suddenly emerging from behind a cloud, they were observed, and a heavy fire was opened on them, but not with such effect as to prevent them from continuing the work they had begun. During the 6th they continued to labour on with great perseverance, and would have had the battery completed earlier, but for the heavy rain which had fallen. On the 7th Baron de Ginckell wrote a letter in reply to one he had received on the previous day from Brigadier Levison, informing him of the burning of Tralee by the Irish. This day also the new battery was completed to the entire satisfaction of the Duke de Wirtemberg. During the whole of the 8th a heavy and galling fire was kept up from all the new Williamite batteries, which proved exceedingly destructive to the city. On one of these batteries ten cannon were mounted, which incessantly fired red hot ball into the city; on another, twenty-five, eighteen, and twenty-four-pounders, and on a third, eight large mortars were placed. Independently of the batteries, which commanded the north-east end of the city, there were also eight twelve-pounders on Mackay's Fort, and some heavy guns planted on the south-west side, where the Danish soldiers were stationed. In consequence of this continued fire, a breach was at length made in the old walls capable of admitting a large force of the enemy to pass through. Though this object was at length attained, Baron de Ginckell feared to attempt entering the city, remembering the fearful disaster that befell the Brandenburg Regiment, when the Prince of Orange ordered them in the previous year to take the city by storm. The Irish were overjoyed when they saw that the Williamites shrunk from an open assault, as they entertained hopes that Baron de Ginckell would raise the siege. On the 9th the guns continued to fire for the purpose of widening the breach, which they succeeded in doing, and also in injuring a large number of houses in the town. In the course of this day the Irish made another sally, but were obliged to return without having gained any material

advantage. Nothing of importance took place on the 10th, though the Williamite artillery still continued to fire furiously on the English Town until evening, when the greater part of that portion of the city was observed to be on fire, and it continued to burn during the whole of the night. Next day, the breach being considerably widened, and a number of floats having been prepared, De Ginckell consulted with his officers, as to whether or not it would be advisable to attempt taking the town by storm. The officers having unanimously declared they did not consider it would be wise to do so, Baron de Ginckell resolved to abandon the siege, and take up his winter quarters at Kilmallock, the fortifications of which town he ordered on the 12th to be repaired and strengthened.

In the meantime the garrison of Limerick made every preparation to defend the breach valiantly, kept vigilant watch, and had their men ready to beat back the Williamites, should they attempt to enter the city by it. Some days previously Baron de Ginckell was informed that the garrison intended holding out to the last man, and that his only chance of success lay in defeating the cavalry stationed on the Clare side of the city, as he would thereby cut off all communication between the garrison and their allies. The Irish cavalry were a brave, well-disciplined force, and were not beaten, as a body, during the war. Now, Baron de Ginckell, in order to attack them, would have to cross the river; but this was impossible, as they could easily resist him; and, even if he could get over, his army would be attacked by the enemy on the side next the city. The Irish officers considered all was perfectly safe, but they were betrayed by one of themselves who held a high command.

This despicable wretch was Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Luttrell, who had caused the loss of Aughrim, and who was accused of high treason, and arrested by order of the Earl of Lucan. Having entered into a private correspondence with the English officer who accompanied the troops from the town of Galway to the county of Clare, one of Colonel Luttrell's letters was intercepted, and its contents being of a treasonable nature, he was tried by court-martial; but, strange to say, was acquitted. Seeing he could not take the city by storm, Baron de Ginckell resolved to tamper with the loyalty of Colonel Robert Clifford. He promised him promotion in the service of the Prince of Orange, and a large sum of money, provided he assisted the Williamites in taking possession of the city. There was a small island, situated in the River Shannon, and that portion of the river which separated it from the county of Clare could be easily forded. This was guarded by Colonel

Clifford, with four regiments of dragoons, and he undertook, after hearing De Ginckell's proposal, to give this pass, without opposition, to the English. Baron de Ginckell having arranged matters to his satisfaction with this traitor, commenced on the 15th to dismount his batteries, pretending he was going to raise the siege, which caused the garrison and citizens to be off their guard ; but the Baron privately ordered a number of pontoons to be prepared for the purpose of crossing the river. The joy of the Irish was unbounded, when they beheld De Ginckell about to retreat ; and they began to hope they would yet obtain satisfaction for the loss they sustained at Aughrim.

However, in the evening, the Williamite Commander-in-chief ordered, that as soon as night would have set in, 400 grenadiers should march at the head of Major-General Kirke's regiment. These were to be accompanied by 600 workmen, with the tin boats for crossing the river, and supported by five regiments of foot and horse, under the command of Major-General Tollemache, and a large body of dragoons under Scravenmore, and to have also with them six cannon. It was, however, further ordered, that at nine o'clock that night the whole were to proceed to the place agreed on with Colonel Clifford to cross at, and which was two miles distant from the English camp. The night having become suddenly pitchy dark—just what Baron de Ginckell had wished for—that nobleman placed his floating bridges over the Shannon, and, with 600 grenadiers, and a large body of horse and foot, crossed over to the island ; and then, after passing the ford on the other side, reached the main-land. A picquet and some sentinels belonging to the Irish made an obstinate resistance, but were quickly overpowered. The traitor Clifford had previously ordered off the four regiments under his command in another direction, and De Ginckell therefore proceeding without opposition to where the Irish horse were stationed, surprised them. Most of them escaped, but, as their horses were grazing at two miles distance, they could make no resistance, or ride to the city to give the alarm. As daylight approached, the Williamites thought it prudent to retire, fearing the Irish in the town might sally forth and attack them. When the officers of Colonel Clifford's regiment heard the fatal result of their having been taken away from the ford, they at once concluded they were betrayed by him. He was accordingly accused of high treason, taken into custody, tried by court-martial, and sentenced to die, on the testimony given by his own indignant officers ; but, for some unaccountable reason, was suffered to remain in prison for the present. Baron de Ginckell still felt the difficulty of his situation ; the town could not be taken by assault, and

the Irish cavalry were still in force and unbroken on the Clare side. He therefore now tried the effect of another proclamation, offering very favourable terms to the Irish who would surrender to him, and representing to them the folly on their part of preferring to be connected with France instead of England. He also tried to win over the honest and high-minded Earl of Lucan, and privately sent his Lordship word that the Prince of Orange, who greatly admired him, would purchase his services at any price that he himself named ; but the indignant Irish nobleman scorned this base offer, and the garrison still continued to make a determined resistance. In consequence of these tempting offers being refused, Baron de Ginckell held a council of war, on the 17th of the month, and never before did such difference of opinion exist between English officers as in this assemblage—in fact, the whole Williamite camp was divided. It was the opinion of some of the officers who sat in this council, that the siege ought to be raised, while others maintained it would be better to cross the river, and destroy all the forage which the Irish had in Clare, and then blockade the city. The plans suggested by the latter were agreed to, and a Williamite engineer was ordered to set out for Kilmallock, conducted by a strong guard to fortify that town. This mode of proceeding was, however, no sooner adopted than it was rejected, as Baron de Ginckell was prevailed on by Major-General Tollemache to venture an attack on the city, on the Clare side. The Williamites having received 300 carts laden with cannon ball, shell, and other kinds of ammunition, opened a heavy fire on the city, which they continued during the day from their great battery. On the 19th a new battery was raised, for the purpose of checking the garrison, should they attempt to sally from St. John's Gate ; and that evening four mortars were taken from the great battery, and placed on Mackay's Fort. On this day, also, an unparalleled act of cruelty was perpetrated, which for ever casts a stigma on Baron de Ginckell's character. Three unfortunate Rapparees having been taken prisoners to his camp, charged by a party of Williamite militia with killing some of the English soldiers, who had left the camp to plunder the peasantry, and procure potatoes, were tried by court-martial, and found guilty. De Ginckell at once ordered to have them broken on the wheel ; but finding this sentence was contrary to English law, he caused them to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, and their mutilated bodies stuck on pike-staffs along the road leading to Limerick.

Great excitement was caused in the Williamite camp towards evening, in consequence of De Ginckell having heard that the Irish

intended making another sally. On the 20th most of the heavy cannon belonging to the English were placed on board the vessels in the river. The 21st was occupied by the Williamites in making necessary preparations for their intended attack next day, which, if unsuccessful, was to be the last. On the 22nd a large force of De Ginckell's army, consisting of horse and foot, crossed the Shannon, and pushed on to attack the Irish in front of Thomond Bridge. The Williamites were repulsed at first, and their cavalry suffered severely. The Irish fired with great effect from the walls, and the soldiers in front of Thomond Bridge, taking advantage of some gravel pits, killed many of the enemy by a brisk fire, which they maintained rapidly for a considerable time. The number of the Irish stationed outside the walls of the city was small, compared to the enemy ; but Baron de Ginckell seeing the successful resistance that was made against him, ordered up an overwhelming force, which drove the Irish to the end of the bridge. A desperate contest now ensued, and in a short time the bridge was covered with heaps of killed and wounded ; but instead of fresh troops being sent to reinforce the Irish, who made such a gallant resistance, Lieutenant-General d'Usson, who, on the death of the Duke of Tyrconnell, assumed the supreme command, now hastily ordered the drawbridge to be raised, and the brave Colonel Lacy, and the rest of the Irish, were left to their fate.

In this sanguinary conflict over 600 Irish were put to the sword ; a few succeeded in getting into the city, and 154 jumped into the river and were drowned, rather than allow themselves to be butchered by their furious enemies.

Among the numerous officers of distinction killed in this engagement, were the brave Colonel Skelton and Colonel Lacy ; and the principal prisoners taken were Lieutenants-Colonel Francis O'Dempsey and Edmond Hurley, Major Matthew Ffrench, and John Neville.

The result of the assault on Thomond Bridge did not, however, place Baron de Ginckell in a much better position than that which he had previously occupied during the siege ; and on the following day, which was the 23rd, the Governor kept up a determined fire from an early hour until evening, when they were astonished at receiving orders from their officers at six o'clock to cease, and beat a parley. Many of the Irish officers, who despaired of receiving assistance from France, persuaded the Earl of Lucan, after a great deal of trouble and argument, to consent to a treaty of surrender. Those persons who were known as the Peace Party were the Cusacks, Hamiltons, Luttrells,

Nagles, Newcomens, Nugents, Plunkets, Rices, Roches, Sheldons, Taafes, Talbots, and others, all of whom were the supporters of the late Duke of Tyrconnell.

The garrison now became fearfully divided, some being of opinion that the French ought not to be relied on—that they were dishonourable and treacherous allies; and said this was fully proved by their leaving the Irish so long unaided, and by the conduct of Lieutenant-General d'Usson, who ordered the Mayor, George Roche, to raise the drawbridge, while part of the garrison were so bravely fighting on Thomond Bridge. Others considered that, even if the French kept their faith, it would entail a new, and, perhaps, more bloody war, which might continue for several years; and that, therefore, the wisest course was to surrender the city to De Ginckell, and thereby secure their estates, without any more unnecessary bloodshed.

O'Shaughnessy, Chief of Cineal Aodh (133), who had returned to Ireland a short time previous to the siege, said, that when he was in France he was aware that King Louis was resolved to succour the Irish as soon as possible in every way in his power; and he entertained no doubt but that in a few days the French fleet would arrive in the Shannon, with all the necessaries which they so much required for carrying on the war.

Lieutenant-General d'Usson indignantly refuted the charge of dishonour brought against his countrymen, and said, that since his arrival in Ireland he believed no one could accuse him of having neglected his duty as a soldier, a gentleman, and a Frenchman; and that at the time he gave the order to raise the drawbridge, he believed it to be the only means of saving the city from the grasp of the enemy.

Cuthbert Fenwick observed, that during the siege of Galway he had an ample opportunity of observing General d'Usson's conduct, that he fully endorsed what that General was after stating, and was also of opinion that it would be a cowardly act to surrender the city.

Captain Forster said he agreed with his friend O'Shaughnessy, and felt fully satisfied that on the arrival of the French the Williamite forces would be completely defeated; for he knew that all the gentry who had availed themselves of Protections from Baron de Ginckell would throw them up, and again fly to arms; that all the peasantry who had deserted would reassemble in defence of their country; and that, as it would take the Prince of Orange in England, and his Commander-in-chief in Ireland, a considerable time to organize a new army, the Irish would have an ample opportunity of making preparations at



home, and of receiving supplies of men, arms, clothes, and all other necessities from France.

After hearing these remarks, the youthful Chief of Cineal Aod Cuthbert Fenwick, Captain Tobyn, and other officers, drew their sword and cried "No surrender!!" Their example was immediately followed by Lieutenant-General d'Usson, all the French officers present, and some of the Irish, the majority of whom remained silent, so that it was evident another and a strong party had sprung up in the garrison of the beleagured city. But the most powerful party of all, or those who were for surrendering the city, prevailed, and a cessation of hostilities was agreed on for three days!

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## CHAPTER XXXIX.

### THE TREATY OF LIMERICK.

THE officers of both armies now held familiar intercourse with each other, and appeared as if they had never met in deadly combat. On the 25th, the Earl of Westmeath, Viscount Galmoy, Lords Dillon and Trimlestown; Lieutenant-General Sheldon, the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, Primate of Ireland; the Archbishop of Cashel, Sir Theobald Butler, Solicitor-General, and many other distinguished personages then staying in Limerick, dined with Baron de Ginckell, who most hospitably entertained them, and they spent a very pleasant evening with his Excellency. The humorous Sir Toby, who always prized a good dinner, made himself quite at home, for although a man of peace, as he said himself, he had taken a great fancy to Baron de Ginckell. He enlivened the company very much by his wit and repartee during the evening, and drank large measures of Hollands with as much gusto as if he was a staunch Williamite, who had never spoken disparagingly of the Prince of Orange, his generals, or his army.

After retiring, the guests, who were greatly pleased with the way in which they were entertained, did not return to the camp, but were rowed in a handsome barge to Limerick by Huguenot seamen.

On the 26th, the Earl of Lucan and Major-General Wauchamp dined with Baron de Ginckell; and in the afternoon of this day the besieged gave as hostages Lords Westmeath, Trimlestown, Louth, and

Iveagh; and the Williamites gave Lord Cutts, Sir David Collier, Colonel Piper, and Colonel Tiffin. Next day, the 27th, Sir Toby Butler, assisted by other eminent Irish lawyers, drew up the following draft of the Articles of Surrender, which were submitted by the garrison to Baron de Ginckell for his consideration.

"I. That their Majesties will, by an act of indemnity, pardon all past crimes and offences whatsoever.

"II. To restore all Irish Catholics to the estates of which they were seized or possessed before the late revolution.

"III. To allow free liberty of worship, and one priest to each parish, as well in towns and cities as in the country.

"IV. Irish Catholics to be capable of bearing employments, military and civil, and to exercise professions, trades, callings, of what nature soever.

"V. The Irish army to be kept on foot, paid, &c., as the rest of their Majesties' forces, in case they be willing to serve their Majesties against France or any other enemy.

"VI. The Irish Catholics to be allowed to live in towns corporate and cities, to be members of corporations, to exercise all sorts and manners of trades, and to be equal with their fellow Protestant subjects, in all privileges, advantages, and immunities accruing in or by the said corporations.

"VII. An Act of Parliament to be passed for ratifying and confirming the said conditions."

When the above Articles were presented to the Commander-in-chief, he resolutely refused to comply with their conditions, and observed to his officers: "Gentlemen, though I am a stranger to the laws of England, yet I understand that the propositions submitted by the Irish to me for my consideration are so far contrary to them, and dishonourable to myself, that I shall not grant any such terms to them." Consequently they were returned to Lord Lucan, and Baron de Ginckell ordered a new battery to be erected near Mackay's fort, on which he intended mounting some heavy guns and mortars to renew the siege. However, before this was accomplished, Baron de Ginckell held another council, when it was resolved to prepare twelve Articles of Surrender, and present them to the Irish garrison for their acceptance. Sir Toby Butler, who agreed with Captain Forster, O'Shaughnessy, and the other members of the opposition, that the city ought not to be surrendered to the English, now took advantage of his being a lawyer, to cavil at, object to, and suggest numerous material changes in the draft of the Articles of Surrender submitted by De Ginckell (134). His sole

object in doing so was to create delay, in hope that in the meantime the French fleet, which was so long expected by the Irish, might arrive to assist them ; but the Earl of Lucan having interfered, and objected to further delay, Sir Toby, being a man of peace, quietly withdrew all his objections, and on the next morning, the 28th, Lord Lucan, Major-General Wauchop, the Titular Primate of Ireland, the Archbishop of Cashel, and Sir Toby Butler, Sir Garret Dillon, Counsellors-at-law, and Colonel Dominick Browne, with the principal Irish officers, repaired to Baron de Ginckell's camp, who, having summoned the officers of the various Nationalities that composed his army, received them most graciously. After a warm debate which ensued, the Articles of Surrender were agreed to by both parties.

This afternoon an order was signed for the transport ships to sail from Cork to Limerick, for the purpose of conveying the Irish soldiers to France, and Baron de Ginckell sent the following letter to Sir Ralph Delaval, who was off the Irish coast, momentarily expecting the arrival of the French fleet :—

*“ Camp before Limerick, September 28th, 1691.*

“ SIR,—I have notice from my Lord Nottingham, that you were to come with the squadron under your command into these seas, which makes me send this to acquaint you, that I have entered into a treaty with the city of Limerick and the Irish army, which is now just come to a conclusion. In the meantime we have a cessation of arms at land, and have agreed there should be one too at sea upon the coasts of this kingdom, since several of the Irish army are to be transported, and to make use of French as well as English ships for that purpose ; and therefore I must desire you must not hinder the transport ships of France from coming into the Shannon, nor the rest of their fleet into Dingle Bay. The French Intendant here has written his part to the squadron of their men-of-war that is expected, and gives assurance that no hostility will be committed by them ; and you will please to observe the same on your side, which is very necessary for their Majesties' service, and the speedy finishing of the affair we have in hand, to which I am sure you will contribute what you may as well as, Sir,

“ Your most humble servant,

“ BARON DE GINCKELL.”

On the 29th all the Williamite horse and dragoons under the command of the Marquis de Ruvigny marched to Six-mile-bridge, where

forage was plentiful. During the day a friendly intercourse took place between the officers and the soldiers of both armies, who fraternized with each other, and on the 30th the Duke de Wirtemberg most hospitably entertained the Irish officers at his tent. Though the Williamite soldiers at first appeared friendly towards the Irish, it soon became evident they could not resist their plundering and other evil propensities, and on the next day, which was the 1st of October, Lord Lucan found it necessary to inform De Ginckell of their disgraceful conduct, who was greatly displeased, and forbade them to enter the city in future. At nine o'clock this night, the Lords Justices of the Prince of Orange arrived at the camp, in hope a treaty might be agreed upon with the garrison. The Irish having been informed of their arrival at three o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, Lord Lucan, accompanied by all his principal officers, the clergy, councillors-at-law, and all the gentlemen of position in Limerick, proceeded to the English camp.

Though matters appeared to have been amicably arranged before the coming of the Lords Justices, they now assumed a far different aspect, in consequence of altercations which arose relative to the Rapparees, and which continued until twelve o'clock at night, when they separated, after a very stormy debate, and having agreed to sign the Articles of Surrender on the next day. Accordingly, on Saturday, the 3rd of October, the Irish officers, after having dined with the Duke de Wirtemberg, again repaired to Baron de Ginckell's tent, and the Articles of Surrender, known in history as the TREATY OF LIMERICK (135), were then signed by Sir Charles Porter and Thomas Coningsby, Esquire, Lords Justices, and the Baron de Ginckell, Commander-in-chief of their Majesties' forces. They were signed on behalf of the Irish by Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan; Pierce Butler, third Viscount Galmoy; and Sir Toby Butler, of Sraghnagalloon. Thus, after a hard fought and bloody struggle for the Crown of Ireland, which lasted over three years, the Prince of Orange became, as William III., the recognised Sovereign of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Emerald Isle from thenceforth lost its prestige among the nations of the earth.

During the last siege of Limerick, the bold Rapparees performed good and effective service, and the day after the garrison beat the parley, galloping O'Hogan, Donal Bran, Conor O'Shaughnessy, and the White Sergeant, surprised seventy cars laden with a large quantity of provisions, bound for the Williamite camp, which they carried off in triumph. The Rapparees were included in the Treaty of Limerick, and those of them who were not inclined to go to France returned to their

homes, with the reputation of having acted bravely, and with fidelity, during the war.

On Sunday, the 4th of October, after divine service, Major-General Tollemache took possession of the English Town, and news reached Limerick that the long-expected and much-desired French fleet had arrived in Dingle Bay, under the command of the Count de Chateaurenaud, consisting of eighteen men-of-war, twenty ships of burden, laden with large quantities of the best ammunition and provisions, intended for the relief of Limerick, together with 20,000 stand of arms, 200 officers, 1,000 men and four fire ships!! In a few days after the whole fleet entered the Shannon, but the leaders of the Irish steadfastly adhered to the Treaty of Limerick, and would not avail themselves of the aid which they at last received from France.

Some of the Irish officers were now in a sullen mood, and became very low-spirited, when they reflected on the dissensions which led to the surrender of the city.

Sir Toby Butler, who was only nominally Solicitor-General for Ireland, since the defeat of the Irish at the battle of the Boyne, now renounced this title altogether, as he would not acknowledge the Prince of Orange as King, and jovially remarked that he would turn his Williamite successor out of office, when the good King James returned to take possession of his crown. Though greatly displeased at the surrender, he appeared as good-humoured as ever, and said that though the Count de Chateaurenaud had come too late to render them any assistance, he knew that nobleman's sympathies were with them, and he would, therefore, drink his health that evening.

The feeling of discontent which prevailed in the city was heightened, when the inhabitants heard of the arrival of the French fleet, and Lord Lucan exclaimed sorrowfully—"The French assistance has come too late, now that we have bound ourselves by a solemn treaty to surrender the city. Our honour is pledged, and we could not, without compromising it, accept of any aid whatsoever from our allies." Baron de Ginckell, knowing that many of the Irish, both officers and soldiers, intended going to France on the 5th, issued the following proclamation—

"By Lieutenant-General de Ginckell, Commander-in-chief of their Majesties' forces.

"Their Majesties having sufficiently manifested to the world their intention of bringing this kingdom into a state of quiet and repose, and to the flourishing condition it formerly was in, and for that reason have extended their grace and favour to those that 'till now have been

in arms against them, we cannot but let the officers and soldiers know how willing we are to indulge and provide for them, that by remaining in this kingdom, or serving their Majesties abroad, had rather promote the British and Irish interest than the designs of France against both, and do therefore promise and declare that all officers and soldiers of the said army that have a mind to return to their homes shall have leave to do so, with all their goods and effects, and there be permitted to live quietly and peaceably under the protection and encouragement of the Government. And although by the capitulation all the troopers of that army, besides the six hundred that have license to go beyond the sea, were to deliver up their horses without payment to such persons as shall be appointed to receive the same, yet we do hereby give the said troopers and dragoons leave to sell their horses to whom they think fit, and will pay them for their arms, upon their giving them up to the officer commanding the train of artillery, either in the Irish Town of Limerick or the camp. As also to the foot soldiers, they shall likewise be paid for their arms, they bringing them in. As for those officers and soldiers that are willing to take service under their Majesties, they shall have quarters immediately assigned them, and receive subsistence 'till their Majesties' further pleasure, for which end they may send two officers of their own to England or elsewhere, to receive from their Majesties themselves what further orders they shall please to give herein. And whereas it has industriously been spread about, that such of the Irish as enter into their Majesties' service will be sent into Hungary, and other remote parts, contrary to their inclinations and desires, we assure them they shall not be obliged to serve in any place against their wills, no more than be constrained to take service here, or return to their homes, they being at full and entire liberty to choose what part they will take; but if once they go into France, they must not expect to return into this kingdom again. Given at the camp, by Limerick, the 5th of October, 1691.

“BARON DE GINCKELL.”

Lord Lucan, anticipating that the English would use their best endeavours to persuade the Irish to remain at home, called a meeting of the officers, and harangued them, to the effect that it would be much better for them to serve Louis XIV. of France than William III. of England. They were also addressed by the Baron of Danganmore, the Chief of Cratloe, Major-General Wauchop, and other officers who intended sailing for France.

On the morning of the 6th, Mass was celebrated at the head



of the Irish regiments, by their respective chaplains, who afterwards preached most impressive sermons. The archbishops and bishops then moved through the lines, bestowing their blessings on the men, who saluted them with military honours as they passed along the ranks. After the Irish soldiers had breakfasted, Lord Lucan sent word to Baron de Ginckell, that as the hour for deciding who were to remain, and who were not, had now arrived, they awaited the coming of his Excellency to witness their choice. The whole of the Irish forces were then drawn up on the Clare side of the city, with drums beating, and colours flying, and, perhaps, a finer or more imposing sight could not be witnessed than this patriotic army, with their polished arms glistening in the sunshine. The disheartened citizens now assembled on the ancient walls of Limerick, to behold their fellow-countrymen, and the neighbouring hills were crowded with thousands of the peasantry from the surrounding districts. Among the latter were several Rapparees, who, in despair, now passionately broke the pike-staffs which they had used so effectively during the war. Shortly after Lieutenant-General Baron de Ginckell appeared in full uniform, and on horseback, accompanied by his staff and the Lords Justices. On his approach the whole Irish army presented arms. The Commander-in-chief and the Lords Justices then rode slowly through the Irish ranks, while two soldiers planted two flag-staffs—one in front of the army, bearing the royal arms of France, and the other nearer, but considerably to the left, with the arms of Great Britain. After several copies of Baron de Ginckell's last proclamation were distributed among the Irish soldiers, they were addressed by Adjutant-General Withers, who, in a lengthened speech, endeavoured to prevent them from going to France, and pointed out the absurdity of their serving under a foreign power, against the best interests of their own country. He concluded by assuring them they could find no sovereign who would so anxiously and carefully watch over their welfare as King William III. The Irish then fell into order, headed by the royal regiment of Foot Guards, consisting of about 1,400 men, and the Earl of Lucan gave the order—"March." Such was the intense anxiety evinced by the vast multitude of spectators, that a deep and deathlike silence prevailed, broken only by the heavy and martial tread of the advancing soldiery, and all eyes were fixed on the royal regiment, which was one of the finest then in Europe. Amongst all present there were not, perhaps, any who watched its progress, as it approached the flag-staffs, with such interest and breathless anxiety, as the Earl of Lucan and Baron de Ginckell; and the former's expectations were fully realized, when he beheld them pass by the English standard,

and continue their course to where the proud flag of France was flying, with the exception of only seven, who wheeled to the left. Next came Lord Iveagh's regiment, which marched under the English standard; and their example was followed by Colonel Wilson's; but the majority of the Irish regiments decided on going to France, being resolved to follow the fortunes of the dethroned King.

Baron de Ginckell, being annoyed on account of the determined resolution of the Irish not to submit, on this day published another proclamation, offering them favourable terms.

On the 7th, the Chief of Moyreisk, Captain O'Brien, and Cuthbert Fenwick, returned to Clooneene, after having taken an affectionate leave of the Earl of Lucan, the Baron of Danganmore, the Chief of Cratloe, the youthful Chief of Cineal Aodh, Captain Forster, Captain Tobyn, Colonel O'Kelly, of Castlekelly, Michael Mac Namara, and others of their friends, who intended going to France. Ralph Marlborough also decided on going to France, as he was determined to follow his young Captain to the last; and Taggert and Clayton resolved to follow their Chief in his exile (136).

O'Shaughnessy, the youthful Chief of Cineal Aodh, felt deeply the King's misfortunes, and resolved to rejoin him in France. Having been educated there, he was almost as much attached to that chivalrous country as to his native land; and he hoped that King James would yet be restored to his throne. He now embarked for France, never to return to the home of his illustrious ancestors, but to win for himself an honourable name, combating with the hereditary enemies of his race.

The population of Ireland in 1688, the year of the revolution in England, was not more than 1,500,000 souls. The Catholics, at the utmost, did not exceed 1,200,000, so that the remaining 300,000 were Protestants, or other Dissenters. The revenue of the country, when in its most flourishing state, that is to say, from the year 1682 until 1685, before it was reduced by the sanguinary and devastating war of 1689, 1690, and 1691, was only £266,209 a-year. The war carried on against this small population by wealthy and powerful England, the Anglo-Irish Williamites of the North, Scotland, and the Continental allies of the Prince of Orange, lasted for three years, during which time the expenditure for England's well-disciplined regular forces alone—in 1689, about, 35,000, in 1690, between 54,000 and 58,000, and in 1691, considerably above 48,000 men—was:—

1. The army that landed in Ireland under the command of Frederick Armand, Marshal Duke de Schomberg, and others that afterwards

landed to reinforce his Grace, together with the Enniskillen and Londonderry troops received into pay by the Prince of Orange in 1689, being nine regiments, and two troops of horse, four regiments of dragoons, and thirty regiments of foot, cost for that year alone £869,410 7s. 6d.

2. The army of the Prince of Orange in 1690, consisting of two troops of guards, twenty-three regiments of horse, five regiments of dragoons, and forty-six regiments of foot, cost £1,287,630 2s.

3. The army in Ireland in 1691, commanded by Lieutenant-General Godert, Baron de Ginckell, being twenty regiments of horse, five of dragoons, and forty-two of foot, cost £1,161,830 12s. 10d.

4. The pay of the general officers, and the cost of the train, bread waggons, transport ships, and other contingencies, amounted to, as well as can be now ascertained, £6,637,742 5s.

The total expense of the English regular forces employed in Ireland for 1689, 1690, and 1691, was, therefore, at least, £9,956,613 7s. 4d.

The National Debt of England (funded and unfunded), in the month of December, 1697, after the Peace of Riswick was signed, was £21,515,742 13s. 8½d.

Deduct National Debt in the month of March, 1689, £1,054,925.

Total debt incurred by the Prince of Orange, for carrying on his wars in Ireland, and on the Continent—£20,460,817 13s. 8½d.

Deduct on account of the war in Ireland, £9,956,613 7s. 4d.

The English debt for war on the Continent, £10,504,204 6s. 4½d.

English debt for war in Ireland, £9,956,613 7s. 4d.

To this enormous sum of £9,956,613 7s. 4d. must be added the cost of the arms, clothes, and provisions supplied to the Northern Irish Williamites, who raised a Militia of at least 25,000 men. The total would be, without including the destruction of Protestant property, by burning houses, plantations, slaughtering cattle and sheep, and stealing horses, very close on £11,000,000.

The consideration of the above figures will at once show that no nation so small as Ireland ever before put another more extensive to so much cost.

The old Chief of Clooneene was greatly grieved to hear that the Irish were defeated, and expressed his opinion that the English would not keep the treaty, but violate it, as they did the Treaty of Galway in 1652. He also keenly felt the absence of his grandson, and the death of his son-in-law, The O'Kelly, of Mullaghmore, the Stacpooles, and his friends, Lord Galway (137), Brigadier O'Connell, Major O'Donnell, and Tiege Daly (138), who were numbered with the slain at Aughrim.

Kelly returned to his Castle on Loughcutra Island; Donal Bran and his band quartered themselves in Bunnacippaun Wood; and Sergeant Power, whose wounds had prevented him from going to France, went to reside with his father at Park-na-attinagh.

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## CHAPTER XL.

### DISTURBANCES IN GALWAY.

ON Tuesday, the 20th October, 1691, about half-past four o'clock in the afternoon, while the Chief of Clooneene was sitting in the parlour with his eldest son Major Forster of Rathorpe, his grandson John, Dermot Oge Cloran, and Cuthbert Fenwick, Shane O'Halloran announced Arthur Ffrench of Tyrone, ex-Mayor of Galway. After warmly greeting each other, the Chief asked, what was the latest news. Ffrench replied—

“ I regret very much indeed to say, it could not be worse. In fact, it is almost impossible to imagine the dreadful change that has taken place in the hitherto peaceful and prosperous town of Galway in so short a time. The morning on which Lieutenant-General d'Usson left for Limerick, Sir Henry Bellasyse, a Williamite baronet and colonel, was appointed Governor of the town by Baron de Ginckell, and marched at the head of his regiment, and those of Colonels Herbert and Brewer, and at nine o'clock took possession of the various guards, and planted sentinels at all the posts of importance in and near the town. While the garrison were making preparations to march out, a large quantity of gunpowder which they were dividing in the street suddenly, and it is believed accidentally, exploded, causing terrible damage to the soldiers. A great number of them had their eyes blown out, their ears and hair burned off, and not less than thirty were thus mutilated. The accident caused the greatest confusion among all present, and both the Irish and Williamites flew to arms, as they mutually suspected each other of treachery; but when the cause was ascertained, and the officers had argued with them, confidence was again restored on both sides. However, the Catholics and Protestants hourly grew more jealous of each other, and matters were assuming a most serious aspect, for Sir Henry

Bellasyse is a bigoted and intolerant Williamite, and had applied for an order to hold courts-martial, for the purpose, as he alleged, of punishing all who caused riots or disturbances in the town; but his real motive was, to have authority to dispose of any Catholic, in a summary manner, against whom a charge might be brought by the Williamites. On the 1st of last August, which was a Saturday, an election for a new Mayor took place, my term of office having expired. The Catholic citizens were all determined to vote, as the right of so doing was secured to them by the treaty agreed to on the surrender of the town to the Baron de Ginckell. The bigoted Protestant party most shamefully objected to this, in defiance of the Articles of Surrender, and unanimously resolved, although they were in the minority, to elect a Mayor themselves; and their illegal conduct was encouraged by the Government. This resolution of theirs caused a frightful uproar in the town, but the garrison being Williamites, and knowing their Governor did not favour the Catholic party, took the Protestant side, and many of the citizens were killed in the tumult which ensued. After a great deal of confusion and loss of blood, Sir Henry Bellasyse, though Governor, was elected Mayor, and two of his minions, named John Gibbs and Richard Wall, Sheriffs."

"Oh," exclaimed the Chief, "what a wretched state our unhappy country is reduced to! With such men as the tyrant Bellasyse in the town, and others equally notorious in the county, the Catholics will be exterminated."

"They will not interfere with the aristocracy," said Dermot Oge, "for the present at all events; but I pity the poor unfortunate people, for they will be treated as slaves."

"The conduct of the Governor is shameful," said Arthur Ffrench, "and on the 2nd of August, Colonel Purcell, who is himself a Williamite, after publicly upbraiding the Governor, in the presence of many Catholics, wrote to the Lords Justices that as long as they allowed Sir Henry Bellasyse to remain in Galway, they could expect nothing but disturbances in the town, as his unpopularity, cruelty (139), and covetousness would always be productive of mischief. He also recommended their Lordships to issue a proclamation of security to encourage the peasantry to bring provisions into town, as they were then afraid of doing so, in consequence of the terrible name the Governor bore."

At ten o'clock Dermot Oge returned to Lissine, and no news of any importance reached Clooneene until the 28th of the month (October), when Donal Bran arrived in a great state of excitement, and, being

admitted to the presence of the old Chief and Arthur Ffrench, passionately exclaimed —

“Sir, when I departed for Limerick, to render all the assistance I could during the siege, I left a party of my men in this province, for the purpose of skirmishing with whatever English, Dutch, or other Williamite stragglers they might chance to fall in with. They performed their difficult duties as brave men should; and on one occasion, some of them meeting an equal number of dragoons, captured their horses, but spared the lives of the men, as the cowardly fellows made no resistance. In some time after my men were taken prisoners, carried to Galway, tried by court-martial, sentenced to death, and immediately shot, on the 25th of last August, by order of that blood-thirsty villain, Bellasyse. However, Sir Henry was afraid to put Father Gregory Ffrench of Duras (140) to death, who was in their company for protection; but I am sworn to rescue his Reverence, and to revenge the cruel slaughter of my men. Sir, I am determined to spend the remainder of my life, whether long or short, in persecuting the English and Dutch settlers in this country.”

“Are you aware, Donal,” said the Chief, “that on the 14th of this month a proclamation was published, offering pardon to all the Raparees who would submit within a month?”

“Yes, sir, and I am sorry to say that I was informed on yesterday, that my old friend, Galloping O’Hogan, on whom I so much depended, and his whole band, have availed themselves of it, laid down their arms, submitted to Baron de Ginckell, and recognised the Dutch Prince of Orange as king of this country (141). I also received intelligence, sir, last night, that some of the peasantry of the county of Limerick have resolved to slay the wretch on the first opportunity, for his treachery, and that the Castle and Island of Bophin, which were in charge of Colonel Timothy O’Royrdan, surrendered on the 19th of August by capitulation; and that the enemy knowing the great importance of the castle, which was erected by Oliver Cromwell, have placed a strong garrison in it, so that if the Chevalier de Tourville ever again attempts to land, either at Galway or Duras, as I think he may, he will have a hard struggle to do so.”

“I do not consider, Donal, that De Tourville will try to do so, for some time at all events,” said the Chief, “as O’Shaughnessy informed my grandson Francis, while in Limerick, that the Chevalier has received a commission from Louis XIV. in the French navy.”

“I am glad to hear it, sir,” replied Donal; “for I know he will do



all in his power to make the French invade Ireland ; and if he succeeds in doing so, we may yet defeat our Williamite enemies."

Donal Bran now rose to depart, saying, " You must excuse me, gentlemen, as I have an appointment with Conor O'Shaughnessy Torlough O'Nee, and Ronald Scott, which I must keep."

The Rapparee then retired, having assured the Chieftain he would always continue to inform him of the latest news.

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## CHAPTER XLI.

### AN IRISH WEDDING.

GRIEF the most poignant does not always last for ever, and the Chief of Clooneene, who was naturally good-humoured, after the lapse of some time, again regained his wonted vivacity, though at first he keenly felt the absence of his grandson young Captain Forster, O'Shaughnessy the youthful Chief of Cineal Aodh, the Chief of Cratloe, Colonel Lally of Tullinadaly, and other friends. John and Cuthbert, accompanied by Kelly of Loughcutra, also resumed their favourite field sports. Donal Bran still kept possession of the cave in Bunnacippaun Wood ; and Sergeant Power, as soon as he recovered from the effects of his wounds, daily visited the house of old George Malbrough, as he said himself, for the purpose of consoling him for the absence of his son Ralph, who had accompanied Captain Forster to France, and to obtain the latest news concerning him, Taggert, Clayton, and the rest of his exiled countrymen. But the intelligent villagers, not believing that a gay young fellow of Nicholas Power's lively disposition, who had served for over three years in a dragoon regiment, could find much pleasure in the old man's society, soon began to form shrewd conjectures as to his real motive in being attentive to Malbrough. They were not, however, left long in suspense ; for Sergeant Power, who had been paying his addresses to George Malbrough's eldest daughter, Nuala, before the breaking out of the late war, now renewed his suit, and, having proposed for her hand, was gladly accepted by her parents, but not without some blushing hesitation on her own part. The marriage was accordingly arranged to come off in a week.

On the day the ceremony was to take place, Nicholas Power arose at an early hour and rode to Durragh, accompanied by Donal Bran and some other friends. On arriving at Malbrough's house, he was received with great kindness by his intended father-in-law, and himself and his friends were then handed cups of whiskey, according to a very ancient custom among the Irish. Several of the bride's female relatives who were present were busily engaged arranging the tables, which were placed in the large barn adjoining the house. This place was selected on account of its size, which made it best suited to entertain their numerous friends. In the centre was placed a table for the use of the neighbouring young gentlemen who were to attend at the wedding. About ten o'clock Cuthbert Fenwick, John Forster, and Kelly arrived, to the delight of the whole party.

Cuthbert, who was of a merry disposition, was a general favourite with the ladies. He admired the character of the Irish people, and took great delight in taking part in all their amusements. On being handed his dram, he looked provokingly at Power, and drank it off to the health of the bride. The young Northumbrian liked a good joke, and when he had indulged in one or two at Power's expense, who already felt a little embarrassed at his position, he made a wager in his presence with John that, come what may, he would have the first kiss. His merriment was, however, interrupted by the announcement that Father Dermot had arrived to perform the ceremony.

"As we rode from Clooneene," said he, addressing Mrs. Malbrough, "I was told by Kelly that the customs of this country do not permit the mother to be present at the marriage of a daughter."

"It is true, sir. I must retire immediately; for, if I witnessed Nuala's marriage, she would never after have any good luck in this world." So saying, Mrs. Malbrough withdrew.

Shane O'Halloran, who was to act as best man, now approached Cuthbert, presented him with the 'bride's favour,' and informed him that the ceremony was about to take place. Both then hurried to the upper end of the apartment, where they observed John and Kelly, and when O'Halloran had taken his place by the side of the bridegroom, the marriage commenced. While the ceremony was being performed, all the young men present eagerly watched for its termination, each seeking to obtain the marriage kiss; but Nicholas Power, who was an adept in such matters, frustrated their utmost efforts, and, before the priest had time to divest himself of his stole, succeeded in obtaining the kiss they so much coveted, though not without some resistance from his bashful bride. Although all the young men were disappointed, none felt more so than

Cuthbert, particularly as he observed the triumphant glance which Power gave at him, and the smiling countenances of John and Kelly.

The landlord being absent, John, as his representative, congratulated the bride and bridegroom, in which he was followed by Cuthbert Fenwick and Kelly.

When the ceremony was over, Mrs. Malbrough returned to the apartment, and many were the kindly greetings and congratulations she received from all present on this happy occasion. The bride then retired, and the younger portion of those present continued to amuse themselves by leaping, and other athletic sports. After about an hour spent in this way, they proceeded to the barn, where a substantial repast was prepared for them. John having taken his seat at the head of the centre table, and Cuthbert at the foot, the rest of the company took their respective places, determined to do every justice to the good things before them. When the meal was over, all the young men set busily to work in removing the dishes, plates, tables, &c. to the adjoining dwelling-house. The barn having been cleared, two pipers and as many fiddlers entered, and took their seats at each end of the room. The musicians then struck up the 'Clooneene Foresters' Jig,' and the dance was opened by Donal Bran, in conformity with an unanimous wish that he should do so, who, with an air of gallantry, led forth the handsomest of the bridesmaids, who, on this occasion, happened to be the bridegroom's youngest sister, Finola, a lively young girl of sixteen. Cuthbert and John, having selected partners, soon followed, and the remainder of the young people present then joined. In the next dance, John had for his partner the bride, and the bridegroom had Donal's wife, Nora. Having spent a few pleasant hours in this way, they were reminded by the elders that it was time to convey the bride home. The cry then arose among all the guests—'Prepare to mount,' and each man rushed off in the greatest haste to procure his horse from among over fifty of them that were pent up in a neighbouring field. When they returned they found their wives and sweethearts waiting for them ready muffled in their warm woollen cloaks, and fortunate were those amongst them whose companions had pillions behind the saddle for their comfort and ease. All the arrangements were carried out under the direction of Donal Bran, but when the cavalcade was prepared to start, he observed that Finola Power was still standing near him, as no one had yet offered to be her escort. The Rapparee, seeing that all the horsemen were already provided with companions, and as he could not think of leaving Nora behind, was at a loss what to do, when the gay Cuthbert Fenwick rode up, and courteously offered to be

her conductor. Donal, fearing Finola might object, gently raised her in his arms, and placed her on the croup at the same time, thanking Cuthbert for his kindness. He then ordered twenty of the younger men to ride in advance, as a guard of honour, as he pleasantly styled it ; for it was his habit to have everything done after a military fashion. Donal and Nora rode alongside the bride and bridegroom, the Rap-paree claiming this privilege on account of his being an old companion-in-arms of Nicholas Power during the late war. The old men of the party brought up the rear of the procession, as they wished to travel at their leisure. After having trotted about 800 or 900 yards, the advanced portion commenced to gallop at a furious rate, and horses whose mettle was never before tried were now put to the test, as the riders vied with each other as to who would be the first to announce to his mother the marriage of the bridegroom, and thereby win the 'Kail.'

As the jovial party rapidly approached Ballinaskagh, they saw within a quarter of a mile of Power's comfortable cottage hundreds of bright lights glistening in the distance, and when they came nearer they were received with hearty cheers by the men and boys of the neighbouring villages. After Nicholas Power and his wife dismounted, he ordered that all those who had come to welcome their return should be supplied with plenty of drink.

The bridal party then entered the house, where old Mrs. Power was occupied making preparations to receive the gentlemen and her daughter-in-law's relatives and friends ; for, as she said herself, " I know all my own people will manage as best they can to promote, as far as possible, the comfort of the strangers," by which term she styled the bride's numerous relatives.

The guests were all sumptuously entertained in the large barn, which was appropriately fitted up for the happy occasion. Sergeant Power, having placed John, Cuthbert, Kelly of Loughcutra, young Burke of Lisbrien, Mahon of Ryndyfin, and the other gentlemen who honoured him by their presence, at the centre table, thanked them for the honour they did him on the occasion.

When supper was over, dancing commenced and was kept up with unabated vigour until morning, when Donal Bran and Nora, who were general favourites with the rest of the company, were loudly called on to wind up the dancing with a jig. The guests shortly after took leave, and retired to their homes, praying for the future success and happiness of the newly-married couple.

## CHAPTER XLII.

## PERSECUTION AT HOME—THE IRISH BRIGADE ABROAD.

THE Catholics of Ireland remained in unutterable suspense until the 5th of October, 1692, when the Irish Parliament met in Dublin, on which occasion Sir Richard Leving was chosen Speaker. The Catholics were excluded, as was expected by many of them, and a base and bigoted crew, bent on plunder and confiscation, formed the new Williamite senate. Three thousand nine hundred and twenty-one persons were shamefully robbed of their properties, amounting to 1,060,000 broad acres, the reason given being that the proprietors were not included in either the Articles of Limerick or Galway. The Lallys of Tullinadaly were attainted, and compelled to seek refuge in France: so were the Burkes of Corker. The property of Teige Daly, who was killed at Aughrim, was sold, and the possessions of O'Shaughnessy were seized by the Commissioners of Forfeited Estates, with the exception of Fidane Castle, and the twelve quarters of land which Lady Helena O'Shaughnessy, who still resided there in retirement since the death of her husband, held under her marriage settlement.

However, in the meantime, King James, assisted by his adherents, endeavoured to regain his throne. A fleet was prepared in France, to convey the Irish who had settled in that country after the surrender of Limerick, and some French troops, to invade England. The *Armée de Normandie*, including King James's household, consisted of 30,000 men and fifty guns. Of this number, the Irish exiles, with the exception of the three regiments of Lord Mountcashell's Brigade and the Regiment of Athlone, which were to remain in France, amounted to about 12,400 infantry, and 800 cavalry, including officers. This large force was to be commanded, under King James, by Marshal de Bellefonds, to whom the Earl of Lucan was to act as Major-General, and the fleet by Admiral the Count de Tourville, a Chevalier of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis; and young Captain Forster of Rathorpe, who was in France since the fall of Limerick, received a colonel's commission from King James. All the preparations for the intended invasion were indeed excellent; the enthusiasm of the exiled Irish was great, and everything seemed at last in favour of the Royal cause.

His Majesty, having invested the young Prince of Wales with the Order of the Garter, accompanied by the Duke of Berwick and Marshal

de Bellefonds, departed for Caen in Normandy, on the 21st of April, and from thence proceeded to Cape La Hogue. On his arrival here, the King was compelled to wait four weeks for favourable wind to enable the fleet to sail for England, as during that time nothing prevailed but 'Protestant winds.' But, unfortunately for his Majesty's cause, in the meantime the Dutch, under Admiral Van Allemonde, formed a conjunction with Admiral Russell in the Downs, and appeared off the coast of France. The English Admiral, who sympathised with King James in his misfortunes, resolved to give him all the assistance in his power in the struggle to regain his Crown, and therefore entered into a secret correspondence with his Majesty for that purpose. He advised the King to put to sea by night if possible, but by all means to prevent a collision between the fleets, as he was willing, he said, to let King James's squadron pass by unmolested; but, as the honour of the English flag was concerned, he must not be defied by them, for no one knew better than the King himself that if a single shot was once fired it would be difficult to say what the result might be where British sailors were concerned. However, the unreasonable bravery of the fiery De Tourville would not consent to this, as he was anxious to distinguish himself in an engagement with the allies, though they were far superior in point of number. Though the combined fleets of England and Holland consisted of eighty-eight strong vessels, and the French only of forty-four, the contest was fierce, and maintained throughout the day with undaunted valour on both sides. Admiral de Tourville displayed great bravery and naval skill in this engagement, of which King James was an eye-witness. When the Royal Admiral, who stood upon the shore, beheld the effect of his naval tactics, he exclaimed—"Ha! they have got Pepys on board." The King watched the encounter with eagerness, and when he beheld the daring British sailors bravely scrambling one after another up the lofty sides of the French men-of-war, the Sailor King forgot for the moment, in his excitement, that those men who in happier days he had often led to victory in defence of their country against those who were now their allies were his enemies, and doing all in their power to frustrate this last effort to regain his kingdom, and exclaimed with enthusiasm—"My brave English! My brave English!! My brave English!!!" It is probable no other sovereign would have made this remark under the circumstances; but King James, when Duke of York, during the reign of his brother Charles II, had been Lord High Admiral of England, and had gained many great and glorious victories on sea, and could not therefore now help admiring the bravery of his old sailors, whom he had so often commanded. The burning ships now



commenced to throw their shot in all directions, and as many of them had fallen near where the King was standing, his Majesty was advised by the French officers who stood near to retire. He had scarcely done so when the cannon raked the spot, and most of the officers of his staff were slain. After a desperate fight the allies gained the victory, fifteen of the French men-of-war having been destroyed, and for the present all hope of restoring King James was abandoned.

The Irish at home still regularly corresponded with their friends on the Continent, through the medium of the many privateers (142) that plied between Ireland and France; and Colonel Forster constantly wrote to his relatives in the county of Galway, acquainting them with all that took place at the Court of St. Germain-en-Laye, and that of Versailles.

Dermot Oge spent most of his time with Major Forster at Rathorpe, and still entertained hopes that O'Shaughnessy, to whom he often wrote, would yet be restored to the property of his sept; but early in the month of June, 1693, feeling extremely low-spirited and uneasy, he made his will, and several valuable memorandums about the O'Shaughnessy family, which, he said, he hoped would prove useful to posterity (143).

In the following month of August, a deep gloom was cast over Clooneene, Rathorpe, Lissine, and Gortinsiguara, by a letter which was received by Major Forster of Rathorpe, from his son, Colonel Francis, informing him that the brave and dauntless Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, had died from the effects of wounds received at the bloody battle of Landen, otherwise Neer-Winden or Neer-Hespen, in Flanders, fought on the 29th of July in that year, in which the allies under William III., were completely defeated by the French and Irish, commanded by the Marshal Duke de Luxembourg. The patriotic Sarsfield fell, sword in hand, while bravely charging the enemy, and, receiving the blood which gushed copiously from his death-wound in his hand, he passionately exclaimed—"Oh! God, if my blood had been spilt for Ireland I would die without a murmur!" This sad intelligence spread rapidly through the country, and Colonel Forster also informed his father that he intended returning home in a short time.

The young Chief of Cineal Aodh, who still remained in France, accompanied his first cousin, the Honourable Daniel O'Brien, who became Lord Clare on the death of his father, the third Viscount, in 1691, to Italy, and was rejoiced at the prospect of action.

Marshal de Catinat commanded the French and Irish troops stationed in that country.

The Irish consisted of nine battalions of Lord Mountcashell's Brigade, and had a hard-fought engagement with the enemy at the great battle of Marsaglia, fought on the 4th of October, 1693. The right wing of De Catinat's first line was composed of French and Irish. The latter consisted of the King's and Queen's Regiments of Dragoons, numbering 14,000 men under Lord Kilmallock (144). Lord Clare's infantry, numbering 2,000 men, were placed on the left of the second line, and the Regiment of Limerick and the Queen's Regiment, under the command of Major-General Wauchop, comprised the centre. Prince Eugene of Savoy made a desperate attack, and compelled three of the French regiments to give way before him; but Lord Clare's Irish Brigade, assisted by two French regiments, made a furious charge from the second line, forced back the Germans with great loss, and bore down all before them. All now appeared perfectly safe on the right wing, and a successful charge being made by Lord Kilmallock's dragoons, the French appeared to have won the day; but Prince Eugene brought up his centre, and regained the loss which he had sustained on both wings of his army. General Wauchop, however, did not permit the Prince to triumph long, for he in person led up to the charge the Regiments of the Queen and Limerick. This he perseveringly did three times, without succeeding in breaking the well-disciplined troops of Prince Eugene of Savoy. This obstinate contest continued for four hours, after which time Prince Eugene was compelled to fall back, rapidly retire behind the River Po, and leave the field of battle in possession of the victorious French and their brave Irish allies. Many of the latter were slain, and others badly wounded. The gallant Wauchop, Maxwell, and Fordun, of the Queen's Regiment, fell, and O'Carroll, of the King's Regiment, was also slain. Lord Clare, who fought with great bravery, was mortally wounded, and shortly after died at Pignerole. His brother, the Honourable Charles O'Brien, second son of the Right Honourable Daniel, third Viscount Clare—who was an officer in the Queen's Regiment, and who also fought in this battle—succeeded him as fifth Viscount Clare, and added considerable lustre to that already proud name.

The state of the Catholics in Ireland was now miserable, and the English began openly to violate the solemn Treaty of Limerick in many parts of the country. Several acts of tyranny were practised by the Williamites, and the persecution was so great that even the bigoted Lords Justices found it necessary to issue a proclamation to restrain the cruelties of the local and newly-appointed magistrates. In Galway, the Corporation, which was composed of a low, bigoted, uneducated class,

ordered no passes to be given to the citizens for leaving the town, and that coercive measures should be taken to restrain the outrageous conduct of the English soldiery—for even this intolerant body were shocked at the excesses which were committed. Next year, a proclamation was published requiring all persons who claimed protection under the Articles of Surrender made with Galway and Limerick to prove their claims. The country was thus kept in a fearful state of suspense, and during the investigation of the various claims in 1695, the Irish Parliament met in Dublin, on the 27th of August, when Robert Rochford was chosen Speaker. In defiance of the law of nations, and scorning the fact that the Treaty of Limerick was confirmed by King William III., under the Great Seal of England, they scandalously violated, with unblushing effrontery, that most solemn and binding treaty, which Lord Lucan and the other officers of the garrison of Limerick had it in their power to violate after the arrival of the French fleet in Dingle Bay.

The cruel acts put in force against the persecuted Catholics during this reign were—An Act to deprive Catholic parents of the means of educating their children at home or abroad, and of their being guardians to their own or any other person's children ; an Act to banish the Catholic priests from the country, although they were secured the free exercise of their religion by the Treaty of Limerick, which was confirmed by King William's Letters Patent.

In the year 1697, 9th of William III., an Act was passed for the Confirmation of Articles made at the Surrender of Limerick. This Act of Parliament was not intituled, as it ought to have been, An Act for the Confirmation of the Articles made at the Surrender of Limerick, but this is accounted for in the preamble, which says :—"That the said Articles, or so much of them as may consist with the safety and welfare of your Majesties' subjects of this kingdom, may be confirmed," &c., &c.

Accordingly, the first article of the Treaty of Limerick was at once struck out ; the second was also cast aside, with the covenant of the Treaty that the Catholics of Ireland were to be at liberty to exercise their professions and several trades, and the rights of certain Irish officers to go abroad or join foreign armies. The seventh, ninth, and other articles were also violated by the House of Commons. Some regard to public faith was, however, shown in the House of Lords, and a protest was entered on the Journals against the Bill, for the Irish Peers, as a body, did not concur in the base opinions of those who stated that no faith ought to be kept with Catholics (145).

In some time after the meeting of the Williamite Parliament, the

Chief of Clooneene was surprised to receive the following letter (146) from his kinsman, Sir William Forster, of Bamborough Castle, Lord of Blanchland :—

“For ye worthie hands of ye honoured

“CAPTAIN FORSTER, of *Clooneene*,

“These.

“COUSIN FORSTER,

“I write this letter to inform you that a plot was privately set on foot to bring over King James again to this his Realme, but some persons, in hope of reward, gave information to ye Government of the Prince of Orange. One Fisher went first to ye Earl of Portland, and informed him of divers secret acts of ye alledged conspyrators. Next day the traitor gave more information, and ye day after one Captain Thomas Prendergast, who calls himself a Catholick, and is ane Irish officer, also came to the Earl, and said to him that he had just come from Hampshire, at the desire of a particular ffriende, and that he knew he was called up to towne for no good purpose, but with a view to engage him in a murdering desygn to kill his Majestie, for so he calls the Prince of Orange. That he proposed at first to embark in ye said base undertaking, although he detested it in his own mind. He laid much stress on his valuable and timely information, and said he tooke ye first opportunitie of revealing all the secrets, which was of soe much consequence to the Prince of Orange his life. Now Prendergast, having said so much, affected a great dislike to giving ye names of the conspyrators, saying he laid under great obligations to many of ym, and moreover he said that his honour and great gratitude to them would not permit him to accuse any of ym by name, and that he would on no consyderation appear as a witness against his friends. Another conspyrator, one La Rue, a native of France, now walks in, and William of Nassau called him in, and examined him privately, but ye said Prendergast was more favoured by the Prince in his inner closet. The Prince of Orange thanked Thomas Prendergast for his probity, but observed yt all ye information he gave must prove ineffectual, unless he would also discover to him ye conspyrators' names, for without knowing ye names of those who were concerned in the plot to assassinate him, he would not be able to secure his life from such villanous traitors. Ye wily Prendergast, after some delay, was prevailed on to give up their names, and a list of all was given by him to ye Govern-

ment. He did not do this until the Prince of Orange solemnly promysed him that what he did should not be used in evidence against him in court, or in any other place, unless Prendergast himself liked it. Some of ye conspirators were now taken prisoners, and a Proclamation to take some more was sent out. One Harris was shortly after taken, who gave crown evidence after his capture. The farce of arresting Prendergast was now gone through, and Captain Porter was taken in his companie, who at once turned informer. Prendergast now spoke of ye promise of the Prince of Orange yt he would not be required to give evidence without his own consent, but now said yt he was not to be silent any longer, as his ffriende Porter had made a full confession. In short, cousin, they were both gladly taken in evidence. Embrace Cuthbert, and all my kinsmen at Clooneene. I will give you advertisement of what goes on here. Sir John, Lady Mary, and Reginald enjoy good health ; so do all yr kinsmen in Etherstone Castle, who, through me, desire to greet you well.

“ Yr very loving cousin to command,

“ WILLIAM FORSTER.

“ Given from the Castle of my Manor of Bamborough,” &c.

Soon after the receipt of this letter, the Lord of Blanchland again wrote to the Chief of Clooneene, informing him that Cuthbert's uncle, Sir John Fenwick of Wallington, one of the Knights of the Shire for Northumberland, was among those against whom information was given by Prendergast and his confederates, and that it was the general belief the Government would put him to death without hesitation, as he was a noted Jacobite. On hearing this melancholy news, Cuthbert took leave of all his Irish friends, and returned to Northumberland. In March, 1696, the Chief of Clooneene received a letter from him, stating that Sir John Fenwick, his uncle, had been tried by the English House of Commons, and not by an impartial jury of twelve of his countrymen, to which privilege he was entitled under the Bill of Rights, which was agreed to and signed by William III., and his consort, Mary II., after the Revolution of 1688, which drove James II. from his throne ; that Captain Porter was the person who gave evidence against him, that although the Government had but one witness, they nevertheless unhesitatingly brought in a bill of attainder against Sir John ; and that, although it was illegal to do so, they found him guilty of high treason, and sentenced him to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, and

subjected to the other diabolical practices used on such occasions, on the 28th of January, in that year, but in consequence of his high rank, and noble birth, he was granted the favour of being beheaded on Tower Hill. Cuthbert also added that his uncle died with great coolness and resignation; that he declared most solemnly he was not engaged in any way for King James; that he knew nothing whatever of the alleged Assassination Plot; and that he died professing his attachment to the faith of his fathers, and his loyalty to King James, for whose speedy restoration he fervently prayed on the scaffold, for he hoped he would soon return to deliver his country from the taxation and tyranny of the present Government (147). Cuthbert then informed the Chief of Clooneene that Lord Norreys, Sir Godfrey Copley, Sir Charles Carteret, Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Richard Temple and several other members of the House of Commons, used their utmost exertions to have his uncle acquitted.

Lord Clare and his brave Irish Brigade, with the Chief of Cineal Aodh, were next ordered to the kingdom of Spain, to reinforce the French troops then fighting in Catalonia, where they performed many distinguished actions in their various encounters with the Guerillas of that province; and afterwards, at the siege of Valenza, in Italy, the strong garrison of which made a stout defence, rushed out, and carried all before them in their impetuous charge, until checked by Lord Clare and the Irish troops under his command. The garrison consisted of 7,000 men, Spaniards, Huguenots, and Germans, but the French, being anxious to terminate the war as quickly as possible, prevailed on the Duke of Savoy to detach himself from the allies. They had not much trouble in prevailing on Victor Amadeus II., the Ducal Sovereign of Piedmont and Savoy, to do so, for, although that Prince was a Catholic like King Louis, he was annoyed at the conduct of the French. Louis XIV., by being in possession of the two strong fortresses of Pignerole and Casal, had command over his states; and whenever the garrisons of those fortresses required either change or re-victualling, Louvois, the imperious and headstrong Minister of War, who treated the Irish with such contempt during the struggle for the Crown, was accustomed to order the French troops to march through the territory of the Duke, as if he was merely a vassal of France. This, of course, greatly annoyed the Duke of Savoy, who was a man of undoubted courage and ability; and, as his territories had suffered considerably by the presence of the allies, one of the conditions in the treaty which he formed with the Commander-in-chief of the French was, that they should be compelled



to evacuate Piedmont, after which Victor Amadeus took command of the French army.

The Gortinsiguara property, which had been seized by the Commissioners of Forfeited Estates, was granted by King William, after the attainder of Captain Roger O'Shaughnessy, of Gortinsiguara and Fidane Castle, the late Chief of Cineal Aodh, who had taken up arms in the cause of King James, to Brigadier-General Gustavus Lord Hamilton, afterwards Viscount Boyne (148); but that nobleman having shortly afterwards received a grant from the Crown of other confiscated lands in Ireland, the tenants and followers of the sept of O'Shaughnessy were grieved and startled to hear that the estates which had from time immemorial been the patrimony of the Chiefs of Cineal Aodh were granted by King William's letters patent, bearing date the 19th of June, 1697, to Captain Thomas Prendergast, better known in the county of Galway as Prendergast the Traitor, as a reward for his having given information about the alleged Assassination Plot.

The month of May, 1698, was one of dreadful outrage and persecution; for the low bigots who had settled in Galway, emboldened by the peace made with France, known as the Peace of Riswick (149), saw they could now trample under foot the treaty made with that town on its surrender to Lieutenant-General Baron de Ginckell, Commander-in-chief of the Williamite forces in Ireland. Up to this period the Protestants did not dare molest either the priests or nuns; but in this month all the convents in Galway were broken into by the military, the chapels almost all torn down, every religious emblem destroyed, and the friars and secular clergy forced to fly from the town for protection. The bigoted Mayor had the Dominican nuns mercilessly turned out of the Chief of Clooneene's town residence in Cross-street, which was converted into a barrack for Williamite soldiers. These outrages caused the aged Chief profound grief, and he began rapidly to decline in health.

Ere the summer was over, Captain Prendergast entered Gortinsiguara, and some English soldiers were sent there to aid him in taking possession, as it was anticipated by the Government that the clansmen and retainers of the absent Chief of the O'Shaughnessys would give him every resistance they could. This melancholy and unexpected event depressed the whole neighbourhood.

On the 22nd of September, 1698, the benevolent owner of the truly hospitable mansion of Clooneene departed this life, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, sincerely and deeply regretted by his numerous te-

nantry, both in the county of the town and county of Galway, and in the counties of Clare, Roscommon, and Mayo. The lamented Chief of Clooneene was interred in the Forster Chapel, at the ancient Abbey of Kilmacduach.

Father Dermot Moylan, the pious priest of St. Anne's, was most assiduous in his attentions, early and late, during the Chief's last illness. Dermot Oge constantly visited him for hours at a time, and his son Major Forster of Rathorpe, his grandsons, and all his relatives, watched by his bedside. Having arranged all his worldly affairs, he told his family that he feared very much they would have many serious difficulties to contend with from the present bigoted Government, and strongly advised them to bear up with fortitude against whatever their fate might be. He exhorted them to be always united, and live in amity with each other, and desired them never to forget that the Prince of Orange was an usurper, and that the head of the House of Stuart was the lawful heir to the Crown. He expressed his regard for his relatives in Northumberland, particularly for young Cuthbert Fenwick, his great love for Ireland, and then calmly expired (150). Vast crowds of the gentry, his tenantry, retainers, and followers attended the funeral, and his coffin was lowered to its last resting-place, amidst the wailings of the people, who sincerely regretted his demise.

Dermot Oge wrote to the Chief of Cineal Aodh, informing him of the lamented death of his old friend, the Chief of Clooneene, and that the traitor Prendergast had, by the authority of King William, taken possession of the territory of his forefathers. He forwarded this letter by the Flying Eagle, which was still commanded by the Chevalier de Tourville, who, as yet, fearlessly visited the Irish coast, and in defiance of the enemy regularly landed his cargoes at Duras, and brought over to France great numbers of recruits for the renowned Irish Brigade.

Prendergast, the new proprietor of Gortinsiguara, endeavoured to please the tenantry, and did all in his power to make himself popular with them, and cunningly had the estate of the O'Shaughnessys valued at so low a rate (151) that he received another grant from King William of over £300 a year, to make up for the £500 which was promised to him when he gave the required information about the Assassination Plot. He also visited Lady Helena O'Shaughnessy, who still resided at Fidane Castle, and was now the wife of Captain Hugh O'Kelly, a near relative of The O'Kelly of Mullaghmore, who was slain at Aughrim, and prevailed on her Ladyship to give up the bond (152) which was then in her possession, and which had been given to her first husband,

the Chief of Cineal Aodh, by her deceased father, Lord Clare, in payment of the fortune to which her Ladyship was entitled. The faithful Dermot Oge, who always had the interests of the O'Shaughnessys at heart, was indignant on hearing this family document was given by Lady Helena to Prendergast, and bitterly complained to Major Forster of Rathorpe, who succeeded his father as Chief of Clooneene, and all his other friends, of how unwisely her Ladyship had acted, in giving to an enemy of the House of O'Shaughnessy a private family paper which she should have preserved for her absent son.

The state of the country was now really frightful. Many of the ancient Catholic families of Ireland were exiles, and fighting in the armies of nearly every European sovereign (153). Their estates were granted to new Williamite settlers, whose only recommendation was their intense hatred of the Catholic religion and the Irish nation. The intolerant Parliament that violated the Treaty of Limerick, not content with their base conduct, passed a few more bigoted Acts—one to prevent Protestants intermarrying with Catholics, and another to prevent Catholics from becoming solicitors, or even game-keepers.

The peace with France continued, and the Chief of Cineal Aodh still remained in that country, being resolved never to return to Ireland while it was ruled by the Dutch usurper.

Prendergast, with the assistance of some Government minions, held possession of the estate of Gortinsiguara, and no event of importance took place until the year 1700, when Colonel Francis Forster of Rathorpe, being heir to his brother John, whose health was fast declining, though he was yet quite young, considered it was time for him to marry. Accordingly, on the 17th of August, 1700, he espoused Mary, only daughter of Captain James Mac Donnell (154), of Kilkee, in the county of Clare, a Jacobite gentleman of ancient Milesian lineage, being grandson of the Honourable Charles Mac Donnell, and great grandson of Randal Earl of Antrim, of Dunluce Castle, who was maternally sprung from the heroic Robert I., King of Scotland (155). This happy event caused great rejoicings, which were kept up for a considerable time at Clooneene, Rathorpe, Kilkee, Gortinsiguara, and Lissine.

Dermot Oge still held possession of Lissine, though Prendergast was on the alert to find an opportunity to dispossess him.

Charles O'Shaughnessy and his family were compelled by Prendergast to retire from his residence, Ardemilevan Castle, which was so long the property of the Chieftains of Cineal Aodh. He was the father of three sons, Joseph, Colman, and Robuc, who were next heirs to the

rights of the House of O'Shaughnessy, in case O'Shaughnessy of the Irish Brigade, then Chief of his name and head of his sept, should die without male issue.

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## CHAPTER XLIII.

### DEATH OF KING JAMES II.

ON Friday, the 4th of March, 1701, King James was seized with illness, which afterwards proved fatal to him. His Majesty, accompanied by his devoted consort, while attending divine service in the Chapel Royal of St. Germain-en-Laye, was so much affected by the application of the following passage, which occurs in the last chapter of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, to the misfortunes of his own family, that it caused him to faint:—"Remember, O Lord, what has come upon us: consider and behold our reproach. Our inheritance is turned to aliens: our houses to strangers." A torrent of blood burst from his nose and mouth, and having been carried out of the chapel in a state of insensibility, a report of his death was rapidly circulated. From the effects of this severe fit he never afterwards thoroughly recovered. Notwithstanding the many sufferings his beautiful consort, Queen Mary Beatrice, had endured during long years of adversity, her grief on this occasion was most profound, as she feared the life of her beloved husband was drawing to a close; and even the most malignant of King James's enemies who witnessed this sad occurrence, could not but sympathise with her in her overwhelming affliction. Shortly after the King had a fit of paralysis, and was ordered, as a last resource by his physicians, to the celebrated baths of Bourbon, which were then much resorted to by persons affected with paralysis or gout. The King, who felt that his end was approaching, was, nevertheless, perfectly resigned, and could only be prevailed on to undertake this journey by the tender solicitations of the Queen. Having consented, the only obstacle to their departure was the want of funds, though they only required 30,000 *livres*. This sum was immediately forwarded to King James by Louis XIV. He also sent Monsieur Fagon, his chief physician, to attend him while at Bourbon, and ordered Monsieur d'Urfi to accompany them, to pay all their expenses on the journey, and see they were treated with regal honours, though it was their wish to be permitted to travel privately. Having

taken an affectionate leave of the Prince of Wales and the beautiful young Princess Louisa, to whom King James was greatly attached, the King and Queen departed from the Palace of St. Germain on the 5th of April. The Royal party did not pass Paris, and though the journey was only sixteen miles, the King felt very much fatigued. On arriving in the capital, they at once proceeded to the mansion of the Duke de Lauzun, the same nobleman who had conducted the retreat of the Irish army after the battle of the Boyne. Here many of the English, Irish, and Scotch nobility then in Paris waited on the King, to inquire after his health and kiss his hand, and that of the Queen.

Though they privately visited the exiled monarch, their movements were so closely watched by the Earl of Manchester, King William's Ambassador, that he sent a dispatch to the English Court with an account of their proceedings and the initials of their names. On receipt of this intelligence, the Secretary of State in London communicated it to King William.

On the 6th, King James and his Queen had an interview with Louis XIV., who received them at the Palace of the Louvre, after which they attended High Mass at the Cathedral of Nôtre Dame. Having rested at the different convents on the way, the Royal party reached Bourbon on the 17th; and although the Queen felt the journey long and fatiguing, she bore all patiently for her husband's sake.

The baths and waters acted so favourably on the King's health that he became well of the gout, and was able to commence his journey to St. Germain on the 4th of June, where he and the Queen arrived in time to participate in the birthday *fêtes* of their children. The Prince of Wales completed his thirteenth year on the 10th of June, and the Princess Louisa her ninth on the 28th of that month. On their return to the Palace of St. Germain, King Louis, the Dauphin, the Duke of Burgundy, and the other Princes of the Blood Royal paid them congratulatory visits; and the amiable Queen Mary Beatrice was in great spirits, as the King was now to all appearance quite recovered. His Majesty often rode out, for hunting was always one of his favourite amusements, and took long walks, accompanied by the Queen and his children. However, on Friday, the 2nd of September, while attending Mass at the Chapel Royal, the choir sung the anthem for the day. It was the same which on a previous occasion had had such a serious effect on King James. As it again recalled to his memory the misfortunes of his House, he swooned and fell into the arms of his faithful wife. His Majesty was carried from the chapel to his chamber in a state of insensibility; but, to the inexpressible joy of the Queen, after a short

time animation returned. Immediately after, however, he was seized with a more violent fit, which lasted a long time. The Queen was in the greatest agony, as her Majesty now believed the King's death was inevitable, and many of those present were under the impression that he had already expired ; but the King, who was naturally of a robust constitution, after a long death-like swoon, regained consciousness, and appeared so well during the whole of the following day that the Queen began to entertain hopes of his being out of danger. Notwithstanding the relief which he got, the King determined to be prepared for death, and accordingly sent for his confessor on Sunday morning. Just when his Majesty concluded his general confession he was seized with another fit, which lasted so long that all his attendants for the second time believed his spirit had departed. At length his teeth being forced open a dreadful hæmorrhage took place. The Queen was inconsolable on this occasion, but the King, who remained perfectly calm and collected, as soon as his physicians had succeeded in stopping the hæmorrhage desired to receive the last rites of the Catholic Church, but said he would first see his children to give them a parting advice, and accordingly the Prince of Wales was sent for. When the young Prince entered the chamber of his dying parent, and beheld his pale, wasted countenance, and the bed all covered with blood, he burst into tears, in which he was joined by all present, except the King, who remained unmoved during this affecting scene. When his sorrowing son approached the bed, the dying King raised himself with difficulty, and reached forth his arms to embrace him. Notwithstanding his feeble condition, the King thus addressed the Prince, in a firm and most impressive manner—

“ I am now leaving this world, which has been to me a sea of storms and tempests, it being God Almighty's will to wean me from it by many great afflictions. Serve Him with all your power and strength, and never put the Crown of England in competition with your eternal salvation. There is no slavery like sin, nor no liberty like His service. If His Holy Providence shall think fit to seat you on the throne of your Royal ancestors, govern your people with justice and clemency. Remember kings are not made for themselves, but for the good of their people. Set before their eyes in your own actions a pattern of all manner of virtues. Consider them as your children. You are yourself the child of vows and prayers, behave yourself accordingly. Honour your mother, that your days may be long ; and be always a kind brother to your dear sister, that you may reap the blessings of unity and concord.”

The courtiers who were present, fearing the exertion caused by speaking on such a solemn subject would be injurious to King James, sug-



gested the propriety of the Prince of Wales retiring, at which his Majesty appeared troubled, and said eagerly—"Do not take my son away from me till I have given him my blessing at least."

The Princess Louisa, bathed in tears, was now conducted to the bedside of her dying father by the Queen, and, after tenderly embracing her, the King said—

"Adieu, my dear child, adieu; serve your Creator in the days of your youth. Consider virtue as the greatest ornament of your sex. Follow close the steps of that great pattern of it, your mother, who has been, no less than myself, overclouded with calumnies; but Time, the Mother of Truth, will, I hope, at last make her virtues shine as bright as the sun."

The King was much affected by the grief of his daughter, and found great difficulty in parting with her. Before doing so, however, he again embraced her, and gave her his blessing. After having devoutly received the last sacraments of the Church from the Curé of St. Germain-en-Laye, he told him that he wished to be privately interred in the parish chapel, and to have no monument or inscription placed over him, except the four following words—"Here lies King James." His Majesty next declared himself at peace with the whole world, and forgave all his enemies, more particularly the Emperor of Germany, the Prince of Orange, and the Princess Anne of Denmark.

The King passed rather a tranquil night, and the next day Louis XIV. came to visit him. The King of France would not suffer his coach to be driven into the courtyard, for fear it might disturb the repose of his dying kinsman, and, regardless of the strict etiquette of the French Court, alighted at the gates and walked to the palace. King James received him as tranquilly as if he was not so near his death, and returned him many thanks for all the kindness he had received at his hands since he was dethroned.

On this occasion King Louis held a long and private interview with Queen Mary Beatrice, in whose misfortunes he sincerely sympathised. On Monday, the 12th, as was usual at the palace, Mass was celebrated at eight o'clock, in the King's apartment. His Majesty's fever increased with such great violence, and his countenance became so changed, that his attendants believed he was about to expire. The disconsolate Queen, who remained always by his bedside, burst into tears, which greatly affected the King, and he said, in an affectionate manner, to her—

"Do not afflict yourself, Madam. I am going, I hope, to be happy."

"Sir," said the Queen, kissing his hand, "it is not you I bewail, but

myself, for you will soon be happy ;” after which she was about to swoon, when the King begged of her to be composed and retire, and commanded those nearest him to conduct her Majesty to her chamber. When the Queen left the apartment the King engaged in prayer, and requested to have the prayers for a departing soul read for him, in which he joined with the utmost devotion. On Tuesday, the 13th, his Majesty expressed a desire to receive the Holy Communion, which he did with great fervour, notwithstanding the lethargic state he was in.

King Louis, who, since the commencement of his cousin’s illness, regularly inquired after his health, visited him for the third time on this day. He first proceeded to the apartment of Queen Mary Beatrice. After having alluded to the approaching death of the King in the most delicate way possible, he informed her that, after due reflection and deliberation, he was resolved, as soon as it pleased God to remove the King, her husband, to acknowledge her son, the Prince of Wales, as King of Great Britain and Ireland. The Queen, having thanked him, immediately sent for the Prince, who was thus addressed by King Louis—

“ Sir, you are going to lose the King, your father, but you shall always find another in me, and I shall always look upon you as my own child.”

The Prince of Wales then embraced his knees, and assured him he would always entertain the same feelings of respect for him that he did for the King, his father, that he could never forget how indebted he was to his Most Christian Majesty, and that during life he would always feel most grateful to him for his many kindnesses.

King Louis having told the Queen that she was at liberty to inform her husband of his resolution whenever she thought fit, she implored his Majesty to be the bearer of the pleasing intelligence himself to the dying monarch. They then proceeded to the King’s chamber, but his end was drawing so nigh that he was not aware of their presence, and when Louis inquired how he was, he did not answer, as he neither saw nor heard his noble benefactor. One of the household now roused his Majesty, and said that the King of France had come to pay him a visit. He unclosed his eyes with a very painful effort, and said—

“ Where is he ?”

“ Sir,” replied Louis, “ I am here, and am come to see how you do.”

“ I am going,” said James calmly, “ to pay that debt which must be paid by all kings as well as by their meanest subjects. I give your Majesty my dying thanks for all your kindnesses to me and my afflicted family, and do not doubt of their continuance, having always found you good and generous.”

His Majesty next gave expression to his sense of the kind attentions he was paid during his illness, and again thanked the King of France. Louis replied that that was a small matter indeed, but that he had something to acquaint him with which was of much more importance. On hearing this the courtiers who were present commenced to retire, that the two monarchs might speak in private.

“Let nobody withdraw,” exclaimed Louis warmly; “I would be glad, indeed, that all the world could now hear what I have to say.”

Turning to King James he continued—

“I am come, Sir, to acquaint you that whenever it shall please Almighty God to call your Majesty out of this world, I will take your family under my protection, and will recognize your son, the Prince of Wales, as the heir of your three realms.”

At these words, all in the chamber, Irish, English, and French, forgetting the solemnity of the occasion, threw themselves at the feet of the King of France, and filled the chamber of the dying with their applause. Some, indeed, were so overpowered that they could not refrain from shedding tears of joy, which so affected King Louis that he also wept. King James stretched forth his arms to embrace his Royal friend, but from the effect of the excitement which was taking place in the apartment, only his concluding words could be heard, which were—“I thank God I die with a perfect resignation, and forgive all the world, particularly the Emperor and the Prince of Orange.” Having, as a last favour, requested that no funeral pomp of any kind should take place at his obsequies, King Louis replied that this was the only favour which he could not grant his Majesty. But King James still persevered, and earnestly begged that any money which Louis intended expending on his funeral might be employed in relieving the wants of his destitute but faithful followers, who had adhered to him in his adversity. After having earnestly pleaded for them, he said—“I beg of your Most Christian Majesty not to remain any longer in so melancholy a place as this.” In consequence of this scene having considerably affected James, the King of France, Queen Mary Beatrice, and the Prince of Wales withdrew. King Louis, in taking his last farewell of his cousin, embraced him with tears in his eyes, saying—“Adieu, my dear brother! the best of Christians, and the most abused of monarchs.” On reaching the Queen’s chamber, King Louis embraced the young Prince of Wales, and having spent some time in giving him advice, again expressed his deep sympathy with the Queen in her overwhelming affliction, after which his Majesty departed from St. Germain-en-Laye.

Among the most distinguished personages who visited the exiled

King during his last illness was the Pope's Nuncio, Anthony, Archbishop of Athens. He was received with every indication of pleasure by King James, who said he was rejoiced at having this opportunity of making an open profession of the Catholic Faith in the presence of the representative of his Holiness Clement XI. Then, raising his voice, his Majesty said, in a firm and determined tone, which astonished those who heard him—"I die a child of the Catholic Church, and if it please God to restore me to my health, I will spend it better than I have hitherto done in the service of God and his Church."

On Friday, the 16th, Mass was celebrated in his chamber at eight o'clock in the morning, after which the prayers for a happy death were again recited at his own request. About ten o'clock he became very faint and weak, and nearly lost his speech. The emblem of our redemption, the Crucifix, was tendered to his Majesty on several occasions, which he kissed with the most edifying fervour, and whenever it was taken from him his eyes followed it with an eager gaze that plainly showed the reverence in which he held it. His Majesty, who retained his mental faculties to the last moment, about two o'clock in the afternoon was seized with the agony of death, and exactly at three o'clock in the afternoon of Good Friday, the 16th of September, 1701, King James II. calmly expired, with a smile on his countenance. A short time before his death he requested to have the guards removed from before his chamber door, and that all who wished might be allowed into the room to view his body.

After his death several of his adherents, Irish, English, Scotch, and French, crowded the Royal apartments. During the night, priests and monks prayed in the chamber of death, and temporary altars were erected in it, on which Masses were celebrated the following day until noon.

The late King, on his death-bed, directed that he should be privately interred in the chapel of St. Germain-en-Laye, but when his will was opened it was discovered that his Majesty therein directed to have himself buried with his ancestors, in King Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster Abbey, in which grand old Gothic pile rest so many of England's Kings, heroes, and brightest geniuses. Queen Mary Beatrice, therefore, resolved that only the King's obsequies should be celebrated in France, and that his body should remain unburied (156), until the restoration of his son, who was recognised by King Louis XIV. as Sovereign of Great Britain and Ireland. About seven o'clock, on Saturday evening, the corpse of King James was conveyed in a hearse from the Palace of St. Germain-en-Laye to Paris. The hearse was followed by two mourning

coaches, containing the officers of the Royal Household, the late King's Chaplain, and the Prior and Curate of St. Germain-en-Laye. The Royal Guard carried torches of white wax. On reaching the church of the Benedictines in the Faubourg de St. Jacques, in Paris, the funeral service was performed ; after which the King's remains were left under the hearse, covered with a rich pall, to await the expected Restoration to his throne of his Royal Highness James Francis Edward, Prince of Wales, who now assumed the style and title of James III., King of Great Britain and Ireland.

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## CHAPTER XLIV.

### DEATH OF KING WILLIAM III.

THE report of the King's death soon spread over Europe, and his Holiness Pope Clement XI. (157), having assembled the Sacred College, thus addressed the Cardinals, touching that melancholy subject :—

“ Venerable Brethren, we cannot, without sighs and tears, declare to you the most afflicting death of James the Second, King of Great Britain and Ireland, which we could not hear of except with extreme sorrow. We do not doubt but you are as sensibly touched as we are with the great loss that the Christian world sustains of a Prince so truly Catholic, of a worthy son of the Church, and of a true Defender of the Faith (158), whom we cannot sufficiently regret. But since we ought not, according to the Apostle's advice, to afflict ourselves for the death of the faithful, as those that have no hope, and are not enlightened with the light of faith ; the great piety of the deceased King, the memory whereof can never be effaced by the most remote ages to come ; the heroical contempt he showed of the grandeurs of the world ; the sacrifice he made to religion of his country, riches, crowns, and even life itself ; and finally his most pious death, in which he manifested so much fortitude and holy confidence, gives us good cause to hope that this most religious Prince, after having been tried in his lifetime like gold in the furnace, is now, since his death, received into Heaven as a most pure and most acceptable burnt-offering. Nevertheless, charity, as well as the gratitude we owe to a King who has so gloriously signalised himself for the interests of the Holy See, obliges us to assist him with our suffrages, which we ourselves have already performed in

private, and propose to you do be done publicly in convenient time, by solemn obsequies, which we shall celebrate in our Papal Chapel, after the example of the Sovereign Pontiffs, our Predecessors. But we cannot pass in silence the generosity which the Most Christian King, our most dear son, showed on this occasion in a manner worthy of his great soul, who, after having received with equal magnificence and liberality this same King who had been unrighteously and wickedly turned out of his kingdom, with the Queen his spouse, and the Prince their son, has all along protected him, and given all imaginable testimonies of the tenderest friendship. But that which is still more glorious: he has, notwithstanding the difficulty of the present juncture, and without any regard to his own interests, acknowledged the Prince of Wales for lawful heir of the Crown of Great Britain, and has exhorted this young King (whom Queen Mary, our most dear daughter in Jesus Christ, takes care to educate in the virtues of the King, his father) to continue (whatever it costs him) in his resolution to adhere steadily to the Catholic faith, in which the zeal and greatness of the Most Christian King's soul shines with so admirable a lustre that both our and your praises are mostly justly due to him, and we doubt not but that some justice will be paid him by posterity, as long as the memory of so glorious an action shall endure, which indeed ought never to be forgotten.

“Although the rumour of these things may have already reached your ears, nevertheless, as we have just now received the news by an extraordinary courier, which our venerable brother Anthony, Archbishop of Athens, and our Nuncio in France, who saw and heard all, did immediately despatch, we have thought fit to give you notice of it in a more particular manner, that we might perpetuate the remembrance of it, and at the same time give you this proof of our paternal affection, and we hope that the burden with which we find ourselves almost overwhelmed, which is daily made heavier by troublesome times, will, by the help of your wise counsel and fervent prayers, become much lighter for us, and will enable us to bear it.”

Shortly after the mournful event, intelligence of the King's death reached Ireland, where it was received with universal sorrow by the Jacobites and discontented Williamites, whose party had greatly increased latterly.

At the termination of the great war of the Revolution in that country, King James, seeing that he could not regain his Crown without being ably assisted by France, commenced to arrange his Court at the Palace of St. Germain-en-Laye, to suit his reduced circumstances.



Out of the 600,000 *livres* per annum which he was allowed by the Court of France, he and Queen Mary Beatrice not only, by their judicious management, kept up a small Court by supporting the larger portion of the exiles who had been his courtiers in England, but also managed to assist a large number of officers and other persons whose relatives had lost their lives in his service during the war in Ireland. The distressed circumstances of the banished King and Queen only enabled them to give small salaries and pensions ; but, notwithstanding this, those adherents who were worthy of their kindness seldom left St. Germain-en-Laye without being the recipients of their bounty. Louis XIV. also allowed King James a body guard, which added considerably to the respectable appearance of his Court, which in reality bore that semblance to royalty suited to a king.

The exiled monarch was much attached to his children, and was consequently pleased to see the Prince of Wales surrounded by the sons of so many of the adherents of his House, who ranked amongst the first aristocracy of his dominions—Beytaghs, Burkes, Dillons, Fenwicks, Fitzgeralds, Forsters, Haggerstons, Herberts, Howards, Mannerings, Maxwells, Middletons, O'Briens, O'Shaughnessys, Radcliffes, Sarsfields, and many others.

His Majesty's chief amusement consisted in hunting ; and every year he made a spiritual retreat to the Monastery of La Trappe, where he subjected himself to the same severe self-denial as did the brethren of that strict community.

When peace was concluded between France and England, by the signing of the Treaty of Riswick, the Prince of Orange with becoming generosity bound himself to pay £50,000 per annum to Queen Mary Beatrice, the consort of King James, should he, King William, outlive his dethroned uncle, this being the jointure her Majesty would have been entitled to according to her marriage settlement at her husband's death, had he died the reigning King of England. The Prince of Orange also consented to allow the young Prince of Wales to succeed to his hereditary crown after his own (King William's) death, provided the Prince was sent to England by his father for the purpose of being educated in the Protestant religion. When this latter offer, however, was made to James II., he replied that he could not support the thoughts of making his own dear child an accomplice to his unjust dethronement, and that although he could suffer with Christian patience the Prince of Orange's usurpation upon him, he could never consent that his son should do it too.

Previous to King James's death, Louis XIV., though he had been

already prevailed on by Madame de Maintenon to promise Queen Mary Beatrice that he would acknowledge her son, the Prince of Wales, King, on the death of his father, on consideration called his Cabinet Council together, for the purpose of discussing that momentous question. All present, with the exception of seven, were opposed to acknowledge the Prince of Wales King of Great Britain and Ireland, as such a step would be in direct violation of the solemn Treaty of Peace entered into by Louis XIV. and William III., known as the Peace of Riswick. This great question was long and warmly debated, and the King of France, who had held out such fair hopes to Queen Mary Beatrice, listened in silence, though evidently ill at ease, to the numerous objections raised, one after the other, by his Ministers. These able politicians forcibly pointed out to his Majesty how ill prepared his kingdom was to become involved in a war with England, and he was himself well aware of the truth of what they stated. His Royal Highness the Dauphin, being the last to speak, stood up, and exclaimed with great warmth—

“Gentlemen, it would be a great piece of cowardice, and unworthy the Crown of France, to abandon a Prince of their own blood, especially one who is so dear to them as the son of King James, and for my own part I am resolved not only to hazard my life, but all that is dear to me for his restoration.”

King Louis then said in a determined tone—“I am of Monseigneur’s opinion.” And so said the Duke of Burgundy, and all the other Princes of the Blood Royal.

However, the Prince of Orange, who governed England as William III., did not long survive his injured and maligned uncle. After the conclusion of the war in Ireland, King James led a very religious life, and thereby prepared himself for eternity; but when he first heard of the declining health of his ungrateful nephew, though he knew his own end was approaching, he wished to survive him. The dethroned monarch, who was always prepared for death, did not wish to outlive King William through any selfish or revengeful motive, but for the purpose of securing the Crown for the youthful Prince, his son. For it was his belief that if the Prince of Orange was no more, he had only to land in England or Scotland to be again reinstated in his hereditary possessions. Labouring under this impression he was often heard to declare, previous to his last illness, that if he outlived the Prince of Orange he would set sail for England to assert his right to the Crown, even though two men should not follow him. Many of his adherents considered this would be a rash step, but, being accomplished courtiers,

refrained from expressing their opinions, fearing they might offend his Majesty by so doing. They believed that the King would have as determined a rival in his daughter, the Princess Anne of Denmark, as in his ambitious nephew, and wondered why he did not appear to think so himself. But the Princess Anne, who had been treated with the greatest coldness, if not contempt, by her matter-of-fact brother-in-law, King William, now sincerely regretted having deserted her unfortunate father, and attributed the premature death of all her children to her disobedience to him. On the death of her son, the Duke of Gloucester, in her agony she wrote to the King, imploring his forgiveness, so that her Royal parent was therefore justified in not expecting any further opposition from her.

However, though King James did not survive his nephew, the days of that ungrateful Prince were numbered. On the 21st of February, William Henry de Nassau, Prince of Orange, Stadtholder of the Republic of Holland, and reigning King of Great Britain, while riding from Kensington Palace to Hampton Court, in Surrey, on the horse which had once belonged to Cuthbert Fenwick's uncle, Colonel Sir John Fenwick of Wallington, who was executed for High Treason, on Tower Hill, was thrown with such violence, in consequence of the animal having stumbled over a mole hillock, that he received a fracture of his collar bone (159). He was immediately conveyed with great care by his attendants to his destination, where the fracture was reduced by Monsieur de Roujat, his sergeant-surgeon. In the evening, King William insisted on returning to Kensington Palace in his coach, but the driver, who entertained strong Jacobite principles, managed to bring the wheels of the vehicle into every rut he met with on the road, which caused the fractured bone to become again disunited. On reaching Kensington Palace, however, the broken bone was again joined by the King's physician, Doctor Bidloo. After this operation, King William progressed favourably until the 1st of March, when his knee became inflamed, which caused his Majesty great pain, and he became very weak. On the 2nd he granted a Commission, under the Great Seal of England, to several of his Peers, for passing the Bill of Attainder against Prince James Francis Edward Stuart, known in that country as the Pretender; and another Bill, which was in favour of the Quakers, or Society of Friends, enacting that their solemn affirmation and declaration should be accepted instead of an oath in the usual form. On the 4th of March his lameness was so much relieved that he was able to take exercise in the gallery of the palace, but having fallen asleep on a couch, on awaking he was seized with a shivering which terminated in

fever and diarrhoea. He was afterwards attended in his last illness by Sir Thomas Millington, Sir Theodore Colleden, Sir Richard Blackmore, and Doctor Bidloo.

On the 6th, King William granted another Commission for passing the Bill for the Malt Tax and the Act of Abjuration, but from weakness was not able to affix his signature to it, and therefore, in the presence of the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and the Clerks of Parliament, applied a stamp prepared for the purpose. The Earl of Albemarle, arriving from Holland, conferred with him in private on the posture of affairs abroad; but the King, who always took a great interest in the affairs of the Continent, received his lordship's information with marked coolness, and said drily, "*Je tire vers ma fin*," or, "I approach the end of my life."

In the evening the King thanked Doctor Bidloo for his care and tenderness, saying—"I know that you and the other learned physicians have done all that your art can do for my relief; but finding all means ineffectual, I submit."

He was attended by Archbishop Tennyson and Bishop Burnett, author of the 'History of His Own Times,' and the Sacrament, according to the Protestant form, was administered to him on Sunday morning. After this he spoke a little to some of the Lords of the Privy Council and other noblemen who were admitted from the adjoining apartments where they were in waiting. He particularly thanked Lord Auverquerque for his long and most faithful services to him. He delivered the keys of his closet and escritoir to Lord Albemarle, at the same time telling his Lordship that he knew what to do with them. He next inquired for the Earl of Portland, but that nobleman not being present, was sent for. On the arrival of the Earl, King William, being then speechless, affectionately grasped him by the hand, which he repeatedly pressed to his heart with marks of the most sincere friendship.

On the 8th of March, King William III. departed this life, being in the fifty-second year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign. The Lords Scarborough and Lexington, who were present, no sooner saw that his spirit had departed, than they directed Monsieur de Ronjat to untie a black ribbon from his left arm, to which was affixed a ring containing a portion of the late queen's hair. His body lay in state at Kensington Palace for some time, and on the 12th of April was interred in King Henry VII.'s Chapel in Westminster Abbey.

## CHAPTER XLV.

## PENAL ENACTMENTS.

WILLIAM III. having had no issue by his consort, Queen Mary II., the eldest and favourite daughter of King James, his Majesty was succeeded on the Throne of Great Britain and Ireland by his sister-in-law, the Princess Anne of Denmark, second daughter of James II., by his first wife, Lady Anne Hyde, daughter of the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of England, whom he espoused when Duke of York. In 1683 this Princess was married, by the Bishop of London, to Prince George, brother of Christian V., King of Denmark. Having, like another Tullia, on the breaking out of the revolution of 1688 in England, cruelly deserted her unfortunate father, she, together with her husband, joined the ambitious Prince of Orange, who was offered the Crown by a portion of the English nation. Accordingly, the Crown of England, in default of issue to William III. and Mary II., was settled on the Princess Anne and her children.

However, while Princess of Denmark, she had the misfortune to lose all her children in their infancy, except the promising young Duke of Gloucester, who died at the early age of twelve, in the year 1699. This event, which was deeply regretted by a large portion of the English nation, as well as the previous death of her elder sister, Queen Mary, rendered an immediate alteration in the Act of Settlement necessary. Therefore, the Princess Sophia, Dowager Electress of Hanover, twelfth child and youngest daughter of the Princess Elizabeth of England, who was eldest daughter of King James I., and her descendants, being Protestants, were declared next heirs to the Throne of Great Britain and Ireland, in default of direct legitimate heirs to William III., the then reigning sovereign, and his sister-in-law, the Princess Anne of Denmark, who was heir presumptive to the throne. This succession to the Crown was settled by Act of Parliament in the year 1700.

Though Queen Anne had been educated in the Protestant religion, many of the Jacobites viewed her accession to the throne as favourable to their cause, as she was by birth step-sister to the exiled and outlawed young prince whom they now recognized as their king, and was said to dislike all Germans, particularly the Ducal family of Guelph, and secretly to favour the cause of her banished step-brother.

After her accession, Queen Anne, having sided with the Imperialists

of Germany in the war against France, the victorious swords of the Irish Brigade again flashed in the field of battle. The Imperial troops, which were commanded by Prince Eugene of Savoy, entered Italy, where they defeated a French army consisting of 5,000 men, commanded by Victor Amadeus II., Duke of Savoy. The brave Marshal de Catinat, who was dismissed from his high post owing to the intrigues of Madam de Maintenon's party at the Court of France, was succeeded by Marshal de Villeroy; and for the interests of France a worse change could not have taken place. The efforts of Prince Eugene of Savoy were at first crowned with success; but he was at length destined to meet with a complete overthrow, at the instance of the soldiers of the Irish Brigade stationed at Cremona.

This town, situated on the left bank of the River Po, near to where it joins the Adda, was always considered impregnable by the ablest generals, and was therefore chosen by the French for their head-quarters. Prince Eugene determined, if possible, to take this place by surprise, and for that purpose won over a clergyman who resided within the walls, near an old aqueduct. The clergyman, in order to further the Prince's interest, applied to the authorities to have this then useless aqueduct cleansed, assigning as his reason for making the request that the public health required it. Through the medium of this passage some of the Imperial soldiers entered the city, and immediately opened the gate, through which the entire army marched in without opposition. When the garrison were alarmed, a fearful scene ensued. Surprised at the dead of night, and in the depth of winter, they were obliged to combat for hours with the enemy although almost undressed. Marshal de Villeroy, being disturbed from his slumbers by the noise and uproar in the streets, at first took no notice of it, supposing the disturbance was caused by a riot among the garrison. This impression, however, was soon removed from his mind by an attendant of his, who informed him of the real cause, and, quickly springing from bed, with great presence of mind the Marshal burned all the documents of importance in his possession. Then hastily dressing himself, he rushed into the street, sword in hand, to render all the assistance in his power to the garrison. This he was soon prevented from doing, in consequence of coming in contact with a squadron of the Imperial troops, who were about putting him to death, when, fortunately for him, he was recognized by an Irish gentleman in the Austrian service, named Francis Mac Donnell, who accosted him thus—"Marshal de Villeroy, put down your sword; you are my prisoner." The Marshal tried to bribe this officer to release him, but only



received this noble reply—"Our principle is to fight, not to trade; our object is glory, not money. Keep your gold, and withdraw your insulting offer."

The whole city was now in possession of the enemy, except the Po gate, which was guarded by two regiments of the Irish Brigade, and Marshal de Villeroy being asked to command the Irish to surrender, replied—"I am now a prisoner, and therefore have no authority to give orders." Prince Eugene then sent Mac Donnell to reason the matter with his countrymen, and point out to them the absurdity of unnecessarily sacrificing their own lives in defending a place which they must eventually be beaten out of. He was also authorized to add that by their joining the Austrian service they would be soon promoted.

The commencement of this proposal was listened to by the Irish with evident signs of impatience, but on hearing the latter part of it, their contempt was evoked, and they made the following reply:—"Tell the Prince that we have hitherto preserved the honour of our country, and that we hope this day to convince him that we are worthy of his esteem. While one of us exists, the German Eagle shall not be displayed upon these walls. This is our deliberate resolution, and we will not admit of further capitulation."

Prince Eugene, knowing the importance of having possession of the gate, which commanded the bridge of boats over the River Po, and was therefore the only obstacle to the entrance of the Prince de Vaudemont's 10,000 troops, ordered an immediate attack to be made, under the command of the Marquis de Pallavicino and the Count de Merci, who were to be supported by 5,000 German cuirassiers. After a severe contest, which continued for two hours, the enemy were compelled to retreat in great confusion. The Irish, who fought stripped to their shirts, drove the enemy from street to street, and from square to square, until victory at length crowned their efforts. Lord Clare's troops were engaged at Hochstadt, against Count von Stirum, who commanded the Imperialists. This contest was for a considerable time very doubtful. The brigades of Bourbon and Dauphine repeatedly charged the German infantry with great violence, but were unable to break their strong lines. While the battle was yet undecided, Lord Clare, with the military skill which always characterised his family, drew up the Irish to attack the Germans. Placing himself at the head of his men, his Lordship charged the enemy. The Germans were unable to withstand the force of the shock, and fled before the Irish in great disorder. Th

Irish and French then pursued them, and with great effect, for they slew 3,000, made 4,500 prisoners, captured thirty-two large cannon, and all the enemy's baggage, which was very valuable.

The French afterwards admitted that the credit of this victory was entirely due to Lord Clare's prowess, and the valour of the Irish under his command.

The name of the Irish, as brave soldiers, now became proverbial on the Continent, and all the sovereigns of Europe vied with each other in trying to enlist their services.

On the accession of Queen Anne, Major Forster of Rathorpe, who succeeded his father as Chief of Clooneene, at his death in 1698, like all those who held their properties under the Treaty of Galway, was in a state of anxiety, as it was rumoured in the first year of her Majesty's reign that new and more cruel Acts of Parliament were about to be passed by the Protestants to persecute the Catholics of Ireland. Those who had not been plundered of their estates were viewed with a jealous eye, and the bigoted portion of the Protestants used all their ingenuity to devise laws to prevent the estates of the Catholics from descending, according to the regular course of law, to their heirs; but ere these unnatural Acts were passed he died, and was interred in the family vault at Kilmacduach Abbey. He was succeeded as Chief of his Name by his eldest son John Forster of Crushnahawn, who, at his death in 1703, having no issue, bequeathed his estates to his next brother, Colonel Francis Forster of Rathorpe, who returned from France shortly after the battle of La Hogue. During his life, like his father and eldest brother, he did his utmost to assist his friends in every way in his power, many of whom were deprived of their properties by confiscation since the termination of the war of the Revolution.

The gentry of the county of Galway were not disarmed of their swords by the Government; for, strange to say, the Act passed in the seventh year of William III.'s reign, by a special clause reserved the right to them of carrying their swords and pistols; and in a subsequent Act of Parliament passed to prevent the reversal of attainders, all persons included in the Treaty of Galway were particularly exempted. The Irish Parliament controlled even King William himself, and daringly invaded the Royal prerogative. He was not allowed to pardon or restore any person. No doubt, the King wished to employ the Irish in his Continental wars, but the English people objected to his doing so. Still, he is not to be looked upon as a Prince who kept his word, as he allowed the Treaty of Limerick, and the Articles signed on the surrender of Galway, to be shamefully and openly violated. The different Acts

of Parliament passed in his reign clearly prove it, and put the matter beyond all doubt. He also suppressed the woollen manufacture of Ireland, thereby injuring the commerce of the country. How, therefore, can any impartial historian, in the face of these undeniable facts, assert that William III. did not persecute the Catholics of Ireland, and openly break the various treaties made with them ?

The spirit of the Galway gentry, and their well-known skill in the use of the sword and pistol, often checked the cruelties of the intolerant Williamite settlers, and gained for Galway the name of the 'Fighting County.' The Mac Namaras, the O'Briens, the Stacpooles, the Mac Donnells, Fitzgeralds, and other families in Clare, also kept down the exercise of much bigotry in that county by their valour, the duelling system being then in vogue, and for a long time after. The sons of the Catholic gentry being obliged to go to France to receive their education, always returned expert swordsmen, and their fame as duellists spread all over Europe.

During the reign of Queen Anne, the most odious and intolerant laws were passed against the Catholics of Ireland, the Government having no regard whatever for the principles of public faith, which ought always bind society together. In Galway, no Catholic freemen were allowed, nor could Catholics sell their goods except on market days; and even then they were obliged to pay a tax for so doing. This persecution caused vast numbers of young men to join the foreign armies of Catholic monarchs, and the privateers that visited the coast were constantly freighted with recruits for the Irish Brigade. In Limerick and Cork, the unfortunate Irish youth were often known to hide themselves in barrels on board the ships, so as to avoid the suspicion of their cruel persecutors, and, thus concealed, fly from the land of their birth.

The Acts of Parliament passed in the reign of Queen Anne were made in a spirit peculiar to the times of Nero, Dioclesian, and Henry VIII. The title of the first was indeed truly ridiculous—'An Act to prevent the further growth of Popery;' inasmuch as if any of their Acts of Parliament could suppress or stifle the conscientious opinions of the Irish people. The third clause provided, that if the son of an Irish Catholic became a Protestant, the father would be incapable of selling or mortgaging his estate, or of willing it to any person. The Catholic father was not permitted, by the fourth clause of this Act, to be guardian of his own children; and if a child, no matter how young, said it was a Protestant, it was to be at once taken from its father, and placed under the care of the next Protestant relative. No Catholic was permitted to

purchase an estate, or enjoy any rents or profits, or have a lease of land exceeding thirty-one years. If the profit on said lease was greater than a third of the rent, it was to be granted to the first Protestant who gave information to that effect. Neither were the Catholics allowed to succeed to the properties of their Protestant relatives. Any Catholic possessing an estate, and not having a Protestant heir to succeed him, his property was to be divided in equal shares among his children. The Oath of Abjuration, and receiving bread and wine according to the Protestant form, was required as a qualification for office and voting at elections; and all advowsons in possession of Catholics were granted to the Queen.

Sir Toby Butler and other eminent counsel were heard at the bar of the House of Commons, on the 22nd February, 1703, against this breach of faith. Sir Toby showed how shameful it was to break the Treaty of Limerick, and said that the conduct of the Catholics since the surrender of that city ought to be quite sufficient to show how worthy they were of consideration at the hands of the Government. He pointed out how infamous it would be to destroy the existing confidence between parents and children (160). However, in the year 1704, the Royal assent was given to this Act, notwithstanding the able defence made in the previous year by Sir Toby Butler, Sir Stephen Rice, and Prime Serjeant Malone; for they had appealed to persons who had neither regard for public honour nor private virtue. Many Protestant gentlemen of feeling did not exert themselves in the least in putting these acts, of which they did not approve, into execution; and the public viewed as infamous informers, who should be shunned in society, those who gave information for the purpose of ruining their Catholic neighbours.

The House of Commons proceeded to blame supine magistrates and openly praise informers; and it voted that all who did not put the penal code into execution were betrayers of the liberties of the kingdom. Another resolution of theirs was, that all such persons were enemies to the Queen's Government; and they also resolved, that informing was an honourable service rendered to the Government. An Act of Parliament, passed in the eighth year of Queen Anne's reign, exempted Oliver Martyn, Esq., of Tillyra Castle, county of Galway, although a Catholic (161), and gave him leave to settle his estate on his heirs, alleging that he was kind to many Protestants during the war. This certainly looked like gratitude; but many other Catholics in Ireland, who had been also kind during the disturbances, and behaved honourably towards the Protestants, were not remembered by the Government.

Not content with the Act to prevent the further growth of Popery, the Members of Parliament, like a pack of hungry wolves, being eager to confiscate more estates, and add to the persecution of the Catholics, passed an Act in 1709 prohibiting any Catholic from holding an annuity for life. When the child of any Catholic became a Protestant, no matter how young it might be, it was at once to receive an annuity from its father. The Lord Chancellor of Ireland was to compel the parent to declare on oath the value of his estate, real and personal; and then had power to make an order for the support of such child or children, and for securing them such share of the property as the Court would direct. Barristers, attorneys, and all public officers connected with the courts of law, were compelled to educate their children in the Protestant religion. If a Catholic wife became a Protestant, she thereby became entitled to receive a portion of her husband's chattels, whether he wished it or not. Any Catholic public schoolmaster, or private tutor, that educated either Protestant or Catholic children, was to be prosecuted as a 'Popish regular convict.' This bigoted Parliament was so determined to prevent the Irish people from receiving the benefit of a Catholic education, that £10 reward was offered to any person or persons who should give such information as would lead to the apprehension of any 'Popish usher.' Any two magistrates had power to summon any Catholic who was over eighteen years of age to appear before them, and question said Catholic as to where he or she had last heard Mass, the names of those who were present, and also of the priest, and where he resided. Should said Catholic refuse to give the necessary information, it was optional with the magistrate to impose a fine of £20, or twelve months' imprisonment. Any Protestant had power to file a bill in the Court of Chancery against any person whom he knew to be concerned in any way in making leases, sales, or mortgages in trust for Catholics; and any lawsuit that might arise on the filing of said bill could only be tried before a jury of staunch Protestants; and all Catholic merchants and traders (except those in the linen trade) were not allowed to have more than two apprentices. Several other equally cruel Acts of Parliament passed during this reign. Thirty pounds per annum were granted to every Catholic priest who would become a Protestant. The Corporations passed by-laws to prevent Catholics from trading in towns; and in Galway the persecution was so severe that the priests were actually scourged (162). The Treaty of Galway was openly violated, in 1717, by an Act of Parliament entitled the 'Galway Act.' Catholic freemen were disfranchised, the rabble of every nation and sect were invited to dwell in the town, provided only that they took the

required oaths against the Catholic religion; while all the respectable country gentlemen were expelled from the Corporation, and the most intolerant of men elected to fill their places. The avarice of those parties, however, very often saved the Catholics, as the mayors and sheriffs of the town took bribes from the merchants to allow them to live and trade therein.

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## CHAPTER XLVI.

### RETRIBUTION.

AFTER the accession of Queen Anne to the Throne of Great Britain, the Earl of Marlborough, whose wife was her Majesty's favourite, received the command of the allied forces. When his Lordship landed at the Hague, in Holland, in June, 1702, to take command of the allies, the French army, under the command of the able De Boufflers, by the superior force and great vigour of their military preparations, had already everywhere assumed the offensive; even the frontiers of the Seven Provinces were threatened with invasion, and it was feared that the great efforts of the English commander would be restricted to the defence of the Republican territory. The Earl of Marlborough had also to encounter the many jealousies and the contempt and disobedience of the other allied commanders, who did not appear pleased at having to serve under an Englishman. But this was not all; his lordship had also to contend with the opposition which he received from the Dutch Deputies who were sent to the field by the States-General to control the movements of their troops. The ignorance of all matters relating to war displayed by those men, and their fear of being held responsible for any false movement the army might make, were serious drawbacks to every bold enterprise which the military genius of the English commander might suggest. However, notwithstanding all these trying obstacles, which oftentimes sorely tried his patience, the Earl of Marlborough eventually succeeded, by a series of brilliant and masterly achievements, in compelling the French to retreat in all quarters before him. He drove them rapidly from the frontiers of Holland, and closed his successful campaign by the sieges and capture of Venloo, Ruremond, Stevenswært, and Liege. These brilliant services, though far short of what might have been attained if the Earl had been allowed to exercise



his own military genius, so surprised the allies that the States-General bestowed the greatest praise upon him, and her Majesty Queen Anne was graciously pleased to confer on him a Dukedom, the most elevated dignity in the British Peerage. Accordingly, the Earl, on the 14th of December, 1702, was created Marquis of Blandford and Duke of Marlborough.

Captain Prendergast, who had received a colonel's commission in the English army from the late King William, in reward for his having discovered the Assassination Plot, was in 1699 knighted, and created a Baronet of Ireland, which was about two years after he was granted the Gortinsiguara estate. On the breaking out of the war on the Continent, in Queen Anne's reign, he joined his regiment, which he accompanied to Flanders, having previously left agents to manage the property for him during his absence, to the great annoyance of Dermot Oge, who still hoped that O'Shaughnessy would yet return.

In the meantime, that young Chieftain continued to correspond regularly with his friends in Ireland. Most of his letters were replete with the glorious conduct of the Irish Brigade, who were almost continually engaged fighting on the Continent. He stated that his first cousin, Charles Lord Clare, in reward of his gallant conduct, was raised to the rank of *Maréchal-de-camp*, or Major-General in the French service, on the 26th of October, 1704, and that he took an active part in the second or unsuccessful battle of Hochstadt, better known as the battle of Blenheim, fought on the 13th of August in that year.

In this celebrated battle the French and Bavarians were commanded by Marshal Tallard, and the Imperialists by Prince Eugene of Savoy and the Duke of Marlborough. Tallard, having posted himself to the right of Blenheim, was opposed by Marlborough, who had taken up his position to the left of the Imperialists. Prince Eugene was posted to the right of the latter, and opposite the enemy's left wing, which was commanded by the Elector of Bavaria. Marshal Tallard placed Lord Clare at the head of the Irish troops, comprising the regiments of Clare, Lee, and Dorrington, which were posted in the centre, and commanded by Count de Marsin. The Duke of Marlborough succeeded in confining 1,300 French soldiers in the village of Blenheim. Marshal Tallard's cavalry were soon broken by the allies, and Count de Marsin being unable to send him reinforcements, the consequence was that his troops were not able to reassemble, and himself was taken prisoner. The Prince de Holstein-Beck was now sent to dislodge the Irish troops, and drive them from the village of Oberklaw, at the head of ten battalions, but he was overpowered by Lord Clare's cavalry, mortally wounded, and

taken prisoner. The Duke of Marlborough was very anxious to drive the French cavalry from the field, in order to be better enabled to defeat their infantry, but Oberklaw still held out. Some Hanoverian and Danish cavalry made a desperate attempt to rescue the Prince de Holstein-Beck, but were repulsed with loss by the Irish, who still stoutly maintained their ground. The troops under the command of Lord Clare attacked the English flanks, and thereby enabled the French cavalry to rally behind them. Oberklaw was repeatedly attacked, but in vain, by some Hanoverian and Danish cavalry, assisted by the Dutch and English. The Count de Marsin still held the centre stoutly, and four times repulsed Prince Eugene of Savoy with success, but at last, being unable to hold out any longer, they sounded a retreat. The Duke of Marlborough hurried up fresh troops, who were not fatigued by fighting, but Lord Clare and his officers, amongst whom was his cousin O'Shaughnessy, encouraged their men, dashed out of the village of Oberklaw, forced through the enemy's ranks, and cut down a German regiment, that of Goore, which had entered the field of battle 500 strong. This regiment was now reduced by the Irish to fifty men, and Lord Clare's troops, unbroken and unconquered, effected their retreat in regular order across the Rhine.

The Irish lost several of their bravest men in this severe contest, and for a year and some months after they had no other engagement, until, when stationed in Flanders, the great battle of Ramilies was fought, on the 23rd of May, 1706. In this engagement, the French were commanded by Marshal de Villeroy. The village of Ramilies was stormed by a strong force, and the contest lasted for over two hours. The Dutch troops were repeatedly driven back, but as often returned to the charge with great hardihood. Lord Clare, at the head of the Irish Brigade, attacked the Guards with such impetuosity that he was carried into the centre of the allied army. Two Italian regiments favoured his retreat, or his Lordship would certainly either have been slain or taken prisoner. During the whole of the time the Irish were supported by the left wing they did not yield an inch of ground, but when the cavalry of that wing were broken, and the French infantry outflanked, they were compelled to retreat. They scorned to surrender themselves prisoners of war, but, sword in hand, Lord Clare and the Chief of Cineal Aodh, with the other officers of the Brigade, cut their way through the allied army, bearing down their infantry in great numbers. Many of the Irish officers were killed, and the brave Lord Clare, being mortally wounded, died shortly after at Brussels. His Lordship was the second of his noble family that fell in the service of France, his

brother, the late Lord Clare, whom he succeeded in the title, being the first.

The Chief of Cineal Aodh felt deeply the loss of his cousin, and the gallant Lieutenant-Colonel Murrough O'Brien, of Carrigogunnell, in the County of Limerick, now took the command of his Lordship's regiment, and they succeeded in carrying through the ranks of the enemy the wounded Lord Clare, whom they surrounded with fixed bayonets. The Irish rushed through the foe, and, being opposed by a celebrated English regiment, they broke it completely, captured two pair of colours belonging to the allies, and joined the rear of the French at St. Andre. The gallant Clare, though mortally wounded, had the satisfaction of seeing before his death that his regiment was unbroken and unconquered, and of knowing that they had fought with their usual bravery. Shortly before he expired, he directed his cousin O'Shaughnessy to write to their friends in Ireland, informing them of his death; for it was this nobleman, then the Honourable Charles O'Brien, who, in 1689 and 1690, commanded one of the infantry regiments in Ireland raised by his father, Lord Clare, of Carrigahoult Castle, for the service of King James, and he wished to be remembered at his dying hour to the companions of his youth (163).

The colours captured by the Irish Brigade in this terrible engagement were afterwards suspended in the church of the Irish Benedictine nuns at Ypres.

On his death Lord Clare was succeeded by his eldest son Charles, who was born at St. Germain-en-Laye, on the 27th of March, 1699. The young Lord Clare was, consequently, but seven years old at the death of his father, and as King Louis XIV. did not wish to let the regiment pass away from the family, his Majesty reserved a right to the colonelship of the Regiment of Clare for the noble minor, in the meantime appointing Lieutenant-Colonel Murrough O'Brien to command by brevet, in consideration of his paying to young Lord Clare annually, out of the appointments of the corps, a pension of 6,000 *livres*, and he received his commission on the 11th of August following the death of the late Colonel.

The Chief of Cineal Aodh, who had a great regard for his young cousin, next took part in the celebrated battle of Oudenarde, fought in July, 1708, and in which the Irish behaved with unusual bravery, as the exiled James III., whom they recognised as their King took part in this engagement, and behaved with undoubted valour—a fact which is admitted by all parties, for even his most inveterate enemies could not charge him with cowardice. He served with the French army through

this campaign as the Chevalier de St. George. The Clare Regiment was attached to the French Brigade of Bourbonnois, and Fitzgerald's Regiment of Irish to that of his Royal Highness the Dauphin. The Duke of Burgundy, who was one of the Princes of the Blood Royal, was the nominal Commander-in-chief of the French army, and under him was placed the Marshal Duke de Vendôme.

The French captured the fine cities of Ghent and Bruges, and were about besieging Oudenarde when the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene of Savoy advanced with a superior army, and, contrary to the advice of the Duke de Vendôme, who recommended a timely retreat, a battle took place.

At six o'clock in the morning, the allied armies were drawn up in order of battle, and the Duke de Vendôme, seeing their cavalry prepared for action, ordered the left wing of the French army to charge them before their infantry could have time to arrive to assist them. However, the Duke of Burgundy unwisely countermanded this judicious order, which, if obeyed, would undoubtedly have caused the defeat of the right wing of the allies, notwithstanding the ability of the Duke of Marlborough. After this, the Duke de Vendôme led on the left wing of the French army, part of which was composed of the regiments of Clare, Fitzgerald, and Nugent. The right wing of the French had now no room to expand, and the Duke of Marlborough was consequently able to spare twenty of his battalions to resist the attack of the Duke de Vendôme, who had to retreat under cover of the cannon of Ghent.

The next battle of importance in which the Chief of Cineal Aodh was engaged was that of Malplaquet, fought on the 11th of September, 1709. In this bloody engagement the Irish formed two brigades, Clare's and Lee's, which comprised the regiments of Clare, Galmoy, Lee, Dorrington, and O'Donnell. These were stationed on the extreme left of the right wing of the French army, and at eight o'clock in the morning the battle commenced with great fury. Being hard pressed by his enemies, Marshal de Villars had to weaken his centre, and the regiments of Clare and Lee were rapidly brought up to sustain the left wing of his almost defeated army. The Irish troops impetuously charged the allies, bore down all before them, and forced the enemy to retire quickly to the skirt of the wood. Desperate fighting now took place, which lasted for several hours, and when regiment charged regiment, and the soldiers wantonly trampled on the bodies of the prostrate wounded, the Irish Brigade, conspicuous amongst whom was the Chief of Cineal Aodh, Colonel Murrough O'Brien, and other brave

officers, fought furiously, and endeavoured to make up, by their impetuous and terrible onslaughts, for the mistakes committed by the French General. Loud were their various and well-known war-cries, as they rushed on the foe, dealing death and destruction while they moved along. They repeatedly discharged their muskets and carbines with steady, unerring aim, and with fatal effect on the English and German troops. Called on by the familiar voices of their commanders, they closed rapidly on the forces opposed to them, and soon became intermixed, as squadron after squadron of the Irish horse, or companies of their foot, avalanche like, poured down upon their foes, and drove them before them. The Irish officers, several times throughout this hard-contested engagement, called on their men in the Irish language to remember the Boyne, Aughrim, and Limerick, which had a telling effect upon them, as they recollected the sufferings of their countrymen in consequence of the violation of the celebrated Treaty of Limerick. As the recollection of this never-to-be-forgotten evil deed flashed across their minds, and that treachery had been the vile medium through which they were outlawed exiles from their beloved Fatherland, and their hereditary estates confiscated, their manly bosoms swelled with just indignation, as they fearlessly advanced against the fire of the allies. The officers of several of the enemy's regiments, which were broken and disordered, now ineffectually endeavoured to rally them.

While matters were going on in this way, the Chief of Cineal Aodh perceived a mounted officer of commanding appearance, who belonged to the English army, zealously endeavouring to collect and re-muster his disheartened and flying troops, who were then retreating in the utmost confusion from the scene of action. The Chieftain spurred on his horse towards him, and after they had met, and exchanged two thrusts, the trusty sword of O'Shaughnessy, which had been presented to him by his father at Duras, pierced the English officer through the body, and with an agonizing groan he fell to the ground in a state of insensibility, while his horse galloped off wildly over the plain. Coolly dismounting from his steed, and leaning on his blood-stained sword, the Chief of Cineal Aodh looked around him, and seeing that the enemy were repulsed to a considerable distance by the dauntless Irish Brigade, the Chieftain was moved by the better instincts of humanity, and, holding the bridle of his good war-charger with one hand, he gazed compassionately on his fallen foe. His uniform indicated that he was a Colonel, and while he lay prostrate on his back the blood flowed copiously from the ghastly wound in his breast. The compassionate Chieftain tenderly bent o'er him, and, although his face had already

assumed that ashy paleness which invariably heralds in death, observing that the vital spark was not yet extinguished, the Chief took from one of his pockets a flask of wine, some of which he generously applied to the pallid lips of the dying officer. The resuscitating power of the generous liquor soon had the desired effect. The wounded soldier slowly opened his eyes, and essayed to speak, but was only able to utter a few incoherent words, which the Chief of Cineal Aodh knew to be English. Having waited until he became partially recovered, the Chieftain, addressing him kindly, said—

“You are an Englishman, I presume?”

“No,” replied the wounded man; “I am an Irishman.”

“To what family do you belong?” eagerly asked the Chieftain.

“I am Sir Thomas Prendergast of Gortinsiguara.”

At the mention of this familiar name, the Chief of Cineal Aodh started, and became deadly pale; a deep shade of displeasure rapidly overspread his handsome countenance, the veins in his noble forehead swelled, his eyes flashed fire, and his eyebrows became knit. Instinctively he raised his sword, and ere he had time to recover his self-possession, its keen point was at the breast of the enemy of his House! Suddenly recollecting himself, however, he paused, and, having overcome his feelings of revenge, he said—

“Sir Thomas Prendergast, the events of this day prove that God is just in his mercy; for this is, indeed, well-deserved retribution. You fall by the hand of William O’Shaughnessy, the rightful, though outlawed Lord of Gortinsiguara.”

The dying officer, by a great effort, slowly and painfully raised himself to a sitting posture, and, steadfastly fixing his eyes on the Irish Chieftain replied fervently—

“From your appearance, I know you are an O’Shaughnessy, for I was once the intimate friend of your family; but ambition, fell ambition, made me a traitor and a pervert. Oh! that I could even now recal those base deeds which have reduced me to what I am, but I feel too weak even to enter into an explanation. O’Shaughnessy, for Heaven’s sake forgive me.”

Here the exhausted and agitated Baronet again fell back, and became silent.

The Chief of Cineal Aodh, whom he had wronged, with that noble and forgiving spirit so characteristic of the Irish, dropped on his knees, and, with a devotion truly astonishing under such circumstances, again applied the wine to his lips. But the palor of death had seized Sir Thomas, his teeth became compressed, his nervous system convulsed,



and with a half-stifled groan the spirit of Brigadier-General Sir Thomas Prendergast, Baronet, departed !

The Chief of Cineal Aodh gazed on the lifeless form for a few moments, and then mechanically exclaimed—"Cineal Aodh is at last avenged ! I cannot encumber myself with his sword now, or I would take it."

As he spoke, his eyes fell on a massive gold ring which was on the finger of the now cold and rigid corpse of Sir Thomas, bearing the arms of the family of Prendergast. This he took off, exclaiming as he did so, "I will keep it as a memento of this day." Hastily placing it in his pocket, he took up the silver-mounted flask which was lying beside the corpse, but as quickly dashed it against the earth, vehemently exclaiming—"The flask which has touched the lips of a traitor shall never be drunk out of by an O'Shaughnessy."

At this moment the battle raged fearfully ; the very earth trembled, as the heavy cannon belched forth its terrific fire, and the Chieftain was reminded of his danger by Colonel Sir Rupert Forster, Conor O'Shaughnessy, and Ralph Malbrough, who now rode up and informed him that the French were retreating from the field, and reminded him of the necessity of at once joining them. The Chief of Cineal Aodh then sprang into the saddle, and, together with Sir Rupert, followed by the brave Conor O'Shaughnessy and the faithful Malbrough, cut their way through the enemy, and were soon again in the midst of the fray.

While riding towards the foe, the Chieftain gave a hurried account of the death of Sir Thomas Prendergast to Sir Rupert Forster. When he concluded, Sir Rupert exclaimed with vehemence—

"Since I joined the service of France I vainly endeavoured to find him out ; but, perhaps, it is better that he died by your hand, as our vengeance is thereby more complete."

His friend was about replying, when a random shot unexpectedly struck down his companion. As Sir Rupert fell from his saddle, he said—

"Farewell, O'Shaughnessy ! we part for ever."

The next instant his noble heart ceased to palpitate, and his spirit departed.

The suddenness of Sir Rupert's death had a great effect on the Chieftain, and while a few hot tears trickled down his cheeks, he muttered—"Peace be with thee, Rupert." Then, recollecting himself, he spurred on his horse, and fiercely exclaimed at the same time, raising aloft his bloody sword—

“Vengeance ! Conor and Ralph. Forward, and do or die !”

He had scarcely spoken when the gallant Ralph Malbrough received his death-wound from a furious Dutchman, and the blood of a more true-hearted Irishman never stained the grass of a foreign field. His death, however, was not long unavenged, as his slayer fell beneath the trusty sword of young Clayton—who, like his father, followed the fortunes of his Chief abroad.

They had scarcely regained their regiment when the Duke of Argyll (164) forced back the French and Irish from the ground they had gained ; but Marshal de Villars, charging the allies, forced them to give way ; and they were about to retreat, as they could not break the French lines, when, observing a void in the centre, where Clare's and Lee's regiments were stationed at the commencement of the battle, they again charged, passed the French entrenchments, and came into close action with the enemy, but were borne down by the French Grenadiers, who almost annihilated them. Reinforcements now came up, and 40,000 cavalry were engaged on both sides. After a struggle of two hours, Marshal de Boufflers, who headed, and justly claimed success in six different determined charges, thought it advisable to retire, while his victorious right wing covered the retreat of his troops. The allies, exhausted by the severe fight, which continued for six hours, having lost 30,000 men, and not wishing to expose their infantry on the plain, did not molest the French soldiers in their retreat.

The number of killed and wounded in this battle threw all England into mourning, and many of Queen Anne's principal officers were slain. Brigadier-General Sir Thomas Prendergast having fallen, his eldest son Thomas, by his wife Penelope, only sister of the Right Honourable William, Earl of Cadogan, Knight of the Thistle, who succeeded the Duke of Marlborough as Commander-in-chief of the English forces, succeeded him in the baronetcy, and in the usurped possessions of the O'Shaughnessys.

During the ensuing year 1710, the sieges of Douay and Bethune took place. Lord Clare's Regiment, of which Murrough O'Brien was still Colonel, and O'Shaughnessy Lieutenant-Colonel, and Lee's Regiment were under the command of Marshal de Villars, who confined himself to the defensive, intercepting convoys and beating up detached corps of the allies.

In the next year De Villars received orders not to hazard an engagement, and accordingly formed lines of defence ; but, during a night attack, some of the French lines were carried from want of sufficient numbers to defend them. Colonel O'Brien, at the head of the regiments

which formed the Irish Brigades of O'Brien and Lee, succeeded in making a grand manoeuvre at Pallue, to cover Cambrey, which saved that fine old city until Marshal de Villars, came up and forced the Duke of Marlborough to confine himself to the siege of Bouchain, which, having taken, he retired.

In 1712 Marshal de Villars kept his army in an entrenched camp. Skirmishes occurred, and various movements of troops, and De Villars succeeded in surprising the Earl of Albemarle. The French and Irish passed the River Scheldt, and advanced in force towards his strong position. Lord Albemarle fired signals of distress, and Prince Eugene, who was eight miles off at the time, marched to aid him. However, before he could arrive, Marshal de Villars had formed his army into eight columns, one of which was composed of O'Brien's Regiment, and the remainder of the Irish Brigade. They stormed the entrenchments, and, assisted by the garrison of Valenciennes, carried them without much difficulty, killed or captured all the defenders, and, breaking down the bridges, prevented the advance of Prince Eugene.

Marshal de Villars captured Douay and Bouchain, and many other towns in Flanders. In all these actions the Irish Brigade was engaged, but peace being restored, the Chief of Cineal Aodh, Colonel O'Brien, and the other officers enjoyed some rest for a time.

The Chief of Cineal Aodh heard with sorrow the sad state his friends at home were in, owing to the persecution.

Fresh recruits were constantly arriving for the bold Brigade from the counties of Clare, Galway, Mayo, and Roscommon, who brought those already in the French service exact accounts of the unfortunate state of affairs in Ireland.

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## CHAPTER XLVII.

### FATHER MOYLAN IN DANGER.

At this period the mansion of Colonel Forster, who succeeded his brother John as Chief of Clooneene in 1703, was open to receive all the unfortunate Catholic priests who, in those dark days of tyranny and bloodshed, were hunted like so many wild beasts from covert to covert by the unrelenting bigotry of the Government, and often obliged to seek shelter in some remote wood or cave, to conceal themselves from the fury of

their blood-thirsty enemies. Though all those professing the Catholic religion, or suspected of espousing its cause, were deemed by the Government as objects unworthy of all civil liberty, still the priests were singled out as the prey most worthy of its special vengeance. The Government seemed as if it were determined to annihilate them off the face of the land that gave them birth, and offered rewards, varying as follows, for the apprehension of Catholics :—

For an Archbishop, Bishop, Vicar-General, or others exercising any foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction, £50 ; for each Clergyman, regular and secular, £20 ; for each Popish Usher or Schoolmaster, £10.

Such were the inducements offered to the public by the authorities for the betrayal of the Catholics, though guilty of nothing that could be construed into a crime against the State, save an hereditary and undying attachment to their religion ; and sad, indeed, was the result of this unprovoked bigotry, when put into execution by the Government against a devoted and helpless people. Various and cruel were the kinds of torture applied by the minions of the law to any unhappy priest who was so unfortunate as to be detected in the commission of his sacred duty, but who would rather die a thousand deaths, after suffering the most excruciating pain it was possible to inflict, rather than renounce the religion on which, he believed, depended his eternal salvation.

During the height of the Catholic persecution, the Chief of Clooneene endowed the Reverend Dermot Moylan with a grant of thirty acres of land, and a house at Clooneene. This clergyman previously resided at Laughtyshaughnessy, but spent most of his time at Clooneene. Information was, however, soon given to the commanding officer at Gortinsiguara, by some wretch who coveted the reward offered by the Government, that the Chieftain was privately harbouring and concealing a 'Popish priest' at his residence. The officer, on receiving this intelligence, in compliance with his duty, at once ordered a company of his men to be prepared for a disagreeable service in the evening. He also added considerably to the dislike this news afforded the troop by saying they would have but a short distance to ride to covert, as it was suspected the priest was concealed at Clooneene, the residence of old Colonel Forster, who was a great favourite with them. He then directed Lieutenant Collingwood to take charge of the party at the hour appointed.

At this time there lived in a remote cave near the Rock of Durragh, a witch named Una of the Rock. Though this person was supposed to possess all the powers of witchcraft, she, nevertheless, had strong Catholic tendencies, and, when she became aware that information was lodged

with the Government authorities in regard to the concealment of Father Moylan at Clooneene, she at once made up her mind to have both the clergyman and her Chief apprised of it. Not wishing to communicate the disagreeable intelligence herself at Clooneene, she repaired to Bunnacippaun Wood, and informed Donal Bran, whose band at this time numbered 400 men, of the circumstance, and of how she had obtained the information. She said—"While in the barrack at Gortinsiguara, following my occupation as a fortune-teller, I overheard the soldiers telling each other of a great annoyance which they expected. Being rather curious to know in what this consisted, I listened more attentively, and soon discovered that the officer in command had received information that the Chief was harbouring a priest in his house, and that a party of soldiers was ordered to be in readiness to arrest the priest in the evening. Being satisfied of the imminent danger Father Moylan was in, and the great inconvenience my Chief would be put to if the priest was discovered in his house, I hastened here to tell you, knowing well I could rely on you, as one who esteems the Chief of Clooneene, to do all in your power to prevent the impending danger."

The outlaw was partial to all good men, and was both surprised and grieved to hear from Una of the danger that threatened the Chief, and more so as he had not suspected that any one so base as to inform against a gentleman of such high character and unsullied reputation could be found in the province ; but the great difficulty was, to determine how to act under the circumstances. His band, with the exception of forty who remained in the cave, were gone on an expedition into Ulster and Leinster, and were not to return for some time. But Donal, who was an able general in his way, saw clearly that to resist a large number of well-accounted soldiers, which he anticipated would be sent to make the search, with the small number of men at his command, would be nothing less than sheer madness. Therefore, after duly considering what he had better do, he resolved to go immediately to Clooneene, and endeavour to save Father Moylan by flight, as it was his only alternative. When the Rapparee arrived at Clooneene, he related what he had heard from Una the Witch, to the Chief and the priest, whom he found together in the parlour. Father Dermot, who was a quiet, religious, gentlemanly clergyman, shook with fear ; for he knew well what the consequence would be to himself and his protector, if he was discovered by the English troops. After consulting with the Chief, the Rapparee strongly advised Father Moylan to seek refuge in flight as quickly as possible, as there was not a moment to be lost. The priest was quite bewildered, and said he knew not where to fly to. Donal Bran

told him he would conduct him to the Fort of Lisconla, where he could engage his safety until the troops would have departed. Father Dermot was delighted to have such a retreat, and immediately left the house, accompanied by the Rapparee. They had scarcely gained the fort, when Lieutenant Collingwood, with his men, arrived. He called the Chieftain aside, and said to him, he regretted exceedingly the painful duty imposed on himself; but as an information had been sworn, that the Chief of Clooneene harboured a priest in his house, it was a duty he was reluctantly obliged to perform.

The Chieftain thanked Lieutenant Collingwood for his courtesy, and said—

“I have been myself in the army, and can therefore understand your feelings on such an occasion.”

The Lieutenant replied—

“I have also orders to keep a sharp look-out, and to search all the caves in the neighbourhood, but more particularly the Fort of Lisconla, which, I am informed, is in some part of your demesne.”

Lieutenant Collingwood, in some time after, ordered his men to proceed with the search.

While this conversation was going on between the Chieftain and the Lieutenant, Una had her ear to the keyhole of the parlour door, and, having overheard what the Lieutenant said, she at once repaired to the servants' hall, but, finding some of the soldiers there, and fearing they might suspect her of being an accomplice in the escape of Father Moylan, she considered her safety depended on passing as one of the household servants. For this purpose, she drew her large cloak very closely over her head, and, taking up a small basket that lay on a table, said aloud—“I must go to the garden for some fruit for my Lady.” When she reached the old castle in the garden, she cautiously looked back, and finding she was not observed by the soldiers, she hastened on to the Fort of Lisconla, where she found Donal Bran, who was about returning to his own cave. Una informed him of the conversation which had taken place, and of the words which dropped from the officer with regard to the fort. Donal, on hearing this, considered that Father Moylan was in the greatest danger of being discovered; and, therefore, immediately removed him to Bunnacippaun Wood. When the fruitless search was over, the Chief, who had received Lieutenant Collingwood most kindly from the commencement, asked him to dine, and as the soldiers could not return without their officer, they were also well provided for in the retainers' hall. When dinner was over, the Chieftain and Lieutenant Collingwood entered into conversation over their



wine, in the course of which the Lieutenant, who seemed to have a great regard for the Chieftain, said—

“I am sorry to inform you, Colonel, that in consequence of the way you have been represented to the Government, you are marked out in Dublin Castle as one of the suspected Papists. If this abominable tyranny towards the Catholics is continued much longer, I will be obliged to resign my commission, and return to reside in Northumberland. I did not imagine, when I first joined the army, that I was to be converted into a blood-hound, to track out inoffensive men, and be the medium through which they were to be brought before a corrupt and bigoted magistracy, to be tortured in the most severe manner, for no other offence than that of following the dictates of their consciences.”

After some further conversation between both gentlemen, Lieutenant Collingwood remarked—

“It affords me infinite pleasure to have made your acquaintance, Colonel; and I assure you I am most agreeably surprised to find in the far west a name which is so historic and revered in my own country. I was informed, while coming along the road, that the extensive tracts of land on either side belonged to Colonel Forster, commonly called the Chief of Clooneene. This fact, together with the high position you hold, and the large number of your retainers, leads me to believe that your family must at some early period have come from Northumberland.”

The Chief replied—

“I am descended from the House of Etherston, and my family rank next in the line of succession to the Chieftaincy.”

Lieutenant Collingwood, on hearing this, shook the gallant Chief warmly by the hand, saying—

“I am delighted to hear that you have sprung from that noble house, particularly so as one of the best friends I ever had, poor Tom Haggerston, of Haggerston, who was slain in the late war, was descended maternally from that ancient family” (165).

In the course of the evening, after having discussed several other subjects, Lieutenant Collingwood departed with his men for their barracks at Gortinsiguara, highly pleased with the kindness and hospitality they had received at Clooneene.

## CHAPTER XLVIII.

## THE PROPHECY.

WE will now return to Donal Bran, the bold Rapparee, to whose zeal in the cause of the Catholic religion the Reverend Father Moylan owed his life. A party of his gallant band, under Ronald Scott, having returned from the province of Leinster after traversing that part of the country to within a short distance of Dublin, while passing through Connaught, laden with spoil which they had wrested from the rich and overbearing Williamite settlers, happened to fall in with a clergyman of the church by law established. They took him prisoner, and marched him to their head-quarters at Bunnacippaun Wood, to be disposed of in whatever way their leader approved of.

Donal had now that portion of his band which was usually stationed at Bunnacippaun together again, and more daring or athletic young fellows never trod their native soil. Headed by their fearless leader, they were more than a match for four times as many of the English troops. Well-disciplined, and accustomed from their infancy to the numerous byways and recesses of that part of the country, they could with ease advance and retire from all directions, and by this means were enabled to harass the ranks of the more numerous enemy.

Shortly after the return of his men with the parson as their prisoner, Donal Bran called on the Chieftain at Clooneene, to ask his advice as to the best course for him to pursue. On being admitted to the Chief's presence, the Rapparee informed him of the arrest some of his party had made while on their return from Leinster. He also said he had both the priest and the parson at that moment in his cave; that he was determined to protect the priest from his enemies, until himself and the last of his men would have perished in the attempt; but, with regard to the parson, he considered, and he hoped the Chieftain would coincide with him, that he ought to be at once hung by the neck. He continued—

“As there is no mercy to be expected for Catholics, under any circumstances, from the Government, I am fully satisfied that Catholics are not bound in conscience to extend mercy towards the Protestants.”

“Though I am obliged,” said the Chieftain, “to admit the bigoted cruelty and want of forbearance the Catholics are subject to at the hands of the Government, still I cannot agree that to dispose of the

parson in the peremptory manner you suggest, Donal, is the proper way to obtain redress for our grievances. Besides, it is incumbent on every Catholic who adheres to the tenets of his religion to forgive his enemies, in order that he may be forgiven his own transgressions."

The Rapparee did not at all relish the lenient course the Chieftain would have him pursue, and urged a great many arguments in favour of hanging the parson, which, however, the Chieftain did not entertain. After duly considering the affair, the Chief ordered Donal Bran to have the priest and the parson brought before him. The Rapparee immediately returned to his cave, and ordered his men to turn out under arms. They were not long in obeying, and, fully equipped with brilliant firelocks, swords, skians, and very long-barrelled pistols, they awaited at the entrance to the cave their captain's further orders. Donal Bran now led forth the prisoner from his place of confinement, and gave him in charge to his men. He then returned to a more remote portion of the cave where Father Moylan was comfortably located, and informed him that the Chief of Clooneene wished to see him. Father Dermot immediately accompanied the Rapparee, who, placing himself at the head of his corps, gave the order—"March to Clooneene." On their arrival there O'Halloran ushered the priest, the parson, and Donal Bran into the parlour, where the Chieftain awaited them. The Rapparee was the first to break silence, by saying—

"Now, my Chief, here is the priest and the parson; and I want your advice as to what I should do with the latter."

"Well, Donal, said the Chieftain, "I would like to hear what yourself proposes doing first."

"As it is your pleasure, Chief, I will inform you," replied the Rapparee. "I know I am an outlaw, proscribed by the Government from enjoying any of the civil liberties of my country. If I am so unfortunate as to fall into the grasp of my enemies, I know they will have no compunction in hanging me until I am dead, and afterwards in mutilating my body; therefore, Chief, any of them that falls into my hands will be meted out mercy in the same way they would measure it to me if I was their prisoner, and as the parson now in our custody is, of course, an enemy, I give it as my candid opinion that, without judge or jury, sheriff or professional hangman, he ought, most certainly, be hung on the tallest tree in Clooneene."

"Oh! Donal," responded the Chieftain; "he shall not be hung within my demesne at all events."

"Well," said the Rapparee, "that would not put me to much inconvenience, if I only had your consent, as I am certain to find plenty

of trees in Bunnacippaun Wood, quite tall enough to hang even an archbishop on."

"I told you before, Donal," said the Chief, "that we are bound to forgive our enemies, and I further tell you that I will not consent to the death of a man who has done us no harm."

"Very well, sir," said Donal, "as you are wiser than I am, you may now do as you please with the parson; but he has to thank you, and you only, for his life, as unquestionably he would have got a high hanging from me."

The Chief of Clooneene then said to the Rapparee—

"The parson is probably a very good man, and perhaps a useful member of society, though differing from us in religion, and it is our duty to protect his life, as every man ought to be allowed to worship God according to his conscience. I therefore think the best way to act is to set him at liberty."

The Rapparee, though reluctantly, having agreed to this, the Chief kept both the priest and parson to dine with him, and also had Donal and his men well taken care of.

In the evening, the parson took leave of his benefactor, having first poured a shower of benedictions on him and his posterity, for having protected him from the fury of the Rapparee.

Donal and his men shortly after departed for their cave, leaving Father Moylan the only visitor at Clooneene.

When the Chieftain and Father Dermot were alone, the latter thanked Colonel Forster, in the most grateful manner imaginable, for the kind manner in which he always harboured him, and then said—

"I know, as far as property is concerned, you are one of the wealthiest gentlemen in the counties of Galway and Clare; but I am sorry to inform you that I prophesy a time will come when your descendants will have lost the vast properties you now hold in your possession, but the high prestige your noble sept has held for so many centuries will not be destroyed by this misfortune, for another scion of your ancient line will afterwards spring up, like a cedar in the forest, who will be a leader in those counties, and regain the greater portion, if not all, of his hereditary estates."

The Chief listened most attentively to the aged pastor, and when he concluded, as the night waxed late, both retired to rest.

## CHAPTER XLIX.

## REBELLION OF THE RAPPAREES.

IN a few days after, while sitting in his cave with his band around him, Donal Bran was, without any previous intimation, accused by one of his sub-officers, named Ronald Scott, with having liberated the parson, entirely against the wish of the other Rapparees, and said he—

“Donal, you should not have taken so much authority, without at least consulting the men who arrested the parson, and who were put to so much trouble and inconvenience by taking him a prisoner all the way from Leinster, as I well know from being in command of them.”

Donal, who was greatly surprised at the audacity of his subordinate refuted the charge by saying—

“You all know, comrades, that I gave up the parson to Frincheas More na Fion, who acquitted him, and although I do not obey the laws of the land, still I must always consider myself bound to obey the Chiefs of the sept whose fortunes my forefathers followed, and when the Chief of Clooneene was so charitably disposed as to release him, I think that neither you nor I, Ronald Scott, have any right whatever to interfere with his pleasure.”

The entire of the band having heard both sides of the question agreed that Donal had acted perfectly right, and in accordance with their wishes. Ronald Scott, hearing this, said that as far as the liberation of the parson was concerned, he was also fully satisfied with Donal's explanation, but there was another matter which he wished to call the attention of his companions to; this was, that Donal had neglected to divide the gold and silver which were amassed since the war commenced, amongst the men. To this charge Donal replied—

“The gold and silver you allude to I have kept quite safe, for the purpose of carrying on a war in Ireland in favour of King James III., called by the Williamites the ‘Pretender,’ and I always believed it was your unanimous wish I should do so. Whenever any of you required money for your private purposes you know I was always ready to supply it, and although you have elected me your leader, I think it is well known to you that I am not extravagant, and I can fearlessly say, without fear of contradiction, than I have never taken more than an equal share from our common treasury; and it cannot be denied that when any of our

men fell in the numerous raids we have been engaged in, or were hung when captured by our ruthless enemies, that I was always the first to recommend your giving their families sufficient means for their support."

Here Ronald Scott, who strongly inherited the avarice of his Caledonian ancestors, fiercely interrupted Donal by saying—

"What do we owe to the Stuart race, who were always the most worthless of crowned heads? We spilt our best blood in their service; our estates were confiscated for fighting for them in Cromwell's time; and when Charles II. was again placed on the throne, he confirmed all the grants to the followers of Cromwell, and left those who had fought for his father, and assisted in placing himself on the throne, houseless wanderers in a foreign land, fighting as mercenary troops for the French King. Therefore, we cannot allow this treasure, which we collected amidst unparalleled dangers, to be spent by any of the family of so worthless a monarch as his brother James II., whose incapacity and folly at the Boyne caused the death of Sir Neill O'Neill, and several other of our most sterling friends."

When Ronald Scott concluded several of the band arose and rallied round him, saying it was their belief he was right, and that they would not submit to have Donal as their leader in future, while others averred they would fight to the last for their old commander, who had always proved faithful to them.

Donal Bran, who well knew the character of his band, now saw that fighting was inevitable, and said—

"As I perceive, Ronald Scott, that nothing less than settling this difference by the sword will suit you, I would suggest that we ought at all events repair to some distance from the cave, where we will find a place better suited for the purpose."

This being agreed to, the Rapparees went forth to an open space in the wood convenient to the cave, and entered into a deadly conflict, which lasted for several hours. Not wishing to cause any alarm, the country being rather thickly populated in this neighbourhood, they had no recourse to fire-arms, but fought with swords and skians, and when the sanguinary combat was over, the whole band lay dead or wounded on the field. Among the latter was Donal Bran, who, hearing a foot-step, faintly turned round, and beheld a form muffled in a red cloak approaching, who now and then stopped to examine the faces of the dead, as if in search of some one. Raising himself partially from the ground, and wiping with the back of his brawny hand the blood from his eyes, Donal endeavoured to recognise the countenance of the stranger, but in



vain, as, with the exception of the eyes, the whole form was enveloped in the folds of the cloak. Exhausted and weak from fatigue and loss of blood, the Rapparee leader again laid down his head, and was fast falling into a state of insensibility, when he was roused by the voice of some one who bent o'er him, saying—

“Donal, Donal! why have you murdered each other? Will our people never be united? Will Ireland be for ever cursed with discord?”

Lazily opening his eyes, whose fixed stare clearly showed that death was fast approaching, Donal replied—

“For mercy's sake, Una, as you are a friend to the dying Rapparee, fetch me a drink of water from the brook.”

Una, without waiting to reply, hastily pulled off one of her shoes, and, hastening to the brook, soon returned with it full of water. After taking a long draught, he became much revived, and said—

“I am happy, Una, you have come before I die. Send off at once for the Chief of Clooneene and Power, as I am anxious to see them. Haste, haste! as I fear I am fast expiring.”

At this moment, looking around her, Una observed some shepherds driving their flocks in the direction of Attyslaney, whom she requested to assist her in removing the dying outlaw to the house of Paudrick Don (166), which was at some distance, and then, having first sent for the priest, she applied herself to binding his wounds, and trying to relieve his suffering as much as possible. Power and the priest having arrived, Una asked the dying man if he wished to receive the last rites of his Church before his death.

“Una,” said Donal, “it would be perfectly useless for me to see a priest, my hands are so red with the blood of the Dutchmen.”

“Well, Donal,” replied Una, “trust in God. One tear shed with true repentance may save you, as every one of your persuasion were forced to do what you did, being hunted from valley to mountain, for no other cause than an intense love of their religion, and will you, who would have died a thousand times for it on the battle-field, now hesitate one moment as to whether you will see your priest or not?”

“Una,” said the Rapparee, “your words are so soothing that they have completely softened this hard heart of mine, and I feel your wisdom so much that I will see the good priest at once, and die in the faith of my forefathers, an article of which I never doubted.”

The priest being then admitted, the room was cleared, and he was left alone with Donal, to whom he administered the last rites of the Catholic Church. Sergeant Power then entered the apartment. When

Donal Bran observed him, he called him to his bedside, and, grasping him by the hand, said—

“Power, is the Chief coming?”

“He was sent for, Donal,” replied Power, “and I am certain he will soon arrive. When I heard you were wounded I did not delay, but came with all speed to see you; however, I first sent a messenger to Clooneene, to apprise the Chief of what had happened to you.”

“I know you are sorry, Power, to find me in this condition,” said the Rapparee; “but before I depart, I wish to say a few words to you. The massacre that took place to-day was caused by Ronald Scott, who was slain by Fergus Keating after inflicting the wound of which I think I am now dying.”

Here the Rapparee gave a deep sigh, and closed his eyes for a few moments; but, recovering himself, continued—

“But I forgive him willingly, and those who joined him. In case I die before the Chief arrives, tell him that my last wish was for his welfare, and that I died convinced he would take care of Nora, and my orphan children. There is one other matter, however, which I wish to mention to you, lest my memory might be hereafter reproached if I concealed it. It is regarding that accursed money which I intended for our rightful King, but which will have been the cause of many deaths. I will now inform you where it is concealed, in order that if ever this country is invaded by the followers of the House of Stuart, you can use it for their advantage.”

The Rapparee here paused for some moments, and then resumed, in a much more feeble voice—

“I am dying fast, Power. Draw near, that you may hear, as my voice nearly fails me. You know that large rock in Bunnacippaun Wood; on the Rathorpe side of it——”

At this moment the Chief of Clooneene entered. The dying man raised himself in his bed, and exclaimed—“He has come, he has come! my last wish is fulfilled.” But the effort was too great, and, again sinking on his pillow, he heaved a deep sigh, while the blood flowed copiously from his mouth as he uttered the last word, and the spirit of Donal Bran, the bold Rapparee, the brave soldier, the faithful adherent of his unfortunate King, the defender of his religion, and the persevering patriot, burst the cords of life, and passed into eternity!! The Chief and Power rushed to the bed side, but on raising him up found that life was extinct.

“Power,” said the Chief, “one of our most faithful followers is gone, though he deserved a better fate. In this way all our brave and stout-

hearted Irishman are lost to Queen Anne. By penal laws and undeserved persecution, they are forced to become wanderers in a foreign land, fighting to support, with imperishable glory, the shreds of that glorious flag which they saved since the violation of the Treaty of Limerick. Their national character has been traduced, their national dress proscribed, and their national language excluded from our courts of justice and our schools. Our altars are trampled on and desecrated, our chapels and our abbeys are in ruin, our priests are tracked from the wood to the cave, and from the bog to the mountain, by the minions of the hated church, and are completely crushed beneath the iron heel of church ascendancy, of bigotry and oppression, by an arbitrary power that ought to give us equal civil and religious rights, and then, and not until then, will they find us loyal and true subjects. If this had been done, that bold and brave heart whose pulse has now for ever ceased to throb would not have been an outlaw and a Rapparee ! ”

“There is truth in your words, my Chief,” replied Power, “but though we have now the impress of serfdom on our brow, a time will yet come when the progress of civilization will make England appreciate our worth, and our country shall be recognised as the sister, and not the slave, of an alien power.”

After this outburst, Power related to the Chief the valuable information concerning the treasure the deceased Rapparee was about communicating when he had entered the room. The Chief, after a short silence, said—

“It is, indeed, a serious loss that Donal was not spared time to tell where the treasure is hidden ; but, perhaps, it may yet be discovered, as it is probable others of the band know where it is concealed (167). But, Power,” continued the Chief, “you had better go at once to the scene of this dreadful tragedy which has terminated so fatally, and have any of the unfortunate Rapparees who may still survive conveyed to the houses of the nearest of my tenants, and see that they are well attended to. You can afterwards return with sufficient assistance, and have the dead properly interred.”

By this time, a large number of Donal Bran’s relatives and friends had arrived, who after venting their grief in loud lamentations, took out the body of the deceased, placed it on a cart, and had it conveyed to his house at Ballinaskagh.

## CHAPTER L.

## THE LYKEWAKE.

ON arriving at the spot where the encounter had taken place, a dreadful scene presented itself to Sergeant Power's view. Heads and arms were miscellaneously strewn all over the field, while the mutilated bodies of the dead defied recognition, and the piteous and half-stifled groans of the few that still survived pierced his heart to the very core. The principal among the latter were O'Nee and Keating, whom, after a long search among the dead, Power discovered in a weak condition close to the corpse of Ronald Scott.

Paudrick Don now arrived with his horse and cart, in which the wounded were placed, and slowly driven to Ballynaskagh.

Power accompanied O'Nee and Keating to his own house, where they received all the attention their precarious condition required, and afterwards had the three other wounded Rapparees safely located in the houses of some of the villagers. He then hastened to Donal Bran's residence.

On entering, he found Una using all her powers of persuasion in trying to console Nora, whose grief for the loss of her husband, to whom she was tenderly attached, was almost uncontrollable. The scene was most touching, and Power's feelings having nearly overcome him, he did not stop to accost her, but quickly passed on to the next room, where the remains were placed.

The streaking (168) being over, the chamber had a most solemn appearance, which tended to impress the beholder with feelings of awe. In the far end, on a quaint oak bedstead, which was an heirloom in the family for many generations, covered with snow-white linen, lay all that was mortal of the once bold Rapparee, now cold and rigid in death. The body was stretched at full length, with the head resting on the pillow, and his arms, which even death had not yet bereft of their muscular appearance, were outside the tastefully-embroidered counterpane, which was the work of Nora's own hands. Over the head of the corpse hung a large wooden crucifix, and on the breast was placed a pewter plate, containing a small quantity of fine table salt (169). Beside the bed stood a plain deal table, on which were six large lighted candles, a missal, and a plate of snuff, and on a neat mahogany dressing-table at the foot burned a solitary candle (170), the glare of which fell

full on the pale face of the dead. In an old-fashioned book-case, in a recess in the wall, were about half-a-dozen roughly-bound books, which were long treasured by Donal, having been handed down to him by his father. The hearth was rather wide for the size of the room, and showed indications of the fire having been recently extinguished (171); while over the breast of the chimney were suspended the now rusty old gun which had been often carried through many a field of blood by the deceased's father, Donal's large silver watch, and a fine print of the Resurrection of our Redeemer.

Power advanced towards the bed, but, before trusting himself to look at the remains of his late friend, who had been one of his earliest companions, he fell on his knees, and prayed fervently for some time. Having finished his devotions, he gazed steadily for a few moments on the lifeless form that lay before him ; and this brave soldier, who, during a life of warfare had often trampled over the bodies of thousands of the slain, and waded in many a battle-field almost ankle-deep in blood, could not now restrain the instincts of his better nature, and while the warm tears of sorrow for the fate of the Rapparee were gushing from his eyes, he departed from the room. On returning to the outer apartment, he observed several large casks of ale, bottles of usquebaugh, packages of tobacco, and long clay pipes, with other necessaries, which but too plainly told that the preparations for Donal Bran's lyke-wake (172) were being made. Outside the door he met O'Halloran, who, after conversing with him for some time on the melancholy subject of the Rapparee's death, said—

“I was sent by the Chieftain to tell you to send early in the morning to Ambrose Deane's, in Galway, for as many black silk scarfs as you think will be sufficient for the bidders.”

“Very well, Shane,” said Power; “I will send Paudrick Don as soon as it is daylight. I intended going to Clooneene to see if the Chief had any commands for me, but as you have come I need not do so. I suppose you will remain during the night at poor Donal's lyke-wake?”

“Indeed I will,” replied O'Halloran, “and I am sure you will also.”

“Yes,” said Power, “I am going in there now, so we may as well be together.”

At the door they were met by two of Donal's cousins, busily engaged distributing pipes and tobacco; and each having taken a pipe from the large wicker basket, passed into the kitchen, where, seating themselves before the fire, they smoked at their leisure. People were

now arriving from all directions, so that in a short time the house became quite crowded. The women chiefly assembled round the corpse, and some through sincere sorrow for Donal, and others from regret for their own departed relatives (173), whom the sight of the remains brought to their recollection, wept aloud at intervals; while the men suppressed their sorrow, and occasionally during the night seated themselves at the kitchen fire to listen to some of the old shanahies among them, who related several anecdotes of their country's ancient history, which had suffered alike from the Danes and the Sassenachs. O'Donoghue with his harp, who arrived from Clooneene early in the evening, about eleven o'clock approached the bed where the remains lay, and played in a low strain the *Caineadh* which he had composed for the occasion. After he concluded, the men, who had been attracted from the kitchen by the tones of the harp, again renewed their story-telling, but were interrupted every hour by the bearer of a large plate of snuff, who offered each a pinch as he passed round. When the first streaks of approaching day began to appear in the horizon, the younger portion of the mourners, after having partaken of a repast of bread, cheese, and ale, returned to their respective homes, leaving the older people to watch during the day at the house of death.

Some of those who attended the lykewake went, during the day, to Annacippaun Wood, to inter the bodies of the slain Rapparees.

When the sable clouds of night had again set in, the youth of the neighbourhood returned to the lykewake.

Next morning, Paudrick Don having returned from Galway, Power distributed the silk scarfs amongst the bidders (174), who then departed to the surrounding villages.

At eight o'clock Father Dermot arrived, accompanied by a man carrying what appeared to be a basket of hay (175). Having prepared a temporary altar, Power sent out several scouts, who volunteered to a sharp look-out while the priest celebrated Mass (176). After the Gospel of St. John, the Mass being concluded, the priest approached the bier, read the *De Profundis*, sprinkled holy water on the face of the dead, and then bestowed his benediction on the congregation, which he addressed them by saying—he hoped the time was not distant when the whole of his parishioners could attend without being obliged to themselves at the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, and without being obliged to place sentinels on every adjacent hill, to herald the approach of their cruel enemies.

After Father Dermot then divested himself of his vestments, and was conducted to a neat little parlour, where breakfast was prepared for him.



Shortly after his meal a horseman rode up to the door at full speed, for the priest to attend a 'sick call' (177), who promised, if possible, he would return to read the burial service.

When he departed, Una, assisted by other old women, placed the remains in the coffin, which they left uncovered (178). Two o'clock being the hour named for the funeral to take place, a vast concourse of people assembled outside the house a little before that hour. The lid of the coffin was nailed down by Power and Paudrick Don, and then carried out by four, bearing Donal's surname (179), to the road, where it was placed on the bier, while usquebaugh and ale were being plentifully supplied. The funeral *cortege* now moved slowly on. About twenty young maidens, daughters of those who had fought in the late war, led the procession. Next came O'Donoghue, the bard, with his harp, playing the Caineadh; then the coffin, borne by four men, who were relieved at short intervals, followed by Nora and the whole of Donal's kindred. After these walked the bidders, then the Chief of Clooneene's retainers, and a tremendous mass of people from the adjoining districts. Lastly came a car, on which were a number of torches, lest night would have set in before the burial was over. On arriving at the gate of the cemetery of Kilmacduach Abbey, where Father Dermot awaited them, the crying which had continued from the commencement ceased, and the people having uncovered, four men named Bran carried the bier to the side of the grave, preceded by the priest, with his stole on, and laid down the coffin. While the priest continued the prayers, the coffin was lowered into the grave, and placed over that of the Rapparee's father, and, being handed a spade by the gravedigger, he cast three small portions of earth on the lid. The funeral service being thus concluded, the earth was shovelled in amidst the wailings of the relatives and friends of the deceased Rapparee; and as it fell with a hollow sound on the coffin, they all uttered a prayer for the eternal repose of one who had spent his life in retaliating the insults and the wrongs offered to his religion and his country. The bier (180) was then broken, and when the last green sod was placed over the grave, the people, having first prayed and cried alternately over where their relatives were interred, dispersed, and wended their way homewards, except Donal's nearest relatives and dearest friends, who were invited to spend the remainder of that mournful evening with his disconsolate and heart-broken widow.

## CHAPTER LI.

## A ROMANTIC ROYAL MARRIAGE.

On the death of Queen Anne, who expired after a short illness at Kensington Palace, on the 1st of August, 1714, the Protestant succession to the Crown of Great Britain and Ireland, having been firmly established by several Acts of Parliament, Prince George Louis Guelph, Elector of Hanover, was proclaimed King, by the title of George I. He was the nearest Protestant heir to the throne, being the eldest son of Ernest Augustus, Duke of Brunswick, and Elector of Hanover, by his wife, Sophia, youngest daughter of Frederick, Elector Palatine of Bavaria, afterwards King of Bohemia, and his wife, the Princess Elizabeth of England, eldest daughter of King James I., by his wife, the Princess Anne, daughter of Frederick II., King of Denmark. George I., who was, therefore, great grandson of James I., was crowned at Westminster on the 20th of October succeeding the Queen's death.

Sir Thomas Prendergast, Baronet, who was the eldest son of Brigadier-General Sir Thomas Prendergast, slain at Malplaquet, still possessed Gortinsiguara. In his youth he travelled over the greater part of Europe, and, having visited Rome, was not at all bigoted, although he was brought up in the Protestant religion by his father, who, at the time he gave the information about the Assassination Plot, was a Catholic. Sir Thomas wished to please the people, who he knew were prejudiced against him, as they considered him the usurper of O'Shaughnessy's rights, and he even gave many of them presents of Rosaries which he had brought from Rome, and which were blessed by Clement XI. Notwithstanding his kindness, the neighbouring gentry objected to his society, and stigmatized him as 'The informer's son.'

The year after the accession of George I. to the throne, the Chief of Clouneene and his family heard of the rebellion raised by his kinsman, General Forster, of Etherston and Bamborough Castle, in Northumberland, and with sorrow, of its unsuccessful termination. The General's relative, the promising young Earl of Derwentwater (181), Lord Kenmure, and many other noblemen and gentlemen, had perished on the scaffold and in the field, while a reward of £100,000 was set on the head of King James III., and the whole country, which was in mourning, was daily growing more disgusted with the new Government. The only thing the Chieftain had to console him was, the intelligence

that General Forster, or the Rebel General, as he was more commonly called, had escaped from Newgate, where he had been confined, on Tuesday, the 10th of April, about midnight, 1716. On leaving the prison he rode to Leigh, near Rochford, in Essex, where he took shipping for the coast of France, and within twenty-four hours after his departure he reached Boulogne-sur-mer, where he resided until his death.

Such was the state of affairs at the commencement of the year 1719, that most of the Jacobites expected a sudden change in the Government of England. The family of Guelph maintained an uncertain and uneasy seat on an usurped and unpopular throne. The Elector of Hanover, who on his arrival in England to take possession, as he said himself, 'of the throne of his ancestors,' was in every sense a German, and unacquainted with the language of the people whom he called his subjects. George I., like his predecessor, William of Orange, loved his native country, and regard for the welfare and advancement of his German territories was the great principle which regulated all his political movements both at home and abroad. The English people saw with regret that the ungrateful Elector neglected the interests of his new dominions in his anxiety to promote those of his Hanoverian Electorate and Duchy of Brunswick. Many of them now sincerely regretted that he was ever called to govern Great Britain, and commenced to concoct measures for the restoration of the exiled royal family. For some time past the hopes and fortunes of the House of Stuart appeared to have been on the decline.

Shortly after the breaking out of General Forster's rebellion in 1715, his Majesty King James III., being compelled to leave France and Spain, and not permitted to reside in any part of the German Empire, settled in Italy. Indeed this country could not well refuse to shelter him, and the great sufferings which his father had endured for the Catholic religion entitled him to entertain hopes of being hospitably received there, in which he was not disappointed; for Pope Clement XI., who took the greatest interest in his Majesty's misfortunes, had furnished him with a large sum of money to assist him in the rebellion raised by General Forster in Northumberland, and the Earl of Mar in Scotland. And now that the attempt to restore his dynasty had failed, he retired to Italy under the name of the Chevalier de St. George, when Clement XI. appointed his own native town Urbino for his Majesty's residence.

James III. of England and Ireland, and VIII. of Scotland, was now in the thirtieth year of his age, and the last heir-male of the royal, but

unfortunate House of Stuart, when, by the advice of his Privy Council, he resolved to propose for the hand of the Princess Maria Clementina, of Poland, and his Holiness the Pope undertook to negotiate the marriage.

This amiable young lady, who was one of the richest heiresses, and related to most of the Royal Houses in Europe, was daughter of Prince James Louis Sobieski, Duke of Ohlau and Brieg in Silesia, and Governor of Augsburg, and grand-daughter of John III., King of Poland. This warlike monarch was a great warrior, the last patriot King of Poland, and is celebrated in history for the memorable and brilliant victory which he achieved over the Turks, under the command of the Grand Vizier of Turkey, Kara Mustapha, before the city of Vienna, in 1683, when they attempted to overrun Europe, and extirpate the Christians of the Southern States. This great victory was only in accordance with many others which his Majesty had won, and which had gained for him such an illustrious name, previous to his accession to the throne, when he was Castellan of Cracow, and which caused him to be raised to the dignities of Grand Marshal and Grand Hetman of the Kingdom.

The preliminaries for the marriage having been arranged by King James's negotiator and the Princess's parents, it was agreed on that the Princess Maria Clementina should privately proceed to Bologna in Italy, where the royal marriage was to be celebrated. Tidings of the intended nuptials having reached the Court of England, the selfish and ambitious George I., not content with possessing the Crown of the royal exile, and anxious that his race should become extinct, resolved to frustrate his designs. For this purpose he resolved to exert his influence with the Court of Austria for the interruption of the contemplated marriage. This scheme filled the Jacobites with alarm, as they were well aware that the Emperor, Charles VI., of Germany, though he was the Princess's first cousin, would carry out the base designs of the reigning King of England, and his unscrupulous Ministers; for it was the Emperor's interest to keep on terms of friendship with George I., as his pretensions to Sicily were supported by the British fleet, which also defended his large possessions in the south of Italy against the power of Spain. The English Government, as a further inducement to the Princess herself, offered to add the sum of £100,000 sterling, English money, to her dowry, if she would reject the exiled heir of Great Britain, and espouse the Prince de Baden-Baden, or any other of the numerous petty German Princes. The mercenary Emperor, having readily acquiesced, caused the Princess Maria Clementina and her mother

to be arrested while passing through the town of Innspruck, in the Tyrol, and had them both confined in the convent there in September, 1718, under the surveillance of General Heister. His Imperial Majesty also deprived Prince James Louis Sobieski, her father, of the Government of Augsburg, and placed him under arrest.

When King James heard of the arrest of his beautiful betrothed, he determined that she should be rescued ; but being the last of his dynasty, it was resolved that his Majesty should take no part in such a dangerous enterprise, which was entrusted to some of the most faithful of his adherents. For this daring attempt, a few of the officers of the Irish Brigade were chosen, as the King had the greatest reliance on the chivalry and devotion of the Irish people, who had sacrificed so much in his own and his father's cause. Those officers who were thus honoured with their Sovereign's confidence were the exiled Chief of Cineal Aodh, who still held the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the service of France, and was much esteemed in the Irish Brigade, and a great favourite with the King, on account of his many sufferings in the Stuart cause, as well as his own individual merit ; Colonel Charles Wogan, one of the firmest adherents of King James, and also a member of the ancient Norman-Irish family of Wogan of Rathcoffey, in the county of Kildare, and nephew of his Excellency the Duke of Tyrconnell, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for King James II. ; the Chevalier Richard Gaydon of Irish-town, a Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Major of the regiment of Lieutenant-General Count Arthur Dillon, and grand-nephew of the Duke of Tyrconnell ; Captain Luke O'Toole of Victoria, and Captain John Misset of Kildare, who were to be accompanied by the King's favourite *valet*, Michael Vezzosi.

Colonel Wogan having obtained at Rome a passport from the Austrian Ambassador, in the name of Monsieur le-Compte de Cernes, family and suite, who were said to have been returning from Loretto to the Low Countries, it was resolved that Captain Misset and his wife should personate the supposed Count and Countess de Cernes ; Wogan was to pass as the brother of the Count de Cernes and the Princess Maria Clementina, if rescued, was to pretend she was his sister. The latter character was, for the present, assumed by a clever young girl named Janette, who was in the service of the Misset family. Madam Misset prevailed on her domestic to take part in this dangerous enterprise, by telling her that the handsome Captain O'Toole was engaged to be married to a fascinating young lady with whom he was deeply in love ; but that her cruel parents having objected to their marriage, had caused her to be immured in the convent at Innspruck. They told

the credulous Janette, that by taking part in the plot for this young lady's rescue, she would be well rewarded, and only kept for two or three days, at most, in confinement, as she would be liberated when it was discovered who she really was. Captain O'Toole, who was a dashing officer, told her that, as soon as she was set free, his lady-love, who was a wealthy heiress, would well reward her, and that himself would never forget her services. Colonel Wogan, having completed all the necessary arrangements to his entire satisfaction, was quickly joined by Major Gaydon and the rest of the party at Strasbourg.

This city, called in German Strassburg, then belonged to France, and is situated 243 miles east of Paris, in a direct line, or 294 miles by the road, through Château-Thierry, Châlons-sur-Marne, St. Dizier, Bar-le-Duc, Toul, Nancy, Lunéville, and Saverne. It was known to the Romans by the name of Argentoratum, or Argentoratus, and is spoken of by Ptolemy, who incorrectly calls it the town of the Vangiones, for it was really possessed by the Tribocci. It was situated in the Roman province of Germania Prima, or the First or Upper Germany; and it was near here that Julian, who held command in Gaul as Cæsar, routed the Allemans, who were commanded by their King Chnodomar, in the year 357. It afterwards, however, was possessed by the Allemans, from whom it was taken by Clovis and the Franks. It was in later times included in Lotharingia, or the Kingdom of Lothaire; but in the tenth century it was incorporated in the German Empire; and it was during these various changes, very probably in the sixth century, that it exchanged the name of Argentoratum to that of Stratae-burgus, afterwards changed to Stratzburg and Strassburg. After having been annexed to the empire, it was in the Landgraviate of Alsace, but afterwards obtained the privileges of a Free City. In 1349 it unfortunately suffered from a frightful mortality, which, being attributed by the superstitions of the times to the Jews, no less than 200 of those unfortunate creatures were burned alive. In 1681 it surrendered to Louis XIV., who enlarged the circuit of the walls, and made the city one of the strongest fortresses of Europe. It is remarkable for the grand old Gothic cathedral, which was erected at different periods; but the choir dates from the time of Pepin, surnamed Le Bref, and the University founded by the Emperor Ferdinand II. in 1621. It was first established by the Town Council or Senate of Strasbourg in 1538, as a gymnasium or public school, which was changed into an academy, with the power of granting Degrees in Arts, by the Emperor Maximilian II., in 1566; and such it remained until the reign of Ferdinand II.

At Strasbourg, Colonel Wogan had in waiting a strong coach suitable



to the rough roads they had to travel over. In the carriage, which was drawn by six powerful horses, were the Chevalier Gaydon, Madam Misset, Colonel Wogan, and the faithful Janette, while Captains Misset and O'Toole, and the *valet*, Michael Vezzosi, took the place of armed attendants on horseback. On the 16th of April, this daring party set out on their perilous journey, after having taken leave of their old friend Sir Gerard Lally, Baronet, Lieutenant-Colonel in the regiment of his cousin, Lieutenant-General Count Arthur Dillon, and son of Thomas Lally, Chief of his Name, and the Fifth Titular Baron of Tullinadaly, or Tolendal, near Tuam, in the county of Galway, and representative of the ancient Milesian House of O'Mullally; who, when bidding them farewell, remarked—"You deserve the greatest praise for the noble and daring enterprise you are about undertaking; but I fear very much you will not be able to accomplish your laudable object." On the 14th of April, Lieutenant-Colonel O'Shaughnessy proceeded in advance of the party to reconnoitre, and discover, if possible, without causing suspicion, if the captive Princess was still confined in the same place. After a tiresome journey of about seven days, Colonel Wogan and his companions, all of whom were still in high spirits, reached the neighbourhood of Innspruck, where they were joined by the Chief of Cineal Aodh, who informed them that the young Princess and her mother were still confined there, and that he felt confident they would succeed in their endeavour to rescue the Princess. After holding a secret correspondence with the affianced bride of James III., they entered the town of Innspruck late in the evening of the 27th of April, 1719, and procured lodgings at an inn adjoining the convent in which she was imprisoned.

The ancient town of Innspruck, or more properly Innsbruck, or Bridge over the Inn, the capital of the Principality of the Tyrol, lies in 47° 15' 30" north latitude, 11° 23' 45" east longitude, at the conflux of the Sill with the Inn. It is romantically situated at the broadest part of the beautiful Innthal, or Valley of the Inn, which is bounded on the north by a lofty chain of mountains, 7,000 feet in height, and is remarkable for a famous University, which was founded in 1672; the strong Castle of Innspruck, the garden and statues of which are greatly admired, and the Franciscan Church, which contains the handsome tomb of the Emperor Maximilian, together with those of many Archdukes of the Imperial House of Hapsburg (182).

Up to this the scheme had succeeded admirably, and it seemed probable its result would be entirely to the satisfaction of those who had undertaken it. A faithful servant of the Princess named Konska, who

was a tried follower of her family, having ingratiated himself into the favour of the janitor, received his permission to introduce a female friend, to whom he said he was engaged to be married, into the convent, and to conduct her out at any hour he pleased. This was very favourable to the plans of the rescuers, as they would be enabled, by this means, to conduct their servant, the unsuspecting Janette, into the cloisters, and bring out in her stead the Princess Maria Clementina. However, before putting their plans into execution, they held a consultation, when the confiding domestic, who was present, hearing them speak of the Princess, refused to have anything further to do with their dangerous intrigue. They, nevertheless, endeavoured to prevail on her not to desert them; but Janette, who was afraid of being involved in any plot in which emperors, kings, princes, or princesses, or any other persons of such high rank, were concerned, resolutely refused, and earnestly demanded to be allowed to return home immediately. Fearing that if she departed, she might disclose their secret, they continued to urge her to remain; and at length, after receiving several gold coins of great value, and being promised various other rewards, to which her mistress, Madam Misset, engaged to add a fine suit of damask, Janette, overcame her scruples, and consented to assist them. Though there was a great storm of snow and hail, she was now conducted by the Princess's domestic within the walls of the Convent of Innspruck. The affable and winning manners of Maria Clementina made such a great impression upon her, that she resolved to effect the Princess's escape, even though she might for ever lose her own liberty by doing so. During the two previous days, the Polish Princess, having feigned illness, kept her bed, for the purpose of more effectually favouring the plot for her rescue, as when Janette would occupy the bed, the curtains were to be drawn still closer, to exclude the light, under the pretext that the patient had become worse. The scheme having been successful up to this, the Princess Maria Clementina, with the prudence of a Sobieski, resolved to take measures for the purpose of exculpating her mother, should she be charged with having taken any part in her daughter's escape. Accordingly, she wrote a letter, which she purposed leaving behind her on her toilette-table, begging pardon for her flight, on the grounds, that by all laws, human and divine, she was bound to join her husband, and regretting she was obliged to desert her mother. Having put on Janette's riding-hood, who had remained in the convent, without exciting any suspicion, as the supposed sweetheart of her principal domestic, she passed out, accompanied by her faithful page Konska, a few minutes after one o'clock, on the morning of the 28th of

April, under cover of a tremendous tempest, and a heavy fall of snow and hail, which had previously compelled the sentinel on her prison to retire for shelter to an adjoining inn. When they were leaving, Konska took with him a parcel containing some articles of dress and jewellery belonging to the Princess, worth 150 pistoles; and being joined at a short distance from the convent by Colonel Wogan he conducted them to the inn. The joy of the entire party, but particularly of Madam Misset, who was much attached to the royal family, was unbounded, when they were joined by the beautiful young Princess; and they resolved, as quickly as possible, to set out for the Papal States, where they knew they would receive a cordial welcome from his Holiness Clement XI., who was the Princess's godfather. Maria Clementina having divested herself of her wet clothes, put on a costume which had been procured for her by Madam Misset for that purpose; and about two o'clock the daring party were again on the road, travelling through the territory of her powerful enemy and cousin, the Emperor of Germany! The journey was not at first as speedy as they would wish, owing to the bad state of the roads, and the inclemency of the weather. However, they progressed as quickly as possible, and by sunrise they were fifteen miles distant from Innspruck, and resolved continuing their journey with all haste, until they would have quitted the Austrian territories, and entered on those of Venice, which they did not succeed in accomplishing without great fatigue, and still greater danger, as they feared special couriers might be despatched from Innspruck, to alarm the Governors of Trent and Roveredo, although they had provided even against this emergency. Captains O'Toole and Misset rode a long distance behind the carriage of the Princess, their business being to intercept any courier that might be despatched by General Heister from Innspruck. Should such an occurrence take place, they were to deprive him of his despatches, kill his horse, and if they considered it necessary, tie him with ropes, which they had for that purpose; and thus secured, to carry him a long distance from the road, where he would not be observed. They afterwards had cause to congratulate themselves on the precautions they had taken, for, no sooner did General Heister discover that one of his captives had escaped, than he despatched a courier to Trent, to inform the Governor there of what had occurred. On reaching Wellishmile, two posts from Trent, being greatly fatigued he halted, where he met Captains O'Toole and Misset, who had stopped there to breakfast. Immediately guessing his object, they invited him to partake of refreshment with them, and the unsuspecting fellow having acquiesced, they plied him with wine, and all the time amused him

with different anecdotes. When he was partially intoxicated, being a talkative and unguarded fellow, he told them he was engaged in a very important business which might be the means of making his fortune ; and, after a while, produced his despatches, and shewed them to them. They then pressed him to take more drink, and, as soon as he became entirely intoxicated, they purloined his despatches, which they destroyed without delay, and continued their journey, leaving him in this state. In fact, the unfortunate fellow was in such a condition, that he was not able to travel farther for at least twenty-four hours.

By the 30th of April, the fugitive Princess and her companions were safe out of the Imperial territory ; and on the 2nd of May they reached Bologna, in the Papal States, where she divested herself of her incognito, having hitherto passed as the servant of the supposed Countess de Cernes.

In the meantime, while the Princess Maria Clementina was escaping from her prison at Innspruck, King James was suddenly called on to undertake a private expedition to Spain, by Cardinal Alberoni, Prime Minister of that country ; but the Princess was espoused in his absence by one of his adherents, the Earl of Dunbar, who had received his Majesty's proxy to that effect. The King's visit to Spain having in no way advanced his interests, he soon after returned to Italy. The Princess Maria Clementina entered Rome on the 15th of May, with great magnificence, and was received with loud acclamations of joy by the populace, and shewn every mark of respect which her distinguished rank entitled her to by Pope Clement XI. ; and on the 2nd of September was married with royal splendour to King James III. His Holiness, to express his approbation of the brave Irishmen who had rescued the young Queen from captivity, and thereby baffled the schemes of the English and German Courts, directed patents to be made out creating them Roman Senators, which was the highest civic distinction at Rome, and had never been conferred on any one except emperors, kings, princes, nephews of sovereign pontiffs, or persons eminently distinguished for bravery or other great qualities. Accordingly, they were received on the 15th June by the Senate assembled in state at the Capitol, amidst the sound of the Roman litui and tubæ, and in presence of a vast multitude of people, whose acclamations almost rent the air, were honoured by his Excellency Count Hippolito Albani, Prince of the Senate, with an oration in praise of her Majesty Queen Maria Clementina, and themselves as her liberators. On the return of James III. from Spain, his Majesty, after receiving those brave Irishmen in the most gracious manner, conferred the honour of knighthood on Colonel

Wogan, and immediately after created him a Baronet. He also knighted the Chevalier Gaydon, and Captains Misset and O'Toole. They were also granted brevets of military advancement, which the King pledged his word to make good as soon as he was restored to his throne ; and in case they should be dismissed from the French army for having left their posts without permission—for France at this time did not acknowledge his claim to the throne—they could by these brevets obtain service in the armies of other Catholic powers on the Continent, who still acknowledged Prince James Francis Edward, as *de jure*, though not *de facto* Monarch of Great Britain and Ireland, as King James III. Major Sir Richard Gaydon was thus made a Brigadier-General, and Captain Sir John Misset and Captain Sir Luke O'Toole, Colonels ; while Lady Misset's father, who was a Captain in the regiment of Lieutenant-General the Honourable Count Arthur Dillon, was also appointed to the rank of Colonel.

His Holiness gave King James a palace to reside in at Rome, and allowed him a pension of 12,000 crowns per annum.

The Jacobites were rejoiced at the union of the young Prince, whom they recognized as their lawful King, and drew many happy omens from the romantic manner in which it was accomplished, notwithstanding all the opposition it received from the Court of England. In Ireland the glad tidings were received with great joy by all who were favourable to the cause of King James III. In the neighbourhood of Clooneene and Gortinsiguara, the people gave expression to their delight by various demonstrations, and, on the day on which they received the happy news, they refrained from all servile work. Sergeant Power, with great ceremony, proclaimed the marriage of the King, after which he made a long speech in favour of the gallant officers who had taken part in the Queen's rescue, with some of whom he had served in the late war in Ireland. When he concluded, the enthusiasm of the people was unbounded, and long and loud were the hearty cheers which were given for King James III., the Queen Maria Clementina, Pope Clement XI., and the Irish Brigade, after which they soon dispersed, sincerely wishing for the speedy restoration of their gallant young King to his throne, and the Chief of Cineal Aodh to the possessions of his ancestors. And many a follower of his sept fervently joined in the prayer, that the day might not be far distant when O'Shaughnessy, Chief of Cineal Aodh, would again proudly tread the halls of his forefathers !

## CHAPTER LII.

## ONE BY ONE THEY PASS AWAY.

THE Chief of Clooneene about this period began to decline in health. His father-in-law Captain Mac Donnell had died, and was succeeded in his estates by his son Charles (183). O'Donoghue, the bard, still continued to play at Clooneene, but was now old and feeble, and his harp had lost its wonted lively tones, and was now melancholy; and as he feebly touched the strings, sometimes the tears moistened his aged eyes, as the memory of the many brave friends of his youth who fell on the reeking battle-field of Aughrim flashed across his mind. The Irish gentry who had been deprived of their estates frequently visited Clooneene; and the veteran soldiers of King James often partook of the Chief's hospitality. Dermot Oge Cloran still possessed Lissine, and spent much of his time with the Chief of Clooneene. The famous Chevalier De Tourville, had long given up visiting the Irish coast, but corresponded frequently with the Chief through the medium of the *Flying Eagle*, which was now commanded by De Merville; consequently the supply of wine and brandy was as plentiful as ever at Clooneene. Cuthbert Fenwick communicated regularly with his kinsman, and always inquired most affectionately for Kelly of Loughcutra, who still held the Island Castle in opposition to Sir Thomas Prendergast, and continued the practice of fowling and angling (184). He regretted very much to hear of John's death, to which he alluded frequently in a very touching manner. He informed his friends, that shortly after his return to Northumberland, he espoused his old *belle*, Matilda Percy, whose father Sir Algernon, a gallant Cavalier of the old school, fell at the battle of Worcester in 1651, while stoutly contending in the cause of the Second Charles; and that the Northumbrians were determined to raise the standard of rebellion, should they receive any assistance from France. The condition of the Irish gentry who held estates was dreadful; they feared their children would rebel against them, say they were Protestants, and demand settlements of them. All law was in the hands of their intolerant foes, who would not permit them to act as High Sheriffs, and thrust them off grand juries. The persecution was so terrible, that it was only by stealth they were able



to teach their children the rudiments of their language, and then send them abroad to complete their education. The neighbourhood of Gortinsiguara, however, was free in a great measure from internal persecution, as all the landlords there were still Catholics, the Forsters, the Martyns, the D'Arcys, the Butlers, and the Clorans. Sir Thomas Prendergast, though a Protestant, did not, to his credit be it said, establish a Charter School, or interfere in any way with the religion of his tenantry or neighbours. Dermot Oge Cloran now waxed old, and, giving up the last hope of seeing the darling wish of his heart fulfilled, the restoration of O'Shaughnessy, he sickened and died, proving to the last a faithful adherent to the Chiefs of Cineal Aodh, and was succeeded by his son Edmond. The month of January was cold, in every sense of the word, and the ground was wrapt for miles around in an azure mantle of virgin snow. On the 29th of January, 1720, the Chief of Clooneene, who was an invalid for some time previously, walked into the garden adjoining his mansion to recruit his health. After some time, feeling rather exhausted, he returned to the house, and entered the library, where he found Father Moylan, who usually spent much of his time there, poring over the books and ancient Irish manuscripts with which it was stored. Father Dermot observed with anxiety the fast declining health of his friend, and expressed his sorrow at seeing him so unwell. The Chief said he felt his end was approaching, but that he was perfectly resigned to die. He added—"I am grieved to see the unfortunate state this country is reduced to, as we now live amongst men who have arrogated to themselves the privilege of solely ruling this nation. Had I died at the head of my bold dragoons, I would, indeed, have felt happy; but fancy what the state of my feeling must be at present, when I am obliged to listen, without retorting, to the despotic orders of those who have been elevated to the unenviable position of petty tyrants—men of neither talent nor honour, who stop at nothing to raise themselves to power. But, apart from worldly matters, I now wish to arrange with you my spiritual affairs, and I hope my sins will be forgiven. I commend my soul to Almighty God, hoping for salvation and redemption through the death, passion, and merits of our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, and I firmly believe all the Catholic Church teaches."

Towards evening, the Chieftain considered it advisable to make his will. Accordingly, The O'Ruarc, the lineal descendant of the Princes of Brefney, who was then on a visit at Clooneene, and Costellan, were summoned to his room, and after having spent some hours in drawing up the will, and making the necessary corrections, it was signed, sealed, and witnessed. During the ensuing week, the Chief took to his bed,

and after a few days his physicians entertained but small hopes of his recovery. As soon as it became known that he was ill, his numerous tenantry often visited Clooneene, to ascertain how he was progressing, and day and night messengers were despatched to the neighbouring gentry to report the state of his health. Foremost amongst those who were most anxious about his recovery were the veteran soldiers who had fought under him at the Boyne, and at Aughrim. Feeling his end was approaching, the Chief directed to have all his children brought to his bed-side. When they assembled, he addressed them by saying—

“ My dear children, I am about leaving this world, and have, therefore, summoned you around me that you may hear my advice, and receive my blessing. In the first place, my children, I command you to love, honour, and obey your dear and affectionate mother, and also to be kind to each other. Always feel proud of your fatherland, and be ever ready to make any sacrifice, however great, in the glorious cause of liberty. Never on any account betray your persecuted and unfortunate country, for which your ancestors have suffered so often, and so much. If those who have its prosperity and welfare most at heart should, at any future time, consider it necessary to appeal to arms for the purpose of redressing its grievances, as I did in my youth, be foremost in the battle-field. Spare no expense in forwarding such a laudable and glorious achievement. I depend on you, James, as you are to be the Chief of our Sept at my death, to be the ever watchful guardian of your family. Act honestly and nobly towards all men, and if you only follow the bright example of your forefathers, you cannot do otherwise. I am sorry to say that the descendants of many historical Houses, which have heretofore been an honour to their country, have forgotten themselves so much as to become supporters of the Government, and, what is worse, have renounced their religion, their country, and their kindred for Court favour, gold, and other inducements. I know that many proposals will be made to you, by whatever Ministry, whether Whig or Tory, that may be in power when you will have attained your majority. You will be offered titles, wealth, vast possessions, and perhaps those which were inherited by your noble kinsman, who is now in exile in the chivalrous land of France, while the proud home of our race, the cradle of our progenitors, Etherston Castle, slowly crumbles to decay. No matter how brilliant the offers made to you may be, let your answer always be, *Malo mori quam fœdari*. Should the Stuart race ever claim the Crown of this Kingdom, be not backward in assisting them to regain it. I give you this advice not because the King would

reward our family, but because the Crown belongs to him, and to him alone. It is as much his property, as the lands I possess will be yours at my decease. But, my son, should he regain these Kingdoms, and misgovern his people, it will then become your imperative duty to take up arms in defence of your country against him; for no matter how ancient or strong the claims of a Prince to a nation may be, they cease as soon as he misgoverns its people. His subjects are bound then to awaken from the degrading sleep of slavery, to burst their chains, and shake off their fetters. You are young, but I am happy to say you possess all the qualities for which your family was distinguished in former days. Therefore I know it is unnecessary for me to tell you to act prudently through life, and to beware of the numerous enemies of your country, who now infest the land. During your minority, be guided in all things by your relatives, particularly by Hayacinth Ffrench, and your uncle Charles, for you will find it necessary to have experienced men to advise you. Always encourage your tenantry, and endeavour to promote their happiness by every means in your power. Keep before your eyes the example of your great grandfather, who received with open arms the children of those unfortunate persons who lost their estates during the Protectorate of Cromwell. My dear children, you have now heard my advice; approach, and kneel down that you may receive the last blessing of your dying parent."

When the Chief concluded, he looked with an air of complacency on his children, but after a few moments turned to the crucifix, which the priest held in his hand, and while uttering the name of our Saviour expired without a struggle (185).

The tidings of his death quickly spread abroad, and all the tenantry soon assembled in the courtyard. Costellan now summoned the servants to assist him in distributing refreshments amongst the vast concourse of people, who were hourly increasing. Fat beeves and sheep were quietly slaughtered, numerous fires were lit in the offices, and tents erected in the demesne. The cellars were inspected by Shane O'Halloran, who tapped all the vessels which contained liquor in them. As it was the usual custom on such occasions to empty the cellars, O'Halloran zealously performed his duty, and surveyed with a look of satisfaction the well stored vaults—"Yes," said he to Martin Fahy, "the old claret of the time of Frincheas More na Fion still keeps up the credit of the Clooneene cellars, and even the noble Mac Donnell, or the descendants of the Chiefs of Clan Cuilean, could not fault it. No, nor even the O'Briens, the Stacpooles, the Mac Mahons, or the well skilled family of Butler, who can judge claret by its colour. Aye! let them

all come, the O'Donnellans, Burkes, Blakes, Ffrenchs, Martyns, and Persses, and yet the credit of our cellars will be maintained."

The generous liquors were now unsparingly poured into large methers, and supplied to the crowd. The grief which filled the breasts of all, but which was restrained up to this through fear of causing annoyance to the esteemed lady of the mansion, now found vent in loud and long continued lamentations; for there are occasions when a warm-hearted people, like the Irish, despite every other consideration, at the impulse of the moment break the studied rules of cold society. The recollection that their friend was no more now flashed on their impulsive minds, and the women raised that wild, yet sweetly melodious cry with which they invariably lament their relatives and friends. It rose on the air with a plaintive cadence, and soon the bitter tears of the stalworth men began to flow and mingle with those of the other mourners. In a short time, O'Halloran again appeared in the yard, and said aloud—"O! Almighty God have mercy upon the dead, who die in the faith of the Lord," to which those assembled unanimously answered—"Amen." He then requested the people not to further disturb the family by their well-intended expressions of sorrow, and afterwards placed the veteran survivors of the late war under the care of Power. Matters stood thus until evening, when the large joints of roast and boiled meat were brought out, and placed on the tables in the offices, which were from thenceforth kept well supplied until the funeral procession left Clooneene. When night approached, and while all were yet partaking of the good cheer, the professional mourners crowded in from the neighbourhood. These women professionally attended funerals. This custom was kept up in Ireland from an early period. It even existed among the Israelites, and is particularly noticed in Holy Writ, and was not unknown to the Greeks and Trojans. The immortal Homer thus alludes to it in the *Illiad*, when describing the funeral of Hector:—

" They weep and place him on the bed of state.  
A melancholy choir attend around,  
With plaintive sighs, and music's solemn sound.  
Alternately they sing, alternate flow  
Th' obedient tears, melodious in their woe;  
While deeper sorrows groan from each full heart,  
And nature speaks at every pause of art.  
First to the corse the weeping consort flew.  
Around his neck her milk-white arms she threw;" (186).

After having partaken of refreshment, they commenced the Caineadh,

in which they dwelt emphatically on the illustrious race of the deceased Chieftain, and on how the attendant spirit of his Sept, the fair and blue-clad Banshee, had wept for him on the tall summit of Knockancorragh, and in the sequestered woods of Clooneene. They went on to describe his many sterling qualities, and spoke of him as a gallant soldier, who was beloved by the royal Stuart; of his wisdom, of the fair lady of the race of Con Cead Ceathnach, who now lamented him with her children, who were for ever deprived of the sheltering protection of the lofty oak, and summed up by describing all his gallant achievements during the great War of the Revolution.

After the Chief of Clooneene expired, his wife retired to her private apartment, where she gave full vent to the grief which overwhelmed her, having first deputed her brother, Charles Mac Donnell, William Stacpoole and Hyacinth Ffrench, who were the executors of her husband's will, to attend to the reception of her friends. While the body lay in state, none were allowed to approach it save the immediate relatives of the family, but after it was placed in the coffin, all were admitted in order. The features of the deceased were perfectly calm, and his nut-brown hair fell loosely on either side of his broad and intelligent forehead. On an antique ebony table covered with a crimson cloth were placed his helmet, sword, spurs, and pistols, while at the head of the coffin was suspended the standard which was borne off the field of Aughrim by Ralph Marlborough, and afterwards secreted at Clooneene. The room was brilliantly illuminated with wax tapers, and at the foot of the coffin the old parish clerk of Shanaglish knelt. This aged man was earnestly engaged in fervent prayer, but was occasionally relieved by members of the household. For three days, this solemn scene continued; and each morning, Father Moylan and other clergymen, assisted by the Friars of Esker, Loughrea, and Ennis, celebrated the holy sacrifice of the Mass. On the third day, the coffin was carried to the hall, covered with a black velvet pall edged with silver fringe, which bore the family arms. When the funeral procession was about starting, the tenants requested to be allowed to bear the coffin to the grave, as it was the last tribute of respect they could pay their much lamented Chief. When the mournful cortege reached the gate of the cemetery of Kilmaeduach, the coffin was from thence borne by the survivors of the Chief's troop, who had served under him, when a Captain in Clifford's Dragoons, to the door of the Cathedral, preceded by several torch-bearers. Here it was placed on the shoulders of the Mac Donnells, Mac Namaras, O'Donnellans, Blakes, Ffrenches, and other relatives of the deceased, who relieved each other, while passing through the ruins of this time-

honoured fane, until after having turned to the right of the aisle, they entered the chapel in which the Clooneene family alone were interred. This sacred edifice was now hung in black. On the walls were placed the funeral hatchments of the deceased Chief's grandfather, father, and eldest brother. Two of the torch-bearers now descended the stone staircase which led to the vault, and the coffin was then lowered by the tenantry. The clergy, headed by Father Moylan, having performed the funeral service, and the black marble slab having been replaced in the opening to the vault, all left the cemetery.

Charles O'Shaughnessy, only brother of the late Chief of Cineal Aodh, died shortly after this sad event; Sir Toby Butler, ex-Solicitor-General of Ireland, soon followed, and Lady Helena O'Kelly, the mother of O'Shaughnessy, the present Chief of Cineal Aodh, died at Fidane in 1729.

Her Ladyship's funeral was scarcely over, when the minions of Sir Thomas Prendergast took possession of the castle. The windows and doors were torn out; the old portcullis of the Barbican, which even the victorious troops of the daring Red Hugh O'Donnell could not take when they made their foray into the kingdom of Thomond, was ruthlessly destroyed. Its battlements were dismantled, its outer canals filled up, its strong walls demolished, and no more was Fidane the abode of hospitality and generosity.

The Chief of Cineal Aodh still continued to reside in France, and heard with sorrow of his mother's death, and of the destruction of his paternal home. His second cousin, young Lord Clare, son of the Hero of Ramilies, was, on the decease of the brave Colonel Murrough O'Brien in 1720, appointed by Louis XIV. Colonel-in-chief of the Clare Regiment, which was one of the most distinguished in the Irish Brigade. King Louis having commenced hostilities with the Emperor of Germany in 1733, in consequence of a dispute which arose out of the election of a King for Poland, Lord Clare, who inherited all the military skill of his ancestors, headed his regiment under his uncle-in-law, the gallant Marshal Duke of Berwick, who was Commander-in-chief of the French army. Next year, Lord Clare was appointed to the command of a brigade, and the Chief of Cineal Aodh served under his Lordship, together with many of his devoted clansmen who had been brought to France, from the neighbourhood of Gortmiguara and Clooneene, on board the Flying Eagle, by William Forster (187), a younger son of his old friend the Chief of Clooneene. His young gentleman very soon became a great favourite in the



Brigade, and gave every promise of becoming a distinguished soldier, which he eventually did.

The siege of Philipsburgh commenced in May, 1734, and the Irish Brigade fought with their usual bravery. The garrison consisted of about 4,000 men, commanded by Count de Wutgenau. The Duke of Berwick was, from the beginning, most anxious to carry the place as quickly as possible; but on the 12th of June, while personally inspecting the trenches, he was killed by a cannon ball, which grazed Lord Clare's shoulder, as his Lordship stood near to the Duke at the time. The loss of the gallant and able Berwick was much lamented, not alone by the Irish Brigade, but by all France. His Grace was succeeded in the command of the forces by the veteran Marquis d'Asfeld, to whom this strong fortress capitulated on the 18th of July. During the siege the trenches were mounted by the Irish battalions of Berwick, Bulkeley, Clare, Dillon, and Roth, who distinguished themselves highly by their bravery. Peace was, however, soon proclaimed, and the Brigade again returned to France.

The Chief of Cineal Aodh, who had attained the rank of Brigadier-General, much as he loved Ireland, could not visit Gortinsiguara, and was grieved to hear how his native land groaned under the crushing laws of a foreign despot.

The war on the Continent soon again broke out, the King of France having formed a confederacy with other European powers, in favour of the Bavarian Emperor of Germany, Charles VII., and consequently against the heroic Queen of Hungary, whose cause was supported by George II., King of England. He mustered a great force in the Netherlands, commanded by the Earl of Stair (188), which marched to join Prince Charles of Lorraine. To prevent this junction, the Marshal Duke de Noailles, who commanded the French, proceeded to oppose them. The French troops occupied a position of great strength at Dettingen, which village was on their right; a wood was to their left, with a morass in the centre. Here the English saw that they should fight at great disadvantage, or allow themselves to be taken prisoners; but the rashness of the Duke de Grammont caused the defeat of the French. De Grammont did not wait patiently, as he should have done in the strong position he occupied, but passed the defile. A desperate and bloody engagement ensued; the French cavalry charged the British, and threw them into frightful disorder; but the British infantry retrieved the loss, being encouraged by the presence of George II. The Irish Brigade, however, acted with great bravery in this

combat, which was fought on the 27th of June, 1743 ; and King George was filled with admiration at their determined conduct, and regretted they were opposed to him. He knew them by their uniforms, and passionately exclaimed—"Cursed be the laws that deprived me of such subjects." At last the French were compelled to give way before their enemies, and retreat ; but they bestowed much praise on the Irish Brigade, for the manly way in which they fought during this severe engagement.

Shortly after the Chief of Cineal Aodh, who was the oldest and most respected Irish officer in the service of France, was taken ill, to the regret of the whole Brigade. Over fifty years of his life were spent in the service of France, and he figured with honour in her greatest battles. Still he bore up manfully, although he was exiled from his native land, which affected him very much, together with the sad knowledge of how his friends were suffering in the dear old land at home. At length his strength gave way, and he lay on his bed, never again to lead to battle with the old familiar war-cry of his sept, the remnant of his devoted clan, who had followed his fortunes in a strange and foreign land. During his illness the officers of the bold Brigade, particularly Captain William Forster, regularly visited and comforted him. Having received the last rites of the Catholic Church, he died peacefully, surrounded by his brother officers, and much regretted by the French army, leaving behind him the reputation of having been through life a noble-minded man, and a brave soldier. He had the benefit of having the sacred rites of his Church openly performed over his remains, which could not then have been done in his own unfortunate and persecuted country.

The solemn music of the military bands which attended his funeral was mournfully heard by the men of the Irish Brigade ; and the soldiers, when he was placed on the tomb, fired a farewell shot over the remains of the gallant Major-General William O'Shaughnessy, head of his sept, and hereditary Chief of Cineal Aodh.

Communication being constantly kept up between the western coast of Ireland and France, through the medium of the contraband vessels, intelligence of the Chieftain's decease soon reached his native land, which was received with profound grief by his friends and clansmen, who had sincerely hoped for his return, the Stuarts not having yet given up all hope of their restoration to the throne. Captain Forster, who was chief mourner at the funeral, also wrote home a full account to his family of his friend's death, and the circumstances connected with it. He also informed them of the death of the Chevalier de Tourville, who fell in a duel. A few days after O'Shaughnessy's funeral, a Por-

tuguese officer, who was then residing at Gravelines, having accused the Irish people with having acted a cowardly part, during the war carried on in Ireland between James II. and William III., De Tourville indignantly refuted this false charge, and challenged the haughty Don. As a matter of course, a duel ensued, in which the Chevalier was shot, owing to, according to rumour, the treachery of his second. Captain Forster's letter was conveyed to Clooneene by Captain de la Mainé, whose ship, the *White Rose*, constantly plied between Galway, Duras, and Brest. He also brought the Chief of Cineal Aodh's sword, which he bequeathed to his first cousin Roebuc O'Shaughnessy ; for, although the latter's eldest brother Colman (189) now became Chief of the sept of O'Shaughnessy, it would be useless to him, as he was in Holy Orders.

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## CHAPTER LIII.

### THE EARL OF ROSCOMMON'S TENT ON THE EVE OF BATTLE.

THE sanguinary battle of Dettingen, the last in which the exiled O'Shaughnessy took part, was caused by a treaty which was made between George II. of England, and Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, by which the former bound himself to take the field in person against her enemies, at the head of an army consisting of 12,000 men. It is, however, necessary to remark, that the battle was not preceded by any formal declaration of war between England and France ; but the movements of the Chevalier de St. George, or, as he was recognised on the Continent, James III., and the encouragement which he received from the Court of France, were the means of causing mutual declarations of war between these two countries in the month of March, 1743.

King James now corresponded regularly with his adherents in Ireland and Scotland, and with many of the nobility of England and Wales, who were favourable to his cause. In the month of February he despatched one of his adherents to Clooneene, to find out if the majority of the gentry of the county of Galway were in his favour, and to make a list of the principal Jacobites, and of the number of fighting men they would be able to bring into the field.

Louis XV. was now very favourable to the cause of James III., and offered to supply him with all the necessaries for again invading the

dominions of his father. The consequence was, that the French Court declared war with England on the 20th of March; and the English did the same on the 31st of the same month, 1745, the year after O'Shaughnessy's death. The declaration led to many engagements, the most remarkable of which was the great battle of Fontenoy, which was, perhaps, the most bloody engagement of the eighteenth century. Louis XIV. entered Flanders at the head of a large force, amounting, with those of his troops already in that country, to about 100,000 men. He appointed Marshal Maurice Saxe, Count de Saxony, and Duke de Courland, General-in-chief of his army, the Marshal Duke de Noailles having consented to act under him. The campaign was opened on the 22nd of April, by the siege of Tournay. His Royal Highness William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, son of George II., who commanded an army composed of English, Dutch, and Hanoverians, in all about 50,000 men, marched to raise the siege. It is believed that the defeat of the English at Dettingen, and a desire on the part of this vain young Prince to rival the Duke of Marlborough, who had gained so many victories in the reign of Queen Anne, induced him to undertake this rash attempt. Marshal Saxe, leaving about 1,500 men to carry on the siege, took up his post at Fontenoy, in Hainault, a province bounded on the north by East Flanders and South Brabant, on the east by Namur, on the south by France, and on the west by West Flanders. The gallant Saxe was, at the time, suffering from dropsy, and, although he underwent the painful operation of tapping on the 18th, he resolutely advanced to oppose the allies, notwithstanding that he was in a dying state, and had to be carried on a litter. On reaching Fontenoy he posted his right wing at that village, his left at the Wood of Barri, and drew up the main body of his army in several lines across the intervening space. But the cautious General, not wishing to rely solely on the superior force of the French army, covered Barri and Fontenoy with several entrenchments, and many batteries. In this he followed the example of Marshal Villars' position, at the memorable battle of Malplaquet. The Count de Saxony placed the Brigade of Crillon at the margin of the river that ran along the right end of the plain adjoining Antoin. He next completed three redoubts, and placed in them the Brigade of Betten's Swiss. The Brigade of the Dauphin was stationed at Fontenoy, and the first line of the infantry was formed with the seven brigades, known as the King's, whose right was placed close to that village. The Brigade of Aubeterre and the King's Guards had their left at the first redoubt made in the road that led to the town of Mons; and the Irish Brigade was stationed on the ground that lay between that re-

doubt and the second, their left being close to the road which led to Guazin. In the second line were the Royal, Crown, Desvaiseaux and Normandy Brigades, the Regiment of Eu being posted in the two redoubts. Behind the second line, sixty squadrons were drawn up in two lines from Antoin to the road of Mons. The household troops, the Gendarmerie, and the Carabineers were posted at the height of the second line, their right being close to the road of Mons, and their left stretching in the adjoining plain to make a corps of reserve. Marshal Saxe placed the 110 pieces of cannon which he had, in Fontenoy, the redoubts, and in front of the line, which was a very judicious plan. About four o'clock in the afternoon, the greater part of the allies appeared in sight of the French camp, at about a quarter of a league distant. As it was believed by Marshal Saxe and the other officers, that the Duke of Cumberland intended giving them battle immediately, Louis XV. and the Dauphin remained in the camp until night, when King Louis hearing that the Duke of Cumberland was unable to attack the French army, in consequence of part of his artillery having become imbedded during his march, the troops were ordered to remain under arms during the night, and the general officers to take their respective posts ; after which the King retired to his quarters at Calonne.

The troops were in high spirits, and eager for the approaching dawn, as were also the officers, who were anxious to distinguish themselves, knowing their actions would be observed by the King of France, and the heir to the Crown. But great as was the enthusiasm of the French, there were none who waited with more impatience for the approaching battle than the men and officers of the Irish Brigade, who longed to humble the pride of their English enemies by another great defeat.

In the centre of the Irish encampment, a canvass tent of considerable size was pitched, over which waved a broad banner bearing the arms of the Dillons, Earls of Roscommon—*Pearl*, a lion *rampant-guardant*, *ruby*, suppressed by a fess, *sapphire*, between three *estoils* issuant from as many crescents of the second. Crest on a cap of maintenance, a falcon *rising*, *pearl*, with beak, members and bells, *topaz*. Supporters on the dexter a *gryphon*, *emerald*, his beak, wings and fore-legs, *topaz* ; and on the sinister a falcon, *ruby*, furnished the same as the crest. Motto.—*Auxilium ab alto*. It was occupied by Robert Dillon, ninth Earl of Roscommon. From the sounds of laughter, which occasionally proceeded from within, it was evident a party of officers were here determined to enjoy themselves, lest it might be the last night of their existence. At the entrance, a veteran sentinel wearing the uniform of the Irish Brigade slowly paced backward and forward. From the medals on his breast, it was

evident this old soldier had taken part in many of those hard-fought battles which added so much lustre to the military glory of France in the late reign, and gained for Louis XIV. the proud name of the *Grand Monarque*. The hilarity having ceased within, and all being silent around, his thoughts naturally reverted to the days of his youth, and a feeling of sadness crept o'er him, when he recollected the deep wrongs which crushed the prosperity of his native country. He was soon, however, aroused from his reverie by the sounds of approaching footsteps, when at once coming to a halt and grounding his musket, he cast his eyes in the direction from whence they came. After a short time, he observed a tall military-looking man, of a commanding appearance, approaching, whom he recognised as an officer belonging to the Brigade, and consequently allowed him to pass into the tent without questioning him. The night was both calm and bright; scarcely a cloud flitted across the sky, to dim the lustre of the myriads of bright twinkling stars, which shone in various clusters from above; and as the officer entered the tent, the hitherto still air was disturbed by the distant peals of the church bells of Tournay, which were now distinctly heard chiming forth the hour of nine. In the centre of the tent was placed a small wooden table, round which were seated the Earl of Roscommon, Captain William Forster, and Conor O'Shaughnessy. From the remains of the supper, which was yet on the table, it was evident they were after enjoying a hearty meal. On the entrance of the Irish officer, the Earl of Roscommon, rising said—

“ My Lord Thomond, you are welcome to my tent, but I regret you are late for supper. However, thanks to King Louis, we have a good supply of the richest and oldest wine, in a bumper of which you must join us.”

This nobleman was the Right Honourable Charles O'Brien, Sixth Lord Viscount Clare, and ninth Earl of Thomond, eldest son of the Hero of Ramillies, whom he succeeded as Viscount Clare in 1706. His Lordship was Colonel of the gallant Regiment of Clare in the Irish Brigade. During the peace between France and England, which followed the proclamation of the Peace of Utrecht, proclaimed in London on the 5th of May, 1713, young Lord Clare visited his relatives in England. On this occasion, he was presented by his cousin, the Earl of Thomond, to George I. as heir-at-law to his vast estates. He was received most graciously by the King, who is said to have taken a great interest in his Lordship, and to have assured him of his willingness that he should succeed to his cousin's property, but that according to



the then existing laws, it was absolutely necessary that he should embrace the Protestant religion before any mark of Royal favour could be shown him. Lord Clare, however, refused to accede to this proposition, and returned to France. In February, 1734, he was appointed to the command of a Brigade, and in the ensuing month of June narrowly escaped being slain at the siege of Philipsburg. The Marshal Duke of Berwick, his Lordship's uncle-in-law, while inspecting the trenches, was killed by a cannon ball, which immediately afterwards grazed Lord Clare's shoulder, as has been already shown in the previous chapter. In 1738, he was appointed *Maréchal-de-camp*, and advanced to the rank of Inspector-General of Infantry in 1741. On the death of his intimate friend and kinsman, Henry, eighth and last recognised Earl of Thomond, which took place at Dublin in 1741, without issue, he assumed the title, as ninth Earl of Thomond, which the law of attainder would not allow him to do in the British dominions. However, the King of France immediately recognised his title, and he was afterwards known on the Continent as *Le Comte de Thomond*. His Lordship married, in 1755, Lady Marie Genéviève Louisa Gauthier de Chiffreville, Marchioness de Chiffreville in Normandy.

"It will afford me great pleasure to do so, Roscommon," replied the Count de Thomond. "A short time ago we all received orders to be prepared for battle at a moment's notice, so that as we are likely to be stirring very early, I took this opportunity of coming to see you. Cumberland, you know, is an impatient sort of fellow, and I fear he will cause us some trouble to-morrow, but I have great faith in old Marshal Saxe, for his plans are excellent; so here's to our success," said his Lordship, at the same time tossing off his wine.

"I hear," said Captain Forster, "that the Prince de Waldeck is of a very hasty temper, and that a rivalry exists between him and Cumberland. In my opinion this will prevent them from using the discretion and military skill it is necessary to exercise in opposing a man of Saxe's ability. The Brigade are eager to have revenge for the way in which his father, the Elector, governs Ireland, and no matter how the French troops act, the Brigade at least will do their duty. I regret exceedingly that our friend O'Shaughnessy did not live to witness this battle, for I know it would delight him to behold how his clansmen will behave. They have always fought like men, and have done much to uphold the honour of the Brigade."

"There is no doubt of that," said Conor O'Shaughnessy, "but they never fought as well as I anticipate they will on to-morrow. They

care not for Dutch, Danes, Huguenots, or Hanoverians, and Cumberland will find to his cost that the Irish are stubborn foes to contend with."

"I am sure," said Lord Thomond, "it will be a fearful battle, and mentioning my cousin O'Shaughnessy has reminded me of news which I received from Ireland respecting his family. As you are all aware, on his death his first cousin, Colman O'Shaughnessy, who is a Catholic priest, became Chief of Cineal Aodh, and intends taking law proceedings against Sir Thomas Prendergast for the recovery of Gortinsiguara."

"I fear," said the Earl of Roscommon, "he has little chance of succeeding, being a Catholic, and in my opinion, unless King James is restored, an O'Shaughnessy will never reside there again."

"I am under the same impression, my Lord," said Conor O'Shaughnessy, "but if we are victorious to-morrow it will be a severe blow to George, Elector of Hanover, who styles himself King of England."

After conversing in this manner for an hour or so, the Count de Thomond retired, as he was anxious to have a few hours' sleep before morning. Shortly after, Captain Forster took leave of the Earl of Roscommon, and proceeded to his tent, accompanied by Conor O'Shaughnessy. As they approached, they heard the bells of the fine old Gothic cathedral of Tournay, tolling the hour of eleven.

"Captain," said Conor O'Shaughnessy, breaking the silence they had hitherto maintained, "it is now about an hour since Lord Thomond left the Earl of Roscommon's tent."

"About that," said the Captain, "as he left shortly after ten; but as the night is yet young, and as you have been assigned no post, I wish you to spend a few hours with me."

When they entered the tent, O'Shaughnessy said—

"Captain, it is difficult to say how many of our great army may survive the coming engagement, but as regards myself I have a presentiment that my days are numbered; yes, I feel I am to fall to-morrow."

"Come, cheer up Conor, and do not give way to despondency; banish melancholy, and be a man! Why should you, who have taken part in so many glorious exploits in which the French would have been cut to pieces were they not assisted by the old Brigade, think of death on the eve of a battle in which our countrymen are resolved to a man to humble the presumptuous pride of Cumberland? Remember the sufferings of your family, and that the Chief of your sept is now no more. It is your duty to revenge the many wrongs he suffered by the usurpa-

tion of William of Orange. Remember how our countrymen are persecuted, and that the present Chief of your family, being a priest of our Church, cannot take up arms against the Elector, or join us exiles, who endeavour by the assistance we give the French to weaken the power of the English nation. Nay, the laws in force in Ireland are such that he cannot, in consequence of his religion, even assert his right to Gortinsiguara, though for centuries it was the patrimony of his fathers."

"Captain, I will fight in this battle, which I feel sure will be my last, with the same spirit and determination I had when a Rapparee, combating in the cause of the late King James II. in Ireland. I fear not death, and do not shudder, though I know my end is at hand. What matters it when I die? The inheritance of the O'Shaughnessys has been snatched from them, and bestowed upon an apostate family by a Dutch usurper. But why should I dwell on this melancholy subject now? If we defeat this German Prince, who is styled by our enemies Duke of Cumberland, it will be a terrible blow to his father's interests, and most favourable to King James's cause. You know well, Captain, that were it not for the persecutions that are carried on against our religion at home, and the usurpation of the House of Hanover, an Irish Brigade would never have been heard of in France. I know well that unless James III. is restored, an O'Shaughnessy will never again possess Gortinsiguara, or enjoy the many privileges which they inherited from father to son, since the reign of Milesius to the time of the tyrant Henry VIII."

"Conor," said Captain Forster, "I never for a moment doubted your courage, for when a boy I often heard my father speak favourably of you. I merely wish to raise your spirits, as I never before saw you so depressed, or heard you speak of death."

"Oh, Captain, I know you do not doubt my courage, but I am perfectly resigned to die. I have grown old in foreign service, and live among strangers. Of course there are many of my countrymen in the Brigade who are my friends, but not one of the companions of my childhood who followed the fortunes of the late King James, for they have all fallen in the different battles in which the Brigade has been engaged. Even yourself, Captain, whom I esteem so much, is, strictly speaking, a stranger to me, as you were a mere child when I left Ireland. When I look back on my past life, I am surprised at the number of my friends who have fallen in battle since the death of my old commander, Donal Bran, and consequently as I am the only survivor, I do

not care how soon I fall, But even if I die in a foreign land, I am sure Nicholas Power of Park-na-attinagh will raise a slab to my memory in the chapel of my ancestors at Kilmacduach."

Shortly after, Conor O'Shaughnessy retired to his tent, and Captain Forster, having thrown himself on his pallet, soon fell into a deep slumber.

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## CHAPTER LIV.

### THE BATTLE OF FONTENOY.

IN a few hours after, Captain Forster was aroused by the great commotion in the camp. About half-past three o'clock King Louis XV. arose, and having hastily dressed himself, breakfasted. Count d'Argenson sent a messenger to Marshal Saxe to know his latest orders. The Marshal informed him that all the necessary arrangements had been already made, and that there was nothing to prevent his Majesty from taking the field. On receiving this reply, the King and Dauphin, followed by their magnificent suites, wound down the picturesque slope adjoining the river, and having crossed the bridge entered the camp. It was five o'clock when the King started. He was enthusiastically received by the soldiers, and shouts of *Dieu protege la France* and *Vive le Roi* greeted him everywhere he appeared. Having crossed the Scheldt, he halted at Notre Dame de Bois, to observe the movements of the enemy. Marshal Saxe made the most of the strong position which he occupied, and added considerably to the strength of the approach to the bridge of Calonne, by the construction of a *tete de pont*, which now glistened with cannon. This gave the French complete control over the passage of the Scheldt, for it was Saxe's intention to fight the enemy with that river in his rear, as in case of defeat he could throw it between himself and the foe.

The allied army comprised English and Hanoverians, under the Duke of Cumberland, Dutch under the Prince de Waldeck, and Austrians under the old Marshal, Von Koenigsec, who was entrusted with the command by the States General, that he might check the impetuosity of these young Princes. The allies advanced in three columns. The first, composed of cavalry, by the road to Mons, along the road of Venzon; the second, infantry, marched through the village of Venzon, and the

third over the plain between Fontenoy and Antoine. As soon as all the troops were under arms, Marshal Saxe, who was greatly exhausted from the vigorous exertions he had to undergo on the eve of battle, which were too much for him, suffering, as he was, under such an acute disease, was carried on an osier litter through the ranks, to give the necessary orders. He was loudly cheered as he passed along by the soldiers, who could not but admire the courage and determination of a man who, though an invalid, could act the part of a General. As the officers were about to depart for the respective posts assigned to them, the Count raised himself in his litter, and pointing to the English army enthusiastically exclaimed—

“Monsieurs, I have but prepared for you the road to victory, but regret exceedingly I cannot lead you myself. Alas! my health will not permit me to do so, but you need no guidance. Monsieurs, none know better how to tread the road that leads to glory; you have only to advance, and I know the result!”

As Marshal Saxe concluded, all the English cannon were brought to bear on the French, the Duke of Cumberland having previously ordered his artillery to open fire on the enemy. The French guns replied quickly, and the cannonading was kept up until nine o'clock, when the English advanced to assault Fontenoy, where they were twice repulsed by Monsieur de la Vauguyon.

When the cannon of the allies opened on the French, Captain Forster, having first grasped the hand of Conor O'Shaughnessy, hastened to join his regiment. The Count de la Mark rode to Antoin, to take command there, and the loud cheers of the Piedmontese troops greeted his arrival. In a few minutes after, the brave Marshal Duke de Noailles embraced his nephew the young Duke de Grammont, whose impetuosity at the battle of Dettingen had proved so fatal to the French army. He had scarcely parted from the embrace of his affectionate uncle, when both his legs were shot off by a cannon ball, the first which had taken effect on the French lines. The Duke was then hastily carried to the rere, where he expired in an hour after. His uncle the Marshal, though he loved his nephew as much as if he was his son, on seeing him mortally wounded, at once rode off in the direction of Fontenoy, resolved to single out the Duke of Cumberland, and by his death avenge that of his nephew. The English and Hanoverians now made a terrific assault on Fontenoy, determined to carry all before them. A fearful engagement was the result; the firing on both sides was incessant, and the booming of the cannon deafening. The English and Hanoverian troops displayed great bravery, and several of the French fell before

their impetuous charges. The French, however, encouraged by the example of their officers, fought with equal valour, and the English troops were obliged to retreat before them. The victors now gave expression to their delight by loud cheers, which so exasperated the English soldiers, that they returned to the conflict with renewed vigour, and pressing forward *en masse*, made an irresistible charge on Fontenoy, which was by this time enveloped in flames, and a scene of the most dreadful carnage. The firing was kept up with such unabated spirit by the French, that they were now almost without ammunition, and the Duke de Noailles was obliged to despatch several messengers to Marshal Saxe for a fresh supply. None, however, came, and the victorious English, who were ably assisted by their Hanoverian allies, resolutely pressed forward. By this time the French ammunition was entirely exhausted, but they still continued to give all the resistance in their power to the English with their sabres and bayonets. Messengers were again despatched to Marshal Saxe to crave the required ammunition, and to tell him that, unless he immediately complied, the English would, in a short time, be masters of Fontenoy; but his only answer was, that he could not do so at present, and that they should fire with powder alone to keep up the appearance of a defence, until he would be able to relieve them. In a short time after the ammunition arrived, when the French opened a heavy fire on their enemies, with such effect that the latter had again to retreat in confusion from Fontenoy. While the English were being defeated here, the Duke of Cumberland, who had ordered an assault on the Wood of Barri, which, like that of Fontenoy, proved unsuccessful, determined to attack the French centre. This was a daring resolution, for, as the assault on Fontenoy and Barri had proved unsuccessful, the English were still exposed to a rapid and galling cross fire from the right and left of the French army; and in order to attack the centre, the Duke of Cumberland should pass between these two fires. While passing through the village of Venzon, great numbers of the English were mowed down by the French artillery. Another great disadvantage under which the English laboured was, that no more than twenty men could march abreast. However, their courage was such, that they continued to press forward with the greatest coolness and determination. By this move the Duke of Cumberland lost several of his bravest men. Those of his troops who were so fortunate as to escape filed off to the left, and formed line, though still exposed to the deadly fire of the enemy. They did so more from instinct than from order, knowing well that their safety depended on forming themselves into one solid mass. This body then advanced to-



wards the French centre, over the ground which had been purposely broken by Marshal Saxe, previous to the battle, regardless of the heavy fire to which they were exposed, but suddenly came to an unexpected halt. These brave soldiers, who could not be intimidated by the fierce cannonading of the French army, were now checked in their progress by an impassable trench.

This shows the great military skill displayed by the Count de Saxe, in his preparations for giving the allies battle, for no one knew better than he did the valour of the British soldiers who were opposed to him.

The sagacious old Marshal Von Koenigsec, observing the dilemma in which the English were placed, unhesitatingly told the Duke of Cumberland that his Royal Highness was accountable for their loss, for having ordered such a rash attack, and took care to remind him that he himself was opposed to it from the commencement. The Duke of Cumberland was too excited to reply, but it was evident he was offended by the old Marshal's remarks. Drawing his sword, he galloped to the front of the column, and calling on the troops to remember Dettingen, dashed through the trench alone. His bravery had a powerful effect on his men; and he was immediately followed by the Guards, but neither his cavalry nor the Dutch could keep up with him, the distance between the wood of Barri and the village of Fontenoy being so narrow that, if they attempted to do so, they would undoubtedly have fallen on either of those strong positions. The advance of the column was not as rapid as the Duke could desire, as the men had to take six heavy pieces of cannon along with them. As the English marched between the French batteries, file after file of them were rapidly mowed down; but when one soldier fell, he was at once replaced by another equally determined, until they succeeded in passing the batteries, when it became impossible to retard their further progress. They then coolly pursued their course until within about fifty paces of the French, four battalions of whose troops stood ready to receive them.

At this juncture, it is said that the English officers uncovering, bowed to the French Guards with an air of gallantry. The Duke de Biron, the Count de Chabanes, and all the other French officers of distinction, returned this polite salutation of the English and Scotch. The latter were under the command of Sir James Campbell and the Earl of Albemarle, and the English under that of Churchill, who was a relative of the Great Duke of Marlborough. This friendly pause was interrupted by Lord Charles Hay, a Scotch nobleman of ancient family, who exclaimed—

"Fire first, gentlemen of the French Guards;" and this invitation was repeated by all the English.

In reply the Count d'Auteroche said—"Nay, nay, fire you first, Monsieurs, the gentlemen of the French Guards never fire first."

This request was also made by the Duke de Biron, and many other French officers.

The long delayed, but fatal volley, came at last, as the English took the French at their word. The French officers fell in all directions, and so fatal was the fire, though preceded by such unusual courtesy, that 380 soldiers were victimised, while 485 were wounded. In fact, the whole of the first line of the French army was annihilated. The second line, fearing a similar fate, looked back to see if they were supported, but their cavalry not being near, they became doubtful whether it was better to stand their ground or fly. This irresolution was the cause of their ruin. Their ranks were broken, and all seemed lost. They returned the fire of the enemy after considerable hesitation, but without much effect, and then turned and fled. The Count d'Aubeterre and Count Lettaux, at the head of their respective regiments, endeavoured to encourage and support the Guards, but were soon compelled to join in the retreat, being carried away in the vast multitude. Notwithstanding the excellent preparations which the Marshal Count de Saxe had made for carrying on this memorable battle, all was now confusion in the French camp, and everything appeared in favour of the Duke of Cumberland. King Louis lost his temper, and riding into the thickest of the fight, where shot and shell were flying in all directions, cried out to the Battalion of the Crown who were fighting bravely—"Soldiers of France, fire, fire on those run-away scoundrels; spare not the knaves." Lettaux was slain, and the Duke de Biron's horse was shot under him.

Marshal Saxe was now missed by the King, for notwithstanding the excellent measures he adopted previous to the battle, he was altogether wanting at the critical moment, as his bad state of health prevented him from taking part in the engagement.

The Duke of Cumberland was delighted at the success of his undertaking, and encouraged his men to press forward as quickly as possible, and to give no quarter to the retreating foe. Reinforcements of the English were being every moment sent to their assistance, so that in a short time a strong body of 14,000 determined men were opposed to the French. Fortune seemed to favour the Duke of Cumberland. The English army, who were now certain of victory, drove the French before them, whose confusion was momentarily increasing, and terrible slaughter commenced. Indeed since the battle of Aughrim there was no engage-

ment in which so many officers fell as at Fontenoy. The state of Marshal Saxe's health accounts for this great disorder, and King Louis and the other officers were most anxious that he should not expose himself to danger, but when the gallant Marshal saw the turn affairs had taken, he feared that Cumberland would gain the day. He would rather die than allow this to take place; and consequently, jumping from his litter, he called for a horse, mounted, and rode into the densest of the engagement. He was not strong enough to wear a cuirass, but a thick covering of quilted taffeta was placed on his breast to protect him, which, after having been some time engaged, he flung on the ground and exclaimed—"Curse on such mantua-making." His example soon rallied the French troops, who returned to the fight with increased ardour, as this last act of their General had inspired them with additional bravery and admiration of his conduct. Saxe, who was not certain how the contest would end, despatched the Marquis de Meuze to the King, to request his Majesty would avoid all danger by retiring from the field; but this, the King, who possessed great presence of mind, refused to do, and resolved to remain until the battle would be over.

About this time the King's suite was disordered by the broken regiments who were flying before the English, and scattered over the field. The body guard, however, acted on this occasion with great bravery and presence of mind, as of their own accord, and without waiting for the order of their officers, they drew up between the King and his flying soldiers, and thereby saved the honour of their country. It is certain, had they not taken this step, the King would have been borne away in the confusion, and it might be alleged by his enemies that he encouraged and joined in the fight, or what is worse, he might have been slain.

The Count de Saxe headed the second column of cavalry in person, and sword in hand led on the French against the unbroken columns of the English army, which glistened with polished bayonets. The English remained steady, and were not in the least affected by the charge. There they stood, unbroken, masters of the field, where a few hours before they were so nearly defeated. The French had to retreat broken and disordered, and Saxe began to despair of being able to retrieve his loss. Cumberland was delighted with his success, and his eyes flashed triumphantly as he surveyed the disordered ranks of the flying French army. His pride was also flattered when the old Marshal Koenigseck shook him warmly by the hand, congratulated him on his glorious victory, and the daring manner in which it was achieved. He felt he

could be envied when the news of his success spread over Europe, for it was certainly an honour to have defeated a General of such well-known ability as Marshal Saxe.

The Count had already given orders for the retreat of the French army, and King Louis was warned of his great danger. Had the Duke of Cumberland been assisted by his cavalry, the panic-stricken French would have been completely routed, and the victory secured to England; but he had not such valuable assistance, while his heavy columns, for want of it, saw victory within their reach, but dare not break their lines to secure it, as their strength lay in keeping together. In anticipation of his retreat, Marshal Saxe despatched couriers to Fontenoy and Antoin, with orders to the officers in command at those places to abandon them, though up to this they had withstood the attack of the English army. The English forces were repulsed with loss on three different occasions at Fontenoy, and the Dutch were equally unsuccessful at Antoin. The Duke of Cumberland who was not aware of this, impatiently awaited to be reinforced by his troops. The Duke de Noailles refused to obey the Count's order, and resolutely held Fontenoy against the enemy. The Count de la Mark also disobeyed orders, and refused to abandon Antoin. Marshal Saxe, however, resolved to make a last effort to gain the victory. He called on the infantry to fight like Frenchmen, reminded them that their King was present, and did all in his power to stimulate their courage. Again the soldiers rallied round their commander, and impetuously charged the English. The Prince de Craon was one of the first that fell in the French ranks, and the regiment of Hainault was utterly annihilated by a terrific fire from cannon and musketry. The English fired in divisions, and thereby kept up a continual slaughter of the French. Count Saxe saw, with regret, the result of the last charge. The English remained stationary, while the French were driven back in great confusion and dismay. The English column, though it did not advance, was in possession of the field, and showed front everywhere, firing only when attacked by the French; but Count Saxe, having now given up all hope of success, began to consider seriously of retreating. However, the Duke of Cumberland had more than he was aware of to contend with in the French camp. He did not calculate that the exiled Irish in the service of France were the enemies of his family, and attributed the misery of their country to the government of his father.

Colonel Lally, who, though born in France, was the descendant of the ancient family of Lally, Lords of Tullinadaly, near Tuam, county Galway, and commanded a regiment which bore his name in the Irish

Brigade, observing that the Duke of Cumberland did not advance to follow up his success, exclaimed with passion—"Why not bring up the cannon of the reserve to bear upon them?" The Duke de Richelieu, who stood near, overheard him, and took up the idea.

After the last unsuccessful charge made by the French, the King held a council of war, composed of those around him. This council was remarkably noisy, and various opinions were expressed by the officers. The Count de Saxe sent fresh orders to his troops to evacuate Fontenoy and Antoin, and a message to the Count de la Mark to disobey at his peril. When the messengers were despatched, the King's Aide-de-camp, the Duke de Richelieu, rode up, and on being asked by Count de Saxe what was the news, replied that the day was theirs if they wished, that the Dutch were beaten at Antoin, and the English entirely routed at Fontenoy, and that the centre only, under the Duke of Cumberland, now held out. He then recommended the Marshal to have the cannon brought up, to rake the centre, after which they could fall on them with the cavalry.

"I am of the Duke de Richelieu's opinion," said the King.

"Then we shall carry it out, Sire," said the Count de Saxe. "Up with the cannon of the reserve, and cannonade the Duke of Cumberland's lines, and command the Irish Brigade to charge the enemy. Where they lead, the French will follow."

The Irish officers who stood round hastened with the orders to the Brigade, as they knew that gallant band of exiles were impatient to measure swords with the English. The intelligence was received with loud cheers, and in a few seconds after the Count de Thomond, the Earl of Roscommon, Colonel Lally, and the other commanders of the Brigade, at the head of their respective regiments, prepared for the charge. The Earl of Roscommon pointed to the Duke of Cumberland's army with his sword, and exclaimed—"Countrymen, behold your enemies, and remember you have a thousand wrongs to revenge." He then gave rein to his impatient steed and dashed forward, followed by the rest of the Brigade. The very earth trembled as they now thundered on to the charge, shouting "Remember Limerick and England's treachery." The English and Dutch soldiers knew by this cry it was the Irish Brigade, and though they had withstood the repeated charges of the French under the gallant Marshal Saxe, they wavered on its approach. The Duke of Cumberland now commanded his men to be firm and keep together. When the troops met, the collision was terrific. Most of the English and Dutch troops fell, and those that survived turned and fled in the utmost consternation.

Having to retrace in their retreat the perilous path between the French batteries most of them were slain. Many of the Irish were also killed and wounded. The regiment of Bulkeley, which was composed of Irish Catholics, having engaged the second regiment of English Guards, cut them to pieces, captured a pair of colours, and two pieces of heavy cannon. The French rallied and returned to the attack, and the English, who were a few minutes before so confident of success, were now entirely defeated. In this charge, which was fraught with so much bloodshed, Lieutenant-Colonel Creigh, a gentleman from the county of Clare, who held his commission in the regiment of Thomond, had the cross of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis shot through his body, but the wound did not prove mortal.

Conor O'Shaughnessy, who was one of the foremost through the engagement, having observed the Duke of Cumberland, singled him out and made towards him. As O'Shaughnessy approached his Royal Highness, he raised his sword, exclaiming—"Vengeance for the wrongs of my House, and the violated treaty that has made me an exile." As the Duke prepared to defend himself, a Prussian soldier, who happened to be close to him at the time, sprang behind O'Shaughnessy, and with a single blow of his long-barrelled musket, knocked the upraised sword from his hand. The Duke seeing his advantage, the next instant unscrupulously ran him through the heart, when, falling heavily on the ground, Conor O'Shaughnessy expired without a groan. Captain Forster, seeing his brave countryman fall, drew a pistol, and fired at the Duke, who escaped the shot, and was borne away in the impetuous charge by his guards, who were determined to protect him from the 'wild Irish' at all hazards, while at the same time the Prussian fell beneath the sword of one of O'Shaughnessy's followers.

As soon as the Duke of Cumberland saw the turn affairs had taken, his wonted courage forsook him, and he appeared to be solely concerned about his own life, regardless of the safety of his troops. Fortunately for him, the great exertions of the Count de Saxe during the day, and the consequent fatigue which he suffered, prevented him from pursuing the allied army in their precipitate rout, for had he done so it is certain the French army would not have spared a man. The Duke of Cumberland at first retired in great disorder to his camp, but his fear of the Irish Brigade was such that, not considering himself safe while near them, he took his departure that night at eleven o'clock, in great confusion, as he dreaded that when the French army would have taken a few hours' rest they might again attack him and destroy the remnant of



his army. He, therefore, marched with all possible speed, and took refuge at Aeth, which was well fortified by cannon.

When the Count de Saxe first heard of the Duke of Cumberland's retreat, he at once despatched the hussars and grassins in pursuit of him. These troops fell upon the rere-guard of the allies, which was in great disorder, and arrested a large number of officers, who were severely wounded in the late battle, and left by their friends in the different houses along the road. Indeed from the night of the 11th to the afternoon of the 12th, the French soldiers were perpetually engaged in conducting prisoners to their camp, many of whom were wounded. On this day the Marshal Count de Saxe ordered the Count d'Estrees to take 1,000 horses, eight companies of Grenadiers, 600 foot, and the grassins, and to pursue the retreating allies. But to Count d'Estrees' disappointment, after having proceeded with the greatest diligence to Leuse, he found that the enemy had quitted it in great haste at six o'clock in the morning. During his march, the different parties, which he had sent out to the right and left in search of stragglers made between 1,500 and 1,600 prisoners, some of whom were badly wounded, and took 150 waggons belonging to the train of artillery. They also captured a large quantity of arms, some spare carriages and tackle. The prisoners, by order of King Louis, were sent to Douai and Lisle, and the body of Sir James Campbell, a Lieutenant-General of the English troops, was found covered with blood in the village of Baugoin. The following is an authentic list of the loss of the allies in this sanguinary battle, made a few days after the defeat, but in some time after it was found to be a great deal more (190).

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
Dutch,	505	702	205	1,412
British,	1,339	2,228	482	4,049
Hanoverians,	515	1,194	53	1,762
	<hr/> 2,359	<hr/> 4,124	<hr/> 740	<hr/> 7,223
Austrians killed, wounded and missing,				<hr/> 400
			Total,	<hr/> 7,623

Thus was France indebted to the exiles whom she harboured for another great and glorious victory, and the proscribed Chieftains of Erin felt justly proud of being the means of humbling the pride of the Ducal House of Guelph, whose inhuman penal laws enslaved their beloved Fatherland, and disgraced the Statute Books of the English Nation.

## CHAPTER LV.

## THE LAST CHIEF OF CINEAL AOHD.

THE great battle of Fontenoy went far to decide the campaign which it had opened. In Flanders, city after city, town after town, and citadel after citadel surrendered in rapid succession to the King of France, and the greater part of French Flanders again recognised the authority of Louis XV. Ghent, Ostend, Dendermond, Oudenard, Neuport, Aeth, and Tournay were among the number. The latter city, whose history is a record of battles and sieges from the earliest period, was reduced by the surrender of the citadel on the 20th of June. During the siege the Count de Thomond was severely wounded by the bursting of a shell. The allies made some spirited defences, but they found it impossible to defeat the French, who were so ably supported by the Irish. The Irish were most anxious to follow up their success at Fontenoy with other victories, and acted with great bravery and perseverance during all these sieges; but at the moment of victory, King Louis, for some unaccountable reason, offered to negotiate a peace with the Court of England. George II. and his ministers, probably considering that Louis XV. was not sincere in this offer, or that at the moment of his triumph he would refuse them the favourable terms they required, rejected his overtures, and France and England remained belligerent powers. The Stuart party on the Continent, but particularly in Paris, were delighted at this, and the bold Brigade fought more reckless of life than ever, being buoyed up with the hope that the success of the French arms in Flanders would be followed by an invasion of Great Britain, and a diversion in Ireland in favour of King James III., who was now in the fifty-seventh year of his age. The Jacobites placed all their hopes of success in the eldest son of King James III., who was known on the Continent as the Prince of Wales, though that title was borne at the time in England by His Royal Highness Prince Frederick, the eldest son of King George II. The heir to the House of Stuart, His Royal Highness Charles Edward Louis Philip Casimer James, Duke of Cornwall in England, Duke of Rothsay and Albany in Scotland, Earl of Chester in England, and Earl of Dublin in Ireland, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, &c., &c., was born at Rome, in December,

1720, and was, consequently, but twenty-five years of age, and had served with distinction in Spain under Don Carlos. This young Prince, since better known as Bonnie Prince Charlie, then resided in the neighbourhood of Paris, where he impatiently awaited an opportunity to sail for Scotland, and there raise the standard of his father. Though he was not yet permitted to hold a personal interview with the King of France, he held a small, but select Court in the vicinity of Paris, which was graced by the presence of those of the English, Irish, and Scotch nobility, who were favourable to his father's restoration. The Prince of Wales also corresponded regularly with the ministers of King Louis, who were interested in his cause. He was a very handsome youth, of tall stature and fair complexion. His appearance was commanding and his features were of an elevated cast, but like those of his great grandfather, Charles I., they bore a rather melancholy expression. His manners were courteous and captivating. His temper was good, and his courage qualified him for the most dangerous undertakings, as he was a stranger to fear. His constitution was robust, and he was an adept in all the sports of the field. In fact, he was one of the most accomplished Princes of his time, and in every way competent to undertake the restoration of his ancient dynasty. Prince Charles Edward was far superior to his rival Frederick, whom the English recognised as Prince of Wales, and the only objection which that nation had to admit his claims on their country was his religion. Like his father, the Chevalier de St. George, and his grandfather, King James II., Prince Charles Edward was attached to the Catholic faith, in consequence of which the English despised his House, and contemptuously styled him the 'Young Pretender.'

On the 1st of June, Captain Forster wrote to his eldest brother, the Chief of Clooneene, to inform him that the Prince, whose designs were favoured by Cardinal de Tencin, intended invading Scotland. The total rout of the Duke of Cumberland's army at Fontenoy, and the consequent discouragement and weakness of the English forces in Flanders, led the Prince and his adherents to believe that George II. could spare none of his troops on the Continent, to oppose this daring enterprise. Captain Forster further stated that Cardinal de Tencin had placed a man-of-war of sixty guns, named the Elizabeth, at the disposal of Charles Edward, to which that Prince added a sloop of war called the Doutelle, which was fitted out at the expense of two Dunkirk merchants named Rutledge and Walsh, who were natives of Ireland, and Jacobites. In the latter vessel the adventurous young Prince in-

tended sailing for the Highlands, as he had great faith in the loyalty of the Clans who regarded King James III. as their only legitimate and lawful Sovereign, in fact as Father of the Nation. On landing, he was to raise the Royal Standard of his father, who was to be proclaimed James VIII., King of Scotland, and Charles Edward, who had his authority for so doing, was, by the title of Prince of Wales, to act as Regent of the Kingdom of Scotland. This expedition was, however, delayed by contrary winds, for, singular as it may appear, the elements always warred against the Stuarts, and whenever they undertook to invade their former dominions, nothing prevailed but 'Protestant Winds.'

On the 8th of July, the weather proving more favourable, Prince Charles Edward embarked on this perilous undertaking, having first solemnly declared to regain his father's Crown or perish in the attempt. The Count de Thomond, who was a most determined Jacobite, regretted exceedingly that he could not accompany the Prince of Wales, for being an officer he had to obey orders. His Lordship remained in Flanders under the command of the Duke de Richelieu, but on the 18th of December he was rejoiced at receiving orders to hold himself in readiness to take part in an invasion of England, designed to second the Prince's expedition.

Captain Forster wrote to his brother to let him know that the Earl of Roscommon, the Count de Thomond, Count Lally-Tolendal, and all the other principal officers of the Brigade were of opinion that a descent on Ireland was meditated by the Court of France, that he ought therefore make the necessary preparations, and inform the other Jacobite gentlemen of the county, that they might not be taken by surprise by the appearance of a French fleet in Galway Bay. But pleasing as the orders which they received were to the Earl of Roscommon, and the Count de Thomond, they heard no more of the intended invasion; for Louis XV., like his politic grandfather, only assisted the Stuarts when it served his own interests to do so, and it is probable they would never have received the respect they did on the Continent, were it not that they were followed in their exile by such men as those who formed the Irish Brigade. Therefore, King Louis, not considering it to his advantage to aid Prince Charles Edward further, unhesitatingly abandoned the idea, and left him to his fate. No assistance was sent to the gallant young Prince who was making such a bold effort to regain the Crown of the kingdom, over which his ancestors ruled since the days of the royal brothers Loran I. and Fergus I., sons of Eric Dynast, of

Dalriedia, in Ireland, a powerful prince of the Milesian race. Though he did not receive the promised aid from France, he fought bravely at the head of his small, but devoted army, until the sanguinary battle of Culloden, in Inverness-shire, fought on the 16th of April, 1745, for ever put an end to the attempts of his family to regain the throne of the United Kingdom.

In this hard-fought engagement the bloody Duke of Cumberland behaved with such cruelty, that he was known from that forth as the Butcher Cumberland. It is evident from his conduct that he wished to exterminate the Jacobites by sparing neither age nor sex. He caused the wounded, who were numerous on the field, to be cruelly slain, and the women who came to seek their friends among the dead were also shot down by his directions. In all probability it was the news of this fatal battle that made King Louis abandon Prince Charles Edward's cause.

In Ireland it had the effect of making the Protestants more arrogant and overbearing to their Catholic countrymen, the Penal Laws were put in force with greater cruelty than ever, and the people were reduced to a frightful state of distress by the severity of their German rulers.

Shortly after this battle, intelligence reached Dublin Castle from Galway, that two suspicious Irish officers named Burke, who were made prisoners at Culloden, one named Lally and another named Sarsfield, who belonged to the regiment of Lally in the Irish Brigade, were observed prowling about in the neighbourhood of the town. The appearance of these gentlemen, who were styled by the intolerant Mayor of Galway, in his bigoted report, rank Papists, who obeyed no laws but those of the Pretender, and the Pope, so encouraged the Catholics, he said, that they insulted in the streets a Minister of the Church by law established, hooted the Mayor, struck the Town Sheriffs, and had the audacity to appear in public wearing plaid vests! Some of the Catholic merchants, he also added, dared to remain covered in the exchange, and the ladies appeared in public wearing white roses. The report concluded by asserting the town was in such a disturbed state that, if martial law was not immediately proclaimed, the people would break out into open rebellion, and also that many of the county gentlemen were disaffected, and when frequenting the town spoke openly of his Majesty, King George, as the Elector, and called the Old Popish Pretender, King James III.

As before stated, on the death of O'Shaughnessy, who had been a Major-General in the Irish Brigade, he was succeeded as Chief of

his sept by his first cousin, Colman O'Shaughnessy, the eldest surviving son of his uncle, Charles O'Shaughnessy, who resided at Ardemilevan Castle, only brother of Captain Roger O'Shaughnessy, Chief of Cineal Aodh, who was attainted by the Government of William III. This Chief was educated abroad, and having been ordained a Catholic Priest was consecrated Bishop of Ossory. Previous to this, his Lordship put in his claim to the remaindership of the Gortinsiguara property, which was heard at the bar of the Irish House of Commons. Seeing that his religion made him an object of persecution, he resided privately at Kilkenny, with his friend, the Reverend Thomas Burke (191), author of *Hibernia Dominicana*; but to avoid the persecutions of those evil days, which for many reasons he was obliged to suffer, he could not remain even here, and was compelled again to go abroad. Therefore, his Lordship could not put forward his claim to his family property a second time; but on his death, his only surviving brother, Roebuc O'Shaughnessy, having succeeded to the Chieftaincy and misfortunes of his House, proceeded to enforce his claim to the estates. Sir Thomas Prendergast opposed the Chief, and had a resolution passed by the Irish House of Commons in his own favour. However, the suit was still pending, when the Chief of Cineal Aodh died, in 1754. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Joseph O'Shaughnessy, as Chief of his sept.

Sir Thomas Prendergast, having died without issue, was succeeded by his nephew John Smyth, Esquire, of Limerick, who then assumed the name of Prendergast, and, through the medium of his guardians, sued the tenants who had attorned to O'Shaughnessy.

The Chief of Cineal Aodh now being head of his clan, took forcible possession of the Castle of Ardemilevan, and, being joined by Cornet James Butler, a high-spirited young gentleman, and several others of the neighbouring gentry, after spending the night in the Castle, rode early next morning to Gortinsiguara. As they passed along they were reinforced by the peasantry.

The mansion-house of Gortinsiguara was surrounded by a strong and high wall, and, owing to the many portholes in it, could be easily protected by a few against great odds.

The soldiers quartered there closed the gates, which, the gentlemen observing, they fired their guns at the building.

The Chief of Cineal Aodh had a great many of his clansmen, and all the followers of his sept with him, who, headed by the Taggerts and Claytons, now scaled the walls. The soldiers rushed out towards the bridge, and, without firing a shot, fled in the direction of



Loughrea. The assailants entered the garrison, and threw open the gates which had been so long closed against the rightful heir of Gortinsiguara.

That night O'Shaughnessy and his friends banqueted in the hall which belonged to his forefathers; and the merriment was enhanced by the performance of one of the Mac Brodys on the harp (192).

The Chief of Cineal Aodh next instituted proceedings in the Law Courts, Dublin, on the grounds that the title of Sir Thomas Prendergast ceased at the death of Major-General O'Shaughnessy in France, in 1744.

The violence of the Penal Laws at this period was extreme, and, if it was proved that a Catholic had heard mass, it was considered a sufficient pretext by the Government to deprive him of his property. Consequently, many of the harassed and unfortunate gentry, fearing informations would be lodged against them, and, naturally, not wishing to be thrust out of thier lands, read their recantations, though not believing in the tenets of the Protestant religion; and, with sorrow, attended Protestant places of worship. Several were known to stuff their ears with cotton to prevent them from hearing the Protestant service; and it is also a well-known fact, that while the Parson read from the Book of Common Prayer, many of his congregation were devoutly reading the Roman Missal (193).

Father Dermot Moylan had long ago departed to reap the reward of his labours, and was succeeded, in the midst of the persecution, by the Rev. John Geogen. This worthy clergyman was much esteemed by the family at Clooneene, who very often protected him from the fury of his enemies; and, to avoid suspicion, sent a man named Laurence Fahy (194), and his family, to reside in the chapel of Shanaglish. This made it appear like a dwelling-house, and the priest-hunters' suspicions, when they passed that way, were not aroused. These myrmidons of the law were not so numerous in the neighbourhood of Gortinsiguara as in other parts of Ireland, so that the principal thing the aristocracy had to fear was, that the laws relative to estates might be put in force.

In the great O'Shaughnessy's case, bills were filed in the Court, but the Chief of Cineal Aodh, seeing that he could not succeed as a Catholic, was compelled to drain the bitter cup of apostasy; and in his case before the House of Lords stated, that he 'conformed to the law Church, and performed all the requisites required on such occasions.'

For many years after the death of Sir Thomas Prendergast, the law

in the O'Shaughnessy case slowly continued. At length, the Court in Dublin, which was prejudiced, gave its decree against the Chieftain ; but, by the assistance of his relatives and friends, he was enabled to appeal to the House of Lords in England, when the celebrated Sir William Blackstone, the great writer on English laws, was one of his counsel, the other being the learned Sir William de Grey (195). It was generally considered that he had the greatest chance of success, as his grandfather Charles O'Shaughnessy of Ardemilevan Castle had never been attainted, and never took part in the struggle for the Crown. It was therefore believed that his rights could not be transferred to Sir Thomas Prendergast, by King William's patent, but merely the life interest that Major-General William O'Shaughnessy, of the Irish Brigade, had in the Gortinsiguara estates. The Smyths, on the other hand, alleged that no saving clause in any of the Acts of Parliament were meant to be extended to protect the rights of any branch of what was called by them the Delinquent Family of Roger O'Shaughnessy. It was considered unfair by every unprejudiced person, that he should have been attainted after his death, which deprived his youthful son and daughter, and the children of his brother Charles of their hereditary rights.

O'Shaughnessy's case was at last heard by the Law Lords of the British House of Lords, on the 16th of February, 1770. Lord Mansfield, the presiding Judge, was altogether in favour of Smyth, who then bore the name of Prendergast ; and it is said that his Lordship had his own interested motives for being so (196). The case was at once dismissed, and the fallen Chief of Cineal Aodh had now to leave Gortinsiguara ; but, unlike his kinsman Major-General O'Shaughnessy, he had not any of the family of Cloran to console him (197). Broken down in spirit and means, the unfortunate Chieftain gave a long lingering look at the home of his ancestors, and then, after taking leave of the Taggerts and Claytons, who were faithful to the last, he departed from Gortinsiguara for ever !

It was never known with certainty where he went to, or where he died, but long, very long did his sorrowing clan mourn for him, and anxiously expected that either he or his heir, should he have one, would return from France, where they believed he had taken refuge. But, alas ! their expectations were in vain (198). Thus this noble, and of old renowned sept of the race of Guara, the Hospitable, King of Connaught, a descendant of Hereimon, Monarch of Erin, of the Milesian dynasty, were banished by Williamite usurpers from the ancient territory of Cineal Aodh ; but their memory is still preserved by their

venerable tomb in Kilmacduach Abbey, and the lonely and desolate ruins of their once cheerful and hospitable castles; and tears moisten the eyes of the peasantry, as they point out those time-honoured relics to the passing stranger, and tell, with emotion, the mournful story of their ruin, and how the once all-powerful O'Shaughnessys were driven from their beloved home, for being loyal to their unfortunate King, devoted to their holy faith, and unshaken in their disinterested love of Fatherland!!

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NOTES.



## NOTES.

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### NOTE 11.—PAGE 1.

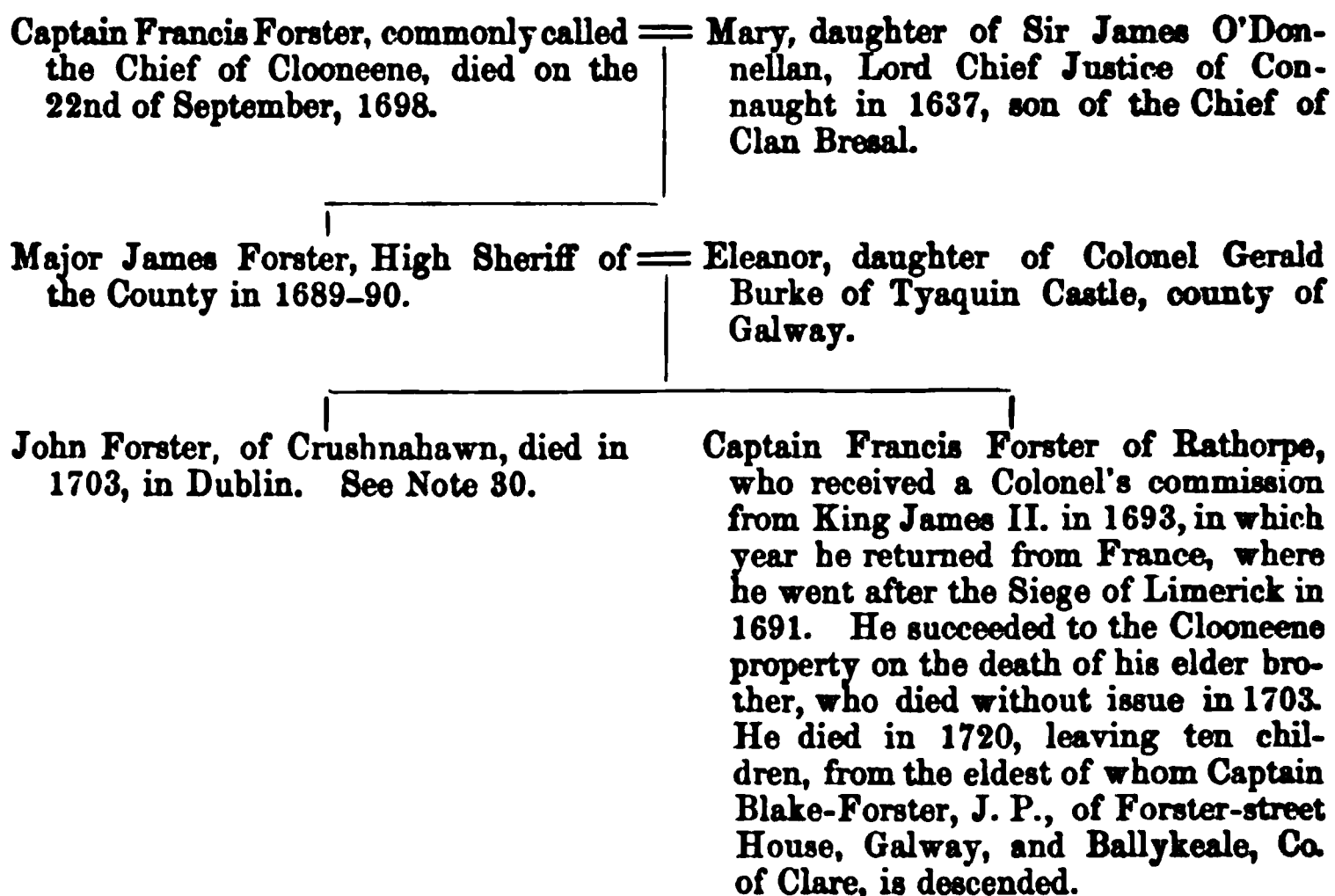
THE proper name of these mountains is Slieve Aughty, but they are popularly known as Slieve Boughta. In the Dinnsenchus will be found a legend concerning the name of the river Owendalulagh, which rises on the slope of Slieve Aughty, and flows from thence into the picturesque lake of Loughcutra. According to this old legend, when Echtghe (Ektě), a Tuatha De Danann princess married Fergus Lusca, the cupbearer to the King of Connaught, she bought with her two cows remarkable for their milk-bearing qualities, which were put to graze on the banks of the stream; and from this circumstance was called Abhainn-da-loil-gheach, or the river of the two milch cows. And according to the same authority, the name of Slieve Aughty is derived from this remarkable princess, Sliabh-Echtghe, Echtghe's mountain. Together with this there are several other legends and traditions still cherished by the neighbouring peasantry, and many a dreary winter's evening was passed some forty years ago by them in genial fellowship while recounting over and over again the many sensational tales which are inseparably associated with the name of Slieve Boughta. But those simple days of story-telling are now numbered with the past, and have given place to a more refined age, when Rational Education has become developed, and the newspaper and periodical supply the absence of local tradition and legendary lore, and no more do young and old assemble in those friendly reunions!

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### NOTE 12.—PAGE 5.

As those who are unacquainted with the genealogy of the Blake-Forster sept are likely to fall into error by mistaking Captain Francis Forster of Clooneene, known as Frincheas More na Fion, or Great Francis of the Wine, for his grandson, Captain Francis Forster of Rathorpe, afterwards Colonel Forster of Clooneene and Rathorpe, known as Frincheas More na Clive, or Great Francis of the Sword, I give the following brief table of descent, to illustrate the relationship between the principal members of the family introduced in 'The Irish Chieftains; or, a Struggle for the Crown.' Thus:—






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NOTE 13.—PAGE 6.

The bayonet was invented at Bayonne in France, and was called by the French, *bayonet a marche*, and was first used by their army in 1671. The earliest bayonets were made with plain handles to fit tightly into the muzzles of the guns, and were rather enlarged towards the blade, to prevent them from entering too far. Afterwards a ring was added, by which they were fastened to the pieces, and in this way they were first used by the troops of Louis XIV., against the forces of William III., to the great surprise of the 25th regiment of foot, which stood to receive the charge of the French, who to their dismay suddenly halted, poured a volley among them, and then charged. The bayonet was first introduced into England in 1693. Previous to this year, the weapon used when the troops came to close quarters was similar to those described in the text.

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NOTE 14.—PAGE 7.

This warlike and restless Chieftain of the Cineal Aodh lived in the sixteenth century. In the reign of Henry VIII., he besieged the Castle of Doon at Kinvara, the residence of Flan Killkelly, a subordinate Chieftain of Hy-Fiachrach Aidhne. After a protracted siege, the garrison surrendered, when the enraged Rory More Dearg O'Shaughnessy totally demolished the Castle of his enemy, and afterwards erected a new one on its site, which he called Doonguara, in honour of the memory of his ancestor Guara, the Hospitable, King of Connaught in the seventh century. The name is often written Doongorey, and

Dungory. The Castle, which is in a good state of preservation, stands on an elevated island, a short distance from the road leading from Galway to Kinvara, and whenever the tide is out a visitor can walk with perfect safety to inspect the ruins. In 1787, Colonel Daly, of Raford, resided here for a short time, on which occasion Robert Blake-Forster, being shooting on his father's estate, Killany near Kinvara, for the first time met Colonel Daly's eldest daughter, to whom he was shortly afterwards married. As lately as 1828, a garrison was stationed here.

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NOTE 15.—PAGE 7.

Frincheas More na Fion means in English Great Francis of the Wine, and was the name by which Captain Francis Forster was known among his tenants and retainers, and by which he is still remembered in the traditions of the peasantry. He has been already alluded to in Note 12, but at greater length in Note 26.

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NOTE 16.—PAGE 8.

The following extract is taken from the "Connaught Journal," of Monday, March 1, 1792:—

"Last Tuesday, Messrs. Morrison and Mason, assisted by a party of the 27th regiment of foot, seized twenty-three bales of leaf tobacco at a village called Knoggery, and lodged the same in his Majesty's stores. Too much praise cannot be given on this occasion to the active exertions of Lieutenant Craven in particular, and the corps under his command, through the whole of a forced march near forty miles, over a country indented with rocks and precipices, during the whole of a very wet night and day."

Knoggery is situated quite close to the house and demesne of Hermitage, and on that portion of the Duras estate now called Castle Forster.

Monday, March the 12th, has the following:—

"Last Thursday, Charles Gordon, Coast Officer, and William Morrison, Guager, assisted by a party of the 27th regiment, seized at the village of Turin, near Kinvara, twelve bales of leaf tobacco, and four large cases of bottled wine; and yesterday William Roche, Esq., Surveyor of Excise, assisted by the above revenue officers and a party of the said regiment, seized at Duras and Kinvara nine bales of tobacco and two hogsheads of wine, all of which was safely deposited in the Custom-house stores. Yesterday arrived the Sea Flower, King's Cutter, Captain Webber, from a cruise, and has brought in with her three bales of leaf tobacco which were seized in one of the islands of Arran."

Thursday, August the 23rd, 1792.

“Last Tuesday, Messrs. Neville and Mason, Revenue Officers, assisted by a party of the 22nd regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Jauncey (who deserves much praise for his exertions on this occasion), seized at Duras, near Kinvara, 500 lbs. weight of leaf tobacco, and a quantity of French bottled wine, which was safely lodged in the Custom-house here.”

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NOTE 17.—PAGE 8.

Dermot Oge always entertained the highest opinion of the Clooneene family, as is evident from the various documents of the Clorans. Refer to his will, which is given in full in the Appendix.

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NOTE 18.—PAGE 10.

This gentleman was Sir Richard Nagle, Knt., of Aghnakishy and Carrignaconny Castle, in the County of Cork, which county he represented in King James's Irish Parliament, assembled at Dublin, in 1689, his colleague being Lieutenant-General the Honorable Justin MacCarthy, afterwards Lord Mountcashel, who was younger brother of the brave Lord Muskerry. See Note 27. On the assembling of Parliament he was chosen its Speaker, and, according to Singer's correspondence of Lord Clarendon, he was 'a lawyer, a Roman Catholic, and a man of the best reputation for learning as well as honesty amongst the people.' Sir Richard received the honour of Knighthood from King James, on being appointed Attorney-General for Ireland. In the summer of 1689, on the retirement of the Earl of Melfort, he was, through the interest of the Duke of Tyrconnell, Lord Lieutenant of the Kingdom, appointed Secretary of State, as well as Secretary of War to King James; and after the first Siege of Limerick, when Tyrconnell left Ireland for St. Germain-en-Laye, he was accompanied by Sir Richard Nagle, the duty of Secretary of State being entrusted in his absence to Lord Riverston, ancestor of the present Earl of Westmeath. See Note 50. Sir Richard returned with Tyrconnell on the 14th of January, 1691, and on the Duke's death, to whom he appears to have been much attached, he laments the event in a letter to his friend Lord Merryon, dated August, 1691, as a 'fatal stroke to this poor country in this nick of time, the enemy being within four miles of the town,' and adds, 'he is to be buried privately to-morrow about ten of the clock at night. As he appeared always zealous for his country, so his loss is at this time extremely pernicious to this poor nation.' On the Duke of Tyrconnell's death, the Government was administered in accordance with a Royal Commission issued for that purpose by Sir

Richard Nagle, the Attorney-General, Francis Plowden, Commissioner of the Revenue, who brought the Royal Commission from France, and Lord Gawsorth or Gosworth, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, as Lords Justices of the Kingdom with the usual forms. He was author of the celebrated Coventry Letter which he addressed to the Duke of Tyrconnell in October, 1686. The partial Archbishop King, in his State of the Protestants of Ireland, thus speaks of Sir Richard Nagle—"It will be requisite to say something of the Attorney-General which King James made instead of Sir William Domville, whom he turned out, after near thirty years supplying the place; but he was a Protestant, and would not consent to reverse the Popish Outlawries, nor to the other methods they took to destroy the Settlement of Ireland, and therefore he was laid aside. In his place King James substituted Mr. Richard Nagle, whom he afterwards knighted and made Secretary of State; he was at first designed for a clergyman and educated amongst the Jesuits, but afterwards betook himself to the study of the law, in which he arrived to a good perfection, and was employed by many Protestants." Having followed the fortunes of his exiled King after the conclusion of the war in Ireland, he still continued to fill nominally, at the Court of St. Germain-en-Laye, the office of Secretary of State for Ireland. While residing in France, his son James Nagle, Esq., married Margaret, daughter of Colonel Walter Bourke, of Turlough, county of Mayo. Sir Richard Nagle is also alluded to in Note 55. The letter in the text should more properly be dated 1688, Old Style, according to which, the year 1689 would commence on the 25th of March following. However, in consequence of King James having embraced Catholicity, it is probable that if he succeeded in the war he would have introduced New Style, which was followed by the Popes since 1582. Julius Cæsar, in correcting the calculations in use in his time, made the year consist of 365 days and six hours, which astronomers afterwards discovered was too much by eleven minutes. The error was acknowledged and corrected by Pope Gregory XIII. and is therefore known as the Gregorian Calendar, or New Style. However, owing to prejudice and bigotry the New Style was not introduced into England until the reign of George II., when an Act of Parliament was passed in 1752 to enforce the manifest convenience of the Gregorian Calendar. Accordingly, the 3rd of September was called the 14th, and the year was made to begin on the 1st of January, instead of the 25th of March.

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NOTE 19.—PAGE 14.

Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, was born in Chancery-lane, London, on the 13th of April, 1593, and was the eldest son of Sir William Wentworth, of Wentworth Woodhouse, in Yorkshire, where his family, who ranked high amongst the aristocracy of England, were settled since the reign of William the Conqueror. In 1611 he married Lady Margaret Clifford, eldest

daughter of Francis, Earl of Cumberland. This date is given on the authority of his intimate friend, Sir George Radcliffe, and is confirmed by a letter bearing date 11th of January, 1611, from Sir Peter Frecheville to his father, Sir William Wentworth. This year also he received the honour of Knighthood. In 1615 Sir Thomas Wentworth was appointed Custos Rotulorum for the west riding of the county of York, in room of Sir John Savile. In November, 1625, he filled the office of High Sheriff of Yorkshire. In July, 1628, Sir Thomas Wentworth was created Baron Wentworth, and in Michaelmas Term he was raised to the dignity of Viscount Wentworth, appointed Lord President of the North, and a Privy Councillor. In January, 1631, Lord Wentworth was made Lord Deputy of Ireland, in which country he was by no means popular, and was known by the name of Black Tom. In 1639, King Charles raised him to the dignity of an Earl, an honour which he had formerly solicited in vain. He was created Earl of Strafford and Baron of Raby, and invested with the high title of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, a title which had not been borne since the time of the Earl of Essex by any nobleman; but was finally beheaded on Tower Hill, on the 12th of March, 1641, on a charge of High Treason, brought against him by the Commons of England. Within a few weeks after his death, however, the Parliament mitigated the penalty of his sentence to his children, and in the reign of Charles II., the attainder was reversed, and his son was restored to the Earldom of Strafford. For a full account of the first Earl, see Life of Strafford in the "Cabinet Cyclopædia;" Lives of Eminent British Statesmen by J. Forster, M. A., author of "Decision of Character." It may be necessary here to remark that some writers incorrectly call him 'Stafford;' but the nobleman who bore that title was William Howard Viscount Stafford, second surviving son of Thomas, twentieth Earl of Arundel, who was also executed on Tower Hill, on the 29th of December, 1678, having been accused by Titus Oates as being one of those who were connected with the Popish Plot.

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NOTE 20.—PAGE 15.

These venerable relics, which belonged to the celebrated St. Colman, the founder of Kilmacduach Cathedral, and Patron Saint of Cineal Aodh, which comprised the south-eastern half of the territory of Aidhne, in Hy-Fiachrach, were ornamented with gold and valuable gems, and were in possession of the O'Shaughnessy sept, in the time of the learned Colgan in the year 1645. He was author of the Lives of the Irish Saints, and alludes to this fact. It also appears they were still preserved at Fidane in 1689. Under the year 1223, in the Annals of the Four Masters, is the following:—"Seachnusagh Macgiollananeev O'Shaughnessy was killed by the Clan Cuilein, who carried off the great Crozier of St. Colman of Kilmacduagh." The Rev. Sylvester Malone, in his Church History of Ireland, gives an 'O'Shaughnessy,' as Bishop

of Kilmacduach, on the authority of the above paragraph ; but it does not appear by it that he was bishop of this diocese, or even resided there. For the *Annals of Kilmacduach*, see Appendix.

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NOTE 21.—PAGE 15.

Some years ago a large brazen cauldron belonging to the O'Shaughnessy sept, with the date 1642 engraved on it, was found in the bog of Derryowen, by some labourers who had dug to a considerable depth. Dermot Oge, notwithstanding his great anxiety to save the property of the O'Shaughnessys, must have forgotten where he had concealed this article.

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NOTE 22.—PAGE 15.

For an account of the capture of the Castle of Gortinsiguara, by Lieutenant-General Ludlow in 1651, see the Pedigree of the O'Shaughnessy sept. The following extract is taken from the preface to the edition of his *Memoirs*, printed in the Canton of Bern in Switzerland, in 1698 :—"Concerning his extraction, if that be anything, it may be justly said, he was descended of an ancient and worthy family, originally known in Shropshire, and, from thence transplanted into the county of Wilts, where his ancestors possessed such an estate as placed them in the first rank of gentlemen ; and their personal merits usually concurring with their fortune, gave them just pretences to stand candidates to represent the county in Parliament as Knights of the Shire, which honour they seldom failed to attain. His father Sir Henry Ludlow, being chosen by his country to serve in that Parliament, which began on the 3rd of November, 1640, was one of those who strenuously asserted the rights and liberties of the people against the invasions made upon them by the pretended prerogative of the Crown."

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NOTE 23.—PAGE 17.

This account agrees with the memorandum of the O'Shaughnessy affairs, made by Dermot Oge in 1698, for the use of William O'Shaughnessy, then in the service of France, which his descendant Henry Cloran, Esq., M. D., of 14, Rutland-square, Dublin, kindly placed at my disposal. It is also confirmed by the household journal kept at Gortinsiguara during the lives of Sir Roger, his



son Sir Dermot, and his grandson Captain Roger O'Shaughnessy, of Lord Clare's Yellow Dragons, who took part in the great war of the Revolution in Ireland. This memorandum is given in full in the Appendix.

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NOTE 24.—PAGE 21.

By the most ancient and reliable authorities, it is evident that this quaint verse was nearly always borne, as well as the motto under the family arms to which it alludes. It was inscribed on nearly all the old tombs of the early Lords of Etherston, and the different members of the House of Bamborough. On other monuments were sometimes to be found the two following lines, from the great poet Chaucer, who lived in the fourteenth century :—

An horne he bare, the baldric was of grene,  
A Forster was he sothly as I ghesse.

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NOTE 25.—PAGE 22.

Like the Castle of Gortinsiguara, and many others in the county of Galway, not a vestige of the Castle of Clooneene now remains. It stood in the garden, and the site which it occupied was converted into a handsome flower-bed, by Anne Blake-Forster. This lady was wife of Robert Blake-Forster, of Clooneene, and Knockmoy Abbey, and eldest daughter of Colonel Daly, of Raford, whose mother was the Lady Anne de Burgh, daughter of the Earl of Clanricarde, and niece of the Countess of Lucan, afterwards wife of the Marquis Duke of Berwick, Peer of France, Grandee of Spain, &c., &c. See Note 48.

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NOTE 26.—PAGE 23.

It is mentioned in the records of Ireland, that Captain Francis Forster, of Clooneene, purchased lands in the counties of Galway, Clare, Roscommon, and Mayo. He also possessed extensive property in the town of Galway, and received a patent from King Charles II., for the lands of Clunfad, in the barony of Cloonmacnoon, in the county of Galway, Dromshurna, in the barony of Moycarnon, county of Roscommon, for his mansion-house and estates at Clooneene, with their chiefries and manorial rights, for Cahirbroder, Ballyboy, Rue, Hollywood, Knocklawrence, Killany, near Kinvara, and Cahervorvos, near Rahasane, together with the lands of Ballagh and Oughta, in the barony of Corcomroe, and county of Clare. He was, therefore, Chief and Lord of the

Manor of Clooneene, which his Majesty erected into a Manor on the 18th of August, 1676, being anxious to confer 'a mark of Royal Favour' on the Chieftain. The Blake-Forster family always appointed the parish priest of St. Anne's.

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NOTE 27.—PAGE 25.

King James II., who was then, which was the year 1665, Duke of York, Lord High Admiral of England, and heir presumptive to the Crown of his brother Charles II., very much regretted the death of this brave nobleman, who was interred with great pomp in Westminster Abbey, where so many of England's sovereigns, warriors, and patriots rest. Lord Muskerry was the eldest son of the Right Honourable Donough MacCarthy, Baron of Blarney, Viscount Muskerry, and Earl of Clancarty, General of the Irish forces of Munster for Charles I., and Charles II., by Lady Ellen Butler, eldest sister of James, first Duke of Ormonde. He married Lady Margaret de Burgh, only daughter of Ulick, fifth Earl of Clanricarde, by his wife Lady Anne Compton, daughter of William, Earl of Northampton. Lord Muskerry, who was a great favourite of King James, and is spoken of in his Memoirs as a brave and good officer of infantry, was slain on board the Royal Charles, on the 3rd June, 1665, about two months previous to his father's decease, in the naval engagement of South-hold Bay, in which the Duke of York, at the head of ninety-eight ships of the line, and four fireships, gained a glorious victory over Admiral Opdam, at the head of 113 Dutch ships of war. His widow, Lady Muskerry, married secondly in 1676, Robert Villiers, Viscount Purbeck, who died in 1685; and thirdly, Robert Fielding, Esq. She died in the month of August, 1698. Horace Walpole, Lord Orford, who made many mistakes with regard to the characters introduced in the Grammont Memoirs, the author of which was Count Anthony Hamilton (see Note 81), incorrectly calls her Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of Kildare; but these errors have been fortunately corrected by Sir Walter Scott. Viscount Muskerry was, according to Lord Chancellor Clarendon, "a young man of extraordinary courage and expectation, who had been a Colonel of a regiment of Foot in Flanders, under the Duke, and had the general estimation of an excellent officer. He was of the Duke's bed-chamber; and the Earl, *i. e.* of Falmouth, and he were at that time so near the Duke, that his Highness was all covered with their blood. There fell, likewise, in the same ship, and at the same instant, Mr. Richard Boyle, a younger son of the Earl of Burlington, a youth of great hope."—"Continuation of Clarendon's Life."

## NOTE 28.—PAGE 26.

Patrick D'Arcy, of Kiltulla, the famous Irish lawyer, was the seventh son of James Riveagh D'Arcy, Governor of Galway, and Vice-President of Connaught, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Patrick, who is incorrectly stated by Hardiman to have been the second son, was born in Galway, in 1598, and, from an early age, gave signs of future eminence. He was a member of the Parliament assembled in Dublin, in 1640, when the Catholics were permitted to have a joint-share with the Protestants in the legislation of the country; and, on the 9th of June, 1641, he delivered, by order of the Irish House of Commons, an able argument before a Committee of the House of Lords, in the Castle of Dublin, on questions touching the independence of Ireland, the illegality of Appeals to England, the Castle Chamber Proceedings, &c., which was printed in 1643, under the title of "An Argument delivered by Patrick D'Arcy, Esq., in the Parliament of Ireland, the 9th of June, 1641." He is described by Harris as "a gentleman educated in the profession of the Common Law, who was an active member of the House of Commons, in the Parliament assembled at Dublin, in 1640, when the Papists had a share in the legislation, as well as the Protestants. He subsequently became one of the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics of Ireland, assembled at Kilkenny in 1642 and 1647. In his capacity as member of the Catholic Council, he signed a letter to the Lords Commissioners, on the 9th of February, 1642-3, and another to the Marquis of Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on the 29th of March, 1644. He and his nephew Geoffrey Browne, who was an eminent lawyer, were amongst the Commissioners or Plenipotentiaries appointed to conclude a peace with the Marquis of Ormonde, Plenipotentiary to Charles I.; and the drawing up of the Articles was left to the said Mr. Patrick D'Arcy, and Mr. Geoffrey Brown, and by them performed according to the sense of the Assembly." These Articles were signed and sealed on the 28th of March, 1646, by the Lord Lieutenant on the King's behalf, and by the Lord Muskerry, Sir Robert Talbot, John Dillon, Patrick D'Arcy, and Geoffrey Browne, on the part of the Confederates, in the presence of the Marquis of Clanricarde, the Lord Digby, Sir Maurice Eustace, and Doctor Gerald Fennell. Patrick D'Arcy was hereupon constituted by the Assembly one of the Commissioners appointed to raise an army of 10,000 men, and to tax the kingdom for their pay in support of the Royal cause. He died in Dublin in 1668, and was buried in the ancient Abbey of Kilconnell, near Aughrim, in the county of Galway. Alluding to this gentleman, Hardiman in his History of Galway says, he "was the second son of James Riveagh D'Arcy, who was Mayor in 1603;" and, strangely enough, contradicts himself in the list of mayors given in the same work. By this list it appears that the Mayor in 1603 was Marcus Lynch Fitz-Stephen. This is the correct statement, as he succeeded the said James D'Arcy, who was Mayor in 1602. Several similar discrepancies occur throughout the History of Galway.

## NOTE 29.—PAGE 27.

Cuthbert Fenwick, Esq., was the eldest son of William Fenwick, Esq., of Wallington, and his wife Florina, daughter of Cuthbert Radcliffe, and grandson of Sir William Fenwick, of Wallington, Bart., Member of Parliament for Northumberland, in the 6th and 8th years of the reign of King Charles II. This Sir William Fenwick was the grandson of another Sir William Fenwick of Wallington, who was High Sheriff of Northumberland in the 20th and 31st years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, by his wife Grace, daughter of Sir John Forster of Bamborough Castle, Knight Banneret, Lord of Blanchland and of Lucker, Lord Warden of the Middle Marshes, High Sheriff of Northumberland in the third year of the reign of King Edward VI., Governor and Captain of Bamborough Castle, and Deputy-Governor of Berwick-upon-Tweed, of which town Sir Thomas Forster, Lord of Etherston, Knight, was Marshal. Therefore Cuthbert Fenwick was maternally descended from the House of Etherston, and the founder of the House of Bamborough, his grandfather, Sir William Fenwick, Bart., of Wallington, being the great-grandson of Sir John Forster of Bamborough Castle. He was also nephew of Elizabeth Fenwick, called the Fair, step-sister of Sir John Fenwick alluded to in the text, and wife of Sir Claud Forster of Bamborough Castle, Knight and Baronet, Lord of Blanchland and of Lucker, High Sheriff of Northumberland, in the tenth year of the reign of King James I., and hereditary Governor and Captain of Bamborough Castle. For an account of Sir Claud's brother-in-law, Colonel Sir John Fenwick of Wallington, who was executed for high treason on Tower Hill, see Note 147.

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## NOTE 30.—PAGE 28.

John Forster, Esq., of Crushnahawn, now Rose Hill, in the county of Galway (see Note 44), was the eldest son of Major James Forster, J. P. of Rathorpe, High Sheriff for the county in 1689, by his wife Eleanor, daughter of Colonel Gerald Burke of Tyaquin Castle, county of Galway (see Note 12, and also Note 44). He married Mary, daughter of Charles Lambert, Esq., an adherent of King James II., in whose service he was slain during the siege of Londonderry in 1689.

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## NOTE 31.—PAGE 28.

The following may be useful to those who take an interest in the census of Ireland.

**A Table of the Population of Ireland since 1672, with the authority on  
which the returns were made.**

1672 (Sir W. Petty), . . . .	1,100,000
1672 (The same corrected), . . . .	1,320,000
1695 (Captain South), . . . .	1,034,102
1712 (Thomas Dobbs), . . . .	2,099,094
1718 (The same), . . . .	2,169,048
1725 (The same), . . . .	2,317,374
1726 (The same), . . . .	2,309,106
1731 (Established clergy), . . . .	2,010,221
1754 (Hearth-money Collectors), . . . .	2,372,634
1767 (The same), . . . .	2,544,276
1777 (The same), . . . .	2,690,556
1785 (The same), . . . .	2,845,932
1788 (G. P. Bush), . . . .	4,040,000
1791 (Hearth-money Collectors), . . . .	4,206,612
1792 (Rev. Dr. Beaufort), . . . .	4,088,226
1805 (Thomas Newenham), . . . .	5,395,456
1814 (Incomplete Census), . . . .	5,937,856
1821 (Census 55 Geo. III., c. 120), . . . .	6,801,827
1831 (Act 1 Wm. IV., c. 19), . . . .	7,767,401
1834 (Estimated by the Commissioners } on Public Instruction), }	7,954,100
1837 (Estimated by Railway Commissioners),	8,523,750

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**NOTE 32.—PAGE 30.**

The Castle of Doon, formerly a residence of the Butlers, a junior branch of the House of Ormonde, was situated on the confines of Galway and Clare, about a mile from the picturesque valley of Bunnahow, the residence of another branch of the same family. On the death of Donough O'Brien, surnamed the Fat, second Earl of Thomond, in 1553, the Earldom devolved on his eldest son Conor, whose right to the title and estates was disputed by his uncle, Donal. Conor appealed to the Lord Deputy, and Privy Council of Ireland, for support against the pretensions of his uncle, but Queen Mary I. having ascended the throne, which event materially changed religion and policy, deprived them of the means of affording him any assistance. Donal then marched into Ely-O'Carroll, and took hostages from its Chieftain, in acknowledgment of his authority, marched to the fort in Leix, shortly afterwards called Maryborough, in compliment of Queen Mary, and returned to Thomond. He next turned his attention to the affairs of the Earl of Clanricarde. Ulick, the first

Earl of that name, was first married to Grace, daughter of O'Carroll, Chieftain of Ely, by whom he had a son Rickard, but in a short time separated from her, and married Honora de Burgh. This lady he treated in a similar way, and then married Maria Lynch of Galway, his first wife being still living. By Maria Lynch, he had a son named John, commonly called John Burke, who disputed the succession with his elder brother Rickard, on the ground that Grace O'Carroll, his mother, had been married to a former husband named O'Melaghlin, whom John alleged was living at the time of Rickard's birth, and from the said Grace was not divorced. The question of legitimacy was at length submitted to the decision of commissioners appointed by the Lord Deputy. They declared that the title and inheritance of Clanricarde belonged to Rickard. John Burke, dissatisfied with this decision, seized the Castle of Beamore, and held it against his step-brother Rickard, Earl of Clanricarde, who besieged it at the head of his forces. In the meantime, Donal O'Brien, having taken a great interest in the case of John Burke, marched at the head of a large force into Connaught, and compelled the Earl of Clanricarde to raise the siege. Conor O'Brien now resolved to offer resistance to his warlike uncle, although the advantages were against him. Clonroad having been seized by the latter, Conor resided in the Castle of Doon, since the death of his father, but while expecting assistance from his relative, the Earl of Claricarde, who was favourable to him, his uncle marched to and besieged the Castle of Doon. However he was soon obliged to desist, in consequence of Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormonde, first cousin of the besieged Earl of Thomond, having marched to Conor's assistance. The disappointed Donal now resolved to be further revenged on the Earl of Clanricarde, and marched into his territory, where he received the dissatisfied sons of the late Earl into his pay. He then destroyed the territory of Clanricarde, and carried off the cattle of his enemies into Thomond.

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NOTE 33.—PAGE 30.

Sir Toby Butler was a noted toper, and his memory is still as green in the recollection of the peasantry of Clare and Galway as if he had died recently. It would be almost impossible to collect all the anecdotes that are told of this celebrated lawyer, but as a specimen we quote the following :—" I think a man who walks through any town except such a mushroom city as starts up in a day in the forests of America, must, if he has any mind beyond that necessary for providing his daily bread, or any curiosity beyond that which tempts him to peep into a shop window, ponder the various events that from time to time have taken place on the ground over which he walks, and summon up in rapid recollection the various characters whose faces he remembers as having met in passing along. Perhaps few are so well adapted for exercising such reminiscences as a Quinquagenarian, or few places are so suitable for calling them



forth as a walk from College Green to the Four Courts. Suppose then, gentle reader, you and I having nothing else to do making our promenade along the south side of the Green—the hour of the day forms an important ingredient in the interest of our perambulation—at eleven o'clock the stream of lawyers is sweeping onwards towards the Four Courts—about four o'clock the current is returning, and then there is less business in the face; the work of the day is over; the tension of the features is less rigid; Chancery precedents and special pleading give place to news, politics and thoughts of dinner—the attorney foregoes bills of costs to think of his bill of fare—and even the grim judge smoothes his wrinkled brow in anticipation of the pleasanter discussion of a turbot than a law point; besides, about four o'clock, those who have occasion to levee the Lord Lieutenant or Chief Secretary are returning from the Castle, and you may meet, sailing down this great gulf-stream of men, a portly bishop whose thoughts are intent on a translation—or a shovel-hatted dean who has just reminded the Viceroy how deserving he is of a mitre. Then at four o'clock also the merchants congregate about College Green, and you may observe just opposite you and around the door of the Commercial Buildings a herd of broad-bottomed wiseacres, heavy and pursy like animated sugar hogsheads, regulating the sales of colonial produce, and fixing the price current of the day. How many faces of lawyers, priests, and aldermen, have I met in the course of the forty years that I have perambulated these flags. Here have I almost trembled under the piercing glance of Black John Fitzgibbon, the stern Chancellor, as rapidly and solitarily, even though jostling through the crowd, he passes on towards his residence in Ely-place—there is something in his pocket that has the form of a pistol, which evinces that he is fearlessly yet apprehensively prepared, and which all the world knows he would use and could use. Here have I met Big Bully Egan, and Little Philpot Curran, bandying jokes at each other as they passed along—and Henry Grattan, striding like Poucet in his seven-leagued boots, and stooping as if he was carrying the Genius of Ireland astride on his shoulders. Here I have recognised that soul of merriment, Ned Lysaght, and that mighty and masterly-minded man Lord Yelverton. I have seen them go just under King William, across towards the Parliament House, and as they ascended the steps of the colonnade, have heard the shoe-blacks and link-boys and all the idling *canaille* of Dublin passing their rough and shrewd and often witty comments on the life and character of those eminent men as they entered the National Building. There is undoubtedly a very great difference between these men and these times, and what we now know and see. The intellect to be sure is the same, and perhaps there is no degeneracy either in the times or the people; but certainly there is a mighty contrast between the O'Connells, and the Shiels, the Pennefathers, the Blackburnes, and the Cramptons of this day and the forensic men of old—there may be now more law, but certainly less wit under the wig. Well, let us walk on. I remember, instead of turning to the right down Parliament-street, going in my youth straight forward under the Exchange and up Cork-hill to the old Four Courts,

adjoining Christ's-Church Cathedral. I remember what an immense crowd of cars, carriages, noddies, and sedan-chairs beset our way as we struggled on between Latouche's and Gleadowe's Banks in Castle-street; what a labour it was to urge on our way through Skinner-row. I remember looking up to the old cage-work wooden house that stood at the corner of Castle-street and Werburgh-street, and wondering why, as it overhung so much, it did not fall down—and then turning down Fishamble-street, and approaching the Four Courts, that then existed through what *properly* was denominated Christ Church-yard, but which *popularly* was called HELL. This was certainly a very profane and unseemly soubrequet to give to a place that adjoined a cathedral whose name was Christ Church, and my young mind when I first entered there was struck with its unseemliness. Yes, and more especially when over the arched entrance there was pointed out to me the very image of the devil carved in oak, and not unlike one of those hideous black figures that are still in Thomas-street hung over tobacconists' doors. This locale of hell, and this representation of his satanic majesty, were famous in those days, even beyond the walls of Dublin; I remember well, on returning to my native town after my first visit to Dublin, being asked by all my play-fellows had I been in hell, and had I seen the devil. Its fame even reached Scotland; and Burns, the poet, in his story of Death and Doctor Hornbook, alludes to it when he says—

‘ But this that I am gaun to tell  
Which lately on a night befell,  
Is just as true as the deil's in hell,  
Or Dublin city.’

As hell has not now any local habitation in our city, neither has the devil—but I can assure you, reader, that there are relics preserved of this very statue to this day; some of it was made into much esteemed snuff-boxes—and I am told there is one antiquarian in our city who possesses the head and horns, and who prizes the relic as the most valuable in his museum. At any-rate hell to me in those days was a most attractive place, and often did I go hither, for the yard was full of shops, where toys and fireworks, and kites, and all the playthings that engaged the youthful fancy were exposed for sale. But hell was not only attractive to little boys, but also to bearded men, for here were comfortable lodgings for single men; and I remember reading in a journal of the day an advertisement intimating that there were ‘To be let furnished apartments in Hell. N.B.—They are well suited to a lawyer’ (!! ) Here also were sundry taverns and snuggeries, where the counsellor would cosher with the attorney—where the prebendary and the canon of the cathedral could meet and make merry—here the old staggers, the seniors of the Currans, the Yelvertons, and the Bully Egans I have above alluded to, would enjoy the concomitants of good fellowship—there Prime Sergeant Malone, dark Phil. Tisdall, and prior still to them the noted Sir Toby Butler, cracked their jokes and their marrow-

bones, toasted away claret, and tossed repartee, until they died as other men die, and are forgotten. The characters of Malone and Tisdall are still preserved in Baratariana and other satirical or serious records of that day. Sir Toby—I question, whether he may not have been the prototype, the *eidolon*, of Toby Philpot—has his name and his fame as an astute negociator engraven on the treaty of Limerick, and of course he belongs to history, but as a tavern toper I fear he is almost forgotten. His tomb is in St. James's churchyard, and any one who enters that well-peopled cemetery must observe it as forming the chief ornament of that ugly place. Sir Toby's remains lie mouldering and liquefying there—but in sooth if ever ashes deserved to be vitrified and melted and cast into a drinking cup, they were those of this old Hibernian lawyer. It is astonishing how these old fellows could do business coolly in the day, who came to it under the effects of the over-night's hot debauch. Doubtless it did affect them, and I recollect some anecdotes of the same Sir Toby, that show the shifts that this old claret-guzzler had recourse to. Sir Toby was engaged in an important cause which required all his knowledge and legal acumen (which were not little) to defend, and the attorney, deeply alive to the importance of keeping Sir Toby cool, absolutely insisted upon his taking his corporal oath that he should not drink anything until the cause was decided; and of course sooner than lose the retaining fee, the affidavit was made, but kept as follows:—the cause came on—the trial proceeded—the opposite counsel made a masterly, luminous and apparently powerful impression on the jury—Sir Toby got up, and he was cool, too cool—his courage was not up to the sticking point—his hands trembled, his head was palsied—his tongue faltered—everything indicated feebleness—whereupon he sent to 'mine host' in Hell for a bottle of port and a roll, when extracting a portion of the soft of the roll, and filling up the hollow with the liquor, he actually ate the bottle of wine, and recovering his wonted power and ingenuity, he overthrew the adversary's argument, and won the cause. Reader, as I am a Rambler by profession, allow me while I have a hold of Sir Toby, and as you may never hear of him again, to recount another anecdote of him, which proves that he was as well an honest as—

‘ A thirsty old soul  
As e'er cracked a bottle or fathom'd a bowl.’

Engaged in a cause where the counsel opposed to him appeared to carry both the feelings and opinion of the jury, he stood up and said—‘ Gentlemen of the jury, the cause of our antagonist, though plausible, is bad, if there be truth in the old saying that “good wine needs no bush, or a good cause no bribery;” here, gentlemen of the jury, is what was put into my hand this morning, holding out a purse of gold; ‘it was given in the hope that it would have bribed me into a lukewarm advocacy of my client's cause. But, gentlemen, here I throw down Achan's wedge—here I cast at your feet the accursed thing;’ and so he went on most ably to state his case and defend his cause, and no doubt but the exhibition of the purse had as much weight as the force of his

argument in inducing the jury to give a verdict in his favour.”—“ Dublin Penny Journal,” vol. i. pp. 142-3.

Of all the jovial characters who frequented Hell, none was longer remembered there for the length of his revelries and speeches than the witty and humorous Sir Toby Butler, of Sraghnagalloon.

#### NOTE 34—PAGE 33.

It appears by a letter which the Earl of Orrery wrote to the Duke of Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, that the ‘ Clare Papists ’ had grown very insolent, and that ‘ one Mahony gave the High Sheriff a box on the ear, and MacNamara ran a Justice of the Peace through the arm.’ However, I prefer the version given in the text, as probably Orrery might have been mistaken.

#### NOTE 35.—PAGE 36.

The great cry of the Protestant party in England against King James was, that he intended to re-establish Popery ; but it would appear from the following speech delivered to his Privy Council, after the Lords who went to proclaim the King returned to Whitehall, that such was not his intention.

“ MY LORDS,—Before I enter upon any other business, I think fit to say something to you. Since it pleased Almighty God to place me in this station, and I am now to succeed so good and gracious a king, as well as so very kind a brother, I think it fit to declare to you that I will endeavour to follow his example, and most especially in that of his great clemency and tenderness to his people. I have been reported to be a man for arbitrary power, but that is not the only story has been made of me, and I shall make it my endeavour to preserve this Government both in Church and State as it is now by law established. I know the principles of the Church of England are for monarchy, and the members of it have showed themselves good and loyal subjects, therefore I shall always take care to defend and support it. I know, too, that the laws of England are sufficient to make the king as great a monarch as I can wish, and as I shall never depart from the just rights and prerogative of the Crown, so I shall never invade any man’s property. I have often heretofore ventured my life in defence of this nation, and I shall still go as far as any man in preserving it in all its just rights and liberties.” This speech, which was received with general satisfaction by the people, was afterwards printed by order of the King, and obtainde for him the name of James the Just.

## NOTE 36.—PAGE 38.

Certainly the jovial Sir Toby must have been very prejudiced against Oliver Cromwell, for the General alluded to in the text was no other than the Lord Protector himself. Although Sir Walter Butler opposed him to the last, Cromwell nevertheless complimented him highly on his courage. When the regicide general laid siege to Kilkenny, his troops were flushed with recent success, while the garrison was weakened by a fearful plague, which raged amongst them. Sir Walter Butler, who was the Governor, having contemptuously replied to the summons to surrender, the town was assaulted, but so gallant was Sir Walter's defence that, even after a breach had been made by the assailants, they were twice repulsed by the besieged. Cromwell's soldiers becoming irresolute, he resolved to raise the siege, which he would certainly have done, had he not received a message from the civic authorities expressing their wish to surrender. On hearing this, a third assault was ordered by him, but without success. At this juncture, Ireton arrived before the walls with fresh forces, and Lord Castlehaven having written to the besieged that he could give them no assistance, Sir Walter signalled for a parley. Cessation of arms was the result, and Cromwell granted the garrison most favourable conditions. As the garrison marched forth with all the honours of war, Cromwell in person complimented the soldiers and officers on their bravery, and particularly Sir Walter Butler, on the way he conducted the defence.

## NOTE 37.—PAGE 40.

Carol or Charles O'Daly the poet was brother of Donough More O'Daly of Laragh Castle near Athenry, county of Galway, ancestor of the Dalys of Dunsandle, now Lords Dunsandle and Clanconal, the Dalys of Raford Benmore Castle, and Lurgan, and other distinguished families of the name. Carol O'Daly was one of the most accomplished gentlemen of his time, and remarkable for the exquisite manner in which he performed on the harp. He particularly excelled in oratory, poetry, and music, and was known as the Silver-tongued Bard of Connaught. He paid his addresses to Ellen O'Kavanagh, the beautiful and accomplished daughter of a powerful Chieftain of the Mac Murrough-O'Kavanagh sept, who resided in the province of Leinster. She returned his love; but her family, objecting to her alliance with O'Daly, took advantage of his unavoidable absence from the country to make her believe that he was false to her, and had left for the purpose of wedding another. This artful story had the desired effect, and after a good deal of persuasion, she was prevailed on to consent to become the wife of a valiant young Chieftain of the Dalcassian race, named Torlough Mac Namara, who was a worthy scion of the princely Clan Cuilean, and was long

Manor of Clooneene, which his Majesty erected into a Manor on the 18th of August, 1676, being anxious to confer 'a mark of Royal Favour' on the Chieftain. The Blake-Forster family always appointed the parish priest of St. Anne's.

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NOTE 27.—PAGE 25.

King James II., who was then, which was the year 1665, Duke of York, Lord High Admiral of England, and heir presumptive to the Crown of his brother Charles II., very much regretted the death of this brave nobleman, who was interred with great pomp in Westminster Abbey, where so many of England's sovereigns, warriors, and patriots rest. Lord Muskerry was the eldest son of the Right Honourable Donough MacCarthy, Baron of Blarney, Viscount Muskerry, and Earl of Clancarty, General of the Irish forces of Munster for Charles I., and Charles II., by Lady Ellen Butler, eldest sister of James, first Duke of Ormonde. He married Lady Margaret de Burgh, only daughter of Ulick, fifth Earl of Clanricarde, by his wife Lady Anne Compton, daughter of William, Earl of Northampton. Lord Muskerry, who was a great favourite of King James, and is spoken of in his Memoirs as a brave and good officer of infantry, was slain on board the Royal Charles, on the 3rd June, 1665, about two months previous to his father's decease, in the naval engagement of South-hold Bay, in which the Duke of York, at the head of ninety-eight ships of the line, and four fireships, gained a glorious victory over Admiral Opdam, at the head of 113 Dutch ships of war. His widow, Lady Muskerry, married secondly in 1676, Robert Villiers, Viscount Purbeck, who died in 1685; and thirdly, Robert Fielding, Esq. She died in the month of August, 1698. Horace Walpole, Lord Orford, who made many mistakes with regard to the characters introduced in the Grammont Memoirs, the author of which was Count Anthony Hamilton (see Note 81), incorrectly calls her Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of Kildare; but these errors have been fortunately corrected by Sir Walter Scott. Viscount Muskerry was, according to Lord Chancellor Clarendon, "a young man of extraordinary courage and expectation, who had been a Colonel of a regiment of Foot in Flanders, under the Duke, and had the general estimation of an excellent officer. He was of the Duke's bed-chamber; and the Earl, *i. e.* of Falmouth, and he were at that time so near the Duke, that his Highness was all covered with their blood. There fell, likewise, in the same ship, and at the same instant, Mr. Richard Boyle, a younger son of the Earl of Burlington, a youth of great hope."—"Continuation of Clarendon's Life."



whom died on or about the 8th of April, 1851. This portion of the Blake-Forster property is situated within about a mile of the town of Gort, and is bounded on the north and south by public roads.

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NOTE 39.—PAGE 49.

The lands which adjoin the beautiful Lake of Loughcutra, were then a swamp, and known as Tyroloughan, or the country of the ducks, from the number of wild-fowl that frequented them; but they have not only since then changed this name, but their condition, like so many other places in this historic neighbourhood; for what was anciently Tyroloughan is now the handsome demesne of Loughcutra Castle, and, at present, the property of Lord Gough.

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NOTE 40.—PAGE 53.

From this Pierce Lynch of Rafladown, lineally descended Pierce Lynch, Esq., of Rafladown, who died on the 15th of July, 1781, and was interred in the Blake-Forster Chapel, at Kilmacduach Abbey, Francis Blake-Forster, Esq., of Clooneene, having consented, as it was the deceased gentleman's wish. He had issue five daughters, namely, 1. Mary Lynch, who married first Simon Forster, Esq., of Fidane, in the county of Galway, sixth son of Colonel Francis Forster, of Clooneene and Rathorpe, by his wife Mary, only daughter of Captain James MacDonnell, of Kilkee, in the county of Clare, by whom she had issue one son and three daughters. She married, secondly, Francis O'Brien, Esq. J. P., of Durra, county Clare, by whom she also had issue; 2. Eliza Lynch, who married William Fitzgerald, of Ashgrove, and had issue the Right Honourable James Fitzgerald, Prime Serjeant-at-Law, and a Privy Councillor of Ireland. He married in 1782 Catherine, sister and co-heiress of John Vesey, Esq., of Oranmore, county of Galway, whom she succeeded at his death in 1779, he having bequeathed the property which he inherited from his uncles to his two sisters, with an injunction that their heirs male should bear the surname and arms of Vesey. This lady was elevated to the Peerage of Ireland on the 27th of June, 1826, as Baroness Fitzgerald and Vesey of Clare and Inchicronan, in the county of Clare, in which title she was succeeded by her eldest son the Honourable William Fitzgerald, M. P. for the county of Clare, and a Privy Councillor, who assumed the additional surname and arms of Vesey, by Royal Sign Manual in 1815; 3. Margaret Lynch, who married Fitzgibbon, of Ballyseedy; 4. Jane Lynch, who married Peter Martyn, of Tillyra Castle, county of Galway, and had issue; and, 5. Julia Lynch, who married Edmond Kirwan, Esq., of county of Galway.

## NOTE 41.—PAGE 56.

Lest the Duras mentioned in the text should be mistaken for the place now called Duras Park, the property of Captain John Wilson Lynch, or Duras House, the property of the Count de Basterot, it is necessary to mention that it means Duras near Kinvara, now called Castle Forster, the property of the writer. These three estates were originally one, and belonged to a branch of the ancient family of Ffrench, from which the three present proprietors are maternally descended. The name *Duras* is derived from the Irish word *Dubh-ros*, i. e., the Black Promontory. The word *Ros*, when topographically applied, has two distinct meanings, namely, 1, a point of land extending into the sea, or a large lake; and 2, a wood or forest. Its diminutive form *popán* or *pápan* is still used in the spoken Irish to denote a shrubbery or underwood. Duras, which was sometimes written *Duros* and *Dooross*, is situated near the town of Kinvara, in the barony of Kiltarton, and county of Galway, and is, therefore, within the bounds of what anciently constituted the territory of Cineal Aodh. See Notes 16 and 42.

## NOTE 42.—PAGE 61.

This ancient monument, which is still known as the Druid Altar, is in a good state of preservation, and stands in the demesne of Castle Forster near Kinvara. For its dimensions, see territory of Cineal Aodh in Hy-Fiachrach in the Appendix.

## NOTE 43.—PAGE 64.

There are now scarcely any remains of the old Fort of Rathorpe in existence, although it was formerly a place of great strength. At a short distance from its site are a few ruined walls, which are all that are left of the mansion of Major James Forster, the High Sheriff of the county of Galway, in 1689 and 1690. The peasantry believe that this fort was inhabited by fairies, who regularly supplied the cellars of the house of Rathorpe, which adjoined it, with the best wines. At this period a gentleman named Hugh O'Shaughnessy, a representative of a junior branch of the Gortinsiguara family, resided near here. He was said to be a great astrologer, necromancer, linguist, and musician, and was known by the name of Aodh Buighe na Glass, or Yellow Hugh the Magician. It was believed he possessed all the valuable talismans and

rare books on magic, which had belonged to the terrible Dermot Riveagh, known as the 'Queen's O'Shaughnessy,' who, according to the traditions of Hy-Fiachrach, was the first magician of the O'Shaughnessy sept. It appears by the Cloran Papers, that Aodh Buighe was an adherent of James II., and was present at the battle of the Boyne. In 1689 Major James Forster resided at Rathorpe. His father Captain Francis Forster, styled the Chief of Clooneene, lived at the latter place. Young Captain Francis, the Chief's grandson, on the death of his father, the High Sheriff, resided at Rathorpe, his elder brother John, as head of the family, being living at Clooneene. On John's death, his brother Francis, then Colonel Forster of Rathorpe, succeeded to the property, and from thenceforth is styled in all the family papers of the Blake-Forsters, as of 'Clooneene and Rathorpe.' According to the Blake-Forster MSS., Rathorpe was, in 1743, the residence of his eldest son James, who was the last of the family that resided there; and from that forth Clooneene alone is mentioned in the various deeds. His younger brother Simon, the sixth son of Colonel Forster of Clooneene, removed from the latter place to Fidane, where he built a house at considerable expense. The family abandoned Rathorpe, in consequence, according to tradition, of every female who had slept in a certain room there having been found dead in the morning. It is worthy of remark, that a portion of the Irish army, while retreating from Aughrim to Limerick, made a stand at Rathorpe, at a place called Cliagh na Gaul, where they gave battle to their pursuers. A large number was slain on both sides, and the Irish afterwards continued their march, without being further molested, to Limerick, which still resolutely held out for King James. It is also said, by tradition, that Prince Charles Edward, the eldest son of the Chevalier de St. George, or King James III., as he was styled on the Continent, resided for a short time here, in 1753, in disguise. He was treated with every mark of respect by the adherents of his father in the county of Galway, who privately acknowledged him as Prince of Wales. The gay and handsome Prince was very popular, and, like the other members of his family, was a general favourite with the ladies. It is said, that on one occasion he attended a cock-fight near the town of Galway, where, observing some young men throwing a sledge, he took part in their amusement. Having cast the sledge considerably farther than any of the others, a shrewd old man present gave three cheers for the 'Blackbird,' which were heartily joined in by the rest of the people. The Mayor, Ambrose Poole, who was also present, being a staunch supporter of the Church and State, of Crown and Bible, and who was often heard to say, he would burn the Pope and Pretender together, suspecting the Prince to be some important Jacobite spy, hastened back to town to procure a strong party of soldiers to arrest him, and punish the insolence of the people for having dared to speak of the Blackbird in his presence. While absent with this intention, the Prince, by the advice of some of his friends, immediately took his departure; and though, since his heroic but unsuccessful expedition to Scotland, in 1745, a reward of £10,000 was offered for him, dead or alive, by the English

Government, he, nevertheless, escaped out of Ireland. Indeed, the romantic adventures and narrow escapes of this remarkable young Prince are stranger than fiction; and he was, perhaps, one of the most unfortunate of the unfortunate family to which he belonged. On the death of his father, the exiled James III., he took the title of Charles III.; but the English whom he called his subjects, and a great portion of the Irish and Scotch who adhered to the House of Hanover, continued to style him the Young Pretender.

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NOTE 44.—PAGE 66.

Crushnahawn, which was settled by his grandfather on John Forster, Esq., the eldest son of Major James Forster of Rathorpe, High Sheriff of the county of Galway in 1689-90, is one of the oldest houses in the county. It was afterwards called Crossford; but the late F. Blake-Forster, Esq. of Clooneene, and Knockmoy Abbey, changed the name to Rose Hill, in compliment to his wife, the Hon. Rose Blake-Forster, who was daughter of Lord Ffrench, of Castle Ffrench, county Galway. In 1817 he built a house at the Rock of Durragh, which, for the same reason, he called Rose Park. The Right Rev. Doctor Edmond Ffrench, Lord Bishop of Kilmacduach and Kilfenora, and last Catholic Warden of Galway, resided here for some years.

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NOTE 45.—PAGE 66.

The remains of this fort are still to be seen in the demesne of Clooneene, but so altered, that it is scarcely recognizable. The cave in the centre is completely stopped up.

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NOTE 46.—PAGE 67.

Sir John Forster, Knight Banneret, Lord Warden of the Middle Marches, Lord of Blanchland, and Captain and Governor of Bamborough Castle, Northumberland, was second son of Sir Thomas Forster, Knight, Lord of Ethers-ton, and his wife Dorothea, daughter of Ralph Lord Ogle, of Ogle, and Baron Bothal, of Bothal Castle, Northumberland. He married Jane, daughter of Sir Cuthbert Radcliffe, High Sheriff of Northumberland, in 1528, by his wife Margaret, daughter of Henry Lord Clifford. Sir Cuthbert Radcliffe was ancestor of the brave young Earl of Derwentwater, who was beheaded on Tower Hill on the 24th of February, 1715, for having taken part in the rebellion

forth as a walk from College Green to the Four Courts. Suppose then, gentle reader, you and I having nothing else to do making our promenade along the south side of the Green—the hour of the day forms an important ingredient in the interest of our perambulation—at eleven o'clock the stream of lawyers is sweeping onwards towards the Four Courts—about four o'clock the current is returning, and then there is less business in the face; the work of the day is over; the tension of the features is less rigid; Chancery precedents and special pleading give place to news, politics and thoughts of dinner—the attorney foregoes bills of costs to think of his bill of fare—and even the grim judge smoothes his wrinkled brow in anticipation of the pleasanter discussion of a turbot than a law point; besides, about four o'clock, those who have occasion to levee the Lord Lieutenant or Chief Secretary are returning from the Castle, and you may meet, sailing down this great gulf-stream of men, a portly bishop whose thoughts are intent on a translation—or a shovel-hatted dean who has just reminded the Viceroy how deserving he is of a mitre. Then at four o'clock also the merchants congregate about College Green, and you may observe just opposite you and around the door of the Commercial Buildings a herd of broad-bottomed wisecracks, heavy and pursy like animated sugar hogsheads, regulating the sales of colonial produce, and fixing the price current of the day. How many faces of lawyers, priests, and aldermen, have I met in the course of the forty years that I have perambulated these flags. Here have I almost trembled under the piercing glance of Black John Fitzgibbon, the stern Chancellor, as rapidly and solitarily, even though jostling through the crowd, he passes on towards his residence in Ely-place—there is something in his pocket that has the form of a pistol, which evinces that he is fearlessly yet apprehensively prepared, and which all the world knows he would use and could use. Here have I met Big Bully Egan, and Little Philpot Curran, bandying jokes at each other as they passed along—and Henry Grattan, striding like Poucet in his seven-leagued boots, and stooping as if he was carrying the Genius of Ireland astride on his shoulders. Here I have recognised that soul of merriment, Ned Lysaght, and that mighty and masterly-minded man Lord Yelverton. I have seen them go just under King William, across towards the Parliament House, and as they ascended the steps of the colonnade, have heard the shoe-blacks and link-boys and all the idling *canaille* of Dublin passing their rough and shrewd and often witty comments on the life and character of those eminent men as they entered the National Building. There is undoubtedly a very great difference between these men and these times, and what we now know and see. The intellect to be sure is the same, and perhaps there is no degeneracy either in the times or the people; but certainly there is a mighty contrast between the O'Connells, and the Shiels, the Pennefathers, the Blackburnes, and the Cramptons of this day and the forensic men of old—there may be now more law, but certainly less wit under the wig. Well, let us walk on. I remember, instead of turning to the right down Parliament-street, going in my youth straight forward under the Exchange and up Cork-hill to the old Four Courts,

adjoining Christ's-Church Cathedral. I remember what an immense crowd of cars, carriages, noddies, and sedan-chairs beset our way as we struggled on between Latouche's and Gleadowe's Banks in Castle-street; what a labour it was to urge on our way through Skinner-row. I remember looking up to the old cage-work wooden house that stood at the corner of Castle-street and Werburgh-street, and wondering why, as it overhung so much, it did not fall down—and then turning down Fishamble-street, and approaching the Four Courts, that then existed through what *properly* was denominated Christ Church-yard, but which *popularly* was called HELL. This was certainly a very profane and unseemly soubrequet to give to a place that adjoined a cathedral whose name was Christ Church, and my young mind when I first entered there was struck with its unseemliness. Yes, and more especially when over the arched entrance there was pointed out to me the very image of the devil carved in oak, and not unlike one of those hideous black figures that are still in Thomas-street hung over tobacconists' doors. This locale of hell, and this representation of his satanic majesty, were famous in those days, even beyond the walls of Dublin; I remember well, on returning to my native town after my first visit to Dublin, being asked by all my play-fellows had I been in hell, and had I seen the devil. Its fame even reached Scotland; and Burns, the poet, in his story of Death and Doctor Hornbook, alludes to it when he says—

‘ But this that I am gaun to tell  
Which lately on a night befell,  
Is just as true as the deil's in hell,  
Or Dublin city.’

As hell has not now any local habitation in our city, neither has the devil—but I can assure you, reader, that there are relics preserved of this very statue to this day; some of it was made into much esteemed snuff-boxes—and I am told there is one antiquarian in our city who possesses the head and horns, and who prizes the relic as the most valuable in his museum. At any-rate hell to me in those days was a most attractive place, and often did I go hither, for the yard was full of shops, where toys and fireworks, and kites, and all the playthings that engaged the youthful fancy were exposed for sale. But hell was not only attractive to little boys, but also to bearded men, for here were comfortable lodgings for single men; and I remember reading in a journal of the day an advertisement intimating that there were ‘To be let furnished apartments in Hell. N.B.—They are well suited to a lawyer’ (!). Here also were sundry taverns and snuggeries, where the counsellor would confer with the attorney—where the prebendary and the canon of the cathedral could meet and make merry—here the old stagers, the seniors of the Currans, the Yelvertons, and the Bully Egans I have above alluded to, would enjoy the concomitants of good fellowship—there Prime Sergeant Malone, dark Phil Tindall, and prior still to them the noted Sir Toby Butler, cracked their jokes and their marrow-



bones, toasted away claret, and tossed repartee, until they died as other men die, and are forgotten. The characters of Malone and Tisdall are still preserved in Baratariana and other satirical or serious records of that day. Sir Toby—I question, whether he may not have been the prototype, the *eidolon*, of Toby Philpot—has his name and his fame as an astute negociator engraven on the treaty of Limerick, and of course he belongs to history, but as a tavern toper I fear he is almost forgotten. His tomb is in St. James's churchyard, and anyone who enters that well-peopled cemetery must observe it as forming the chief ornament of that ugly place. Sir Toby's remains lie mouldering and liquefying there—but in sooth if ever ashes deserved to be vitrified and melted and cast into a drinking cup, they were those of this old Hibernian lawyer. It is astonishing how these old fellows could do business coolly in the day, who came to it under the effects of the over-night's hot debauch. Doubtless it did affect them, and I recollect some anecdotes of the same Sir Toby, that show the shifts that this old claret-guzzler had recourse to. Sir Toby was engaged in an important cause which required all his knowledge and legal acumen (which were not little) to defend, and the attorney, deeply alive to the importance of keeping Sir Toby cool, absolutely insisted upon his taking his corporal oath that he should not drink anything until the cause was decided; and of course sooner than lose the retaining fee, the affidavit was made, but kept as follows:—the cause came on—the trial proceeded—the opposite counsel made a masterly, luminous and apparently powerful impression on the jury—Sir Toby got up, and he was cool, too cool—his courage was not up to the sticking point—his hands trembled, his head was palsied—his tongue faltered—everything indicated feebleness—whereupon he sent to 'mine host' in Hell for a bottle of port and a roll, when extracting a portion of the soft of the roll, and filling up the hollow with the liquor, he actually ate the bottle of wine, and recovering his wonted power and ingenuity, he overthrew the adversary's argument, and won the cause. Reader, as I am a rambler by profession, allow me while I have a hold of Sir Toby, and as you may never hear of him again, to recount another anecdote of him, which proves that he was as well an honest as—

‘ A thirsty old soul  
As e'er cracked a bottle or fathom'd a bowl.’

Engaged in a cause where the counsel opposed to him appeared to carry both the feelings and opinion of the jury, he stood up and said—‘ Gentlemen of the jury, the cause of our antagonist, though plausible, is bad, if there be truth in the old saying that “good wine needs no bush, or a good cause no bribery;” here, gentlemen of the jury, is what was put into my hand this morning, holding out a purse of gold; ‘it was given in the hope that it would have bribed me into a lukewarm advocacy of my client's cause. But, gentlemen, here I throw down Achan's wedge—here I cast at your feet the accursed thing;’ and so he went on most ably to state his case and defend his cause, and no doubt but the exhibition of the purse had as much weight as the force of his

argument in inducing the jury to give a verdict in his favour."—"Dublin Penny Journal," vol. 1. pp. 142-3.

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NOTE 35.—PAGE 36.

The great cry of the Protestant party in England against King James was, that he intended to re-establish Popery; but it would appear from the following speech delivered to his Privy Council, after the Lords who went to proclaim the King returned to Whitehall, that such was not his intention.

"MY LORDS,—Before I enter upon any other business, I think fit to say something to you. Since it pleased Almighty God to place me in this station, and I am now to succeed so good and gracious a king, as well as so very kind a brother, I think it fit to declare to you that I will endeavour to follow his example, and most especially in that of his great clemency and tenderness to his people. I have been reported to be a man for arbitrary power, but that is not the only story has been made of me, and I shall make it my endeavour to preserve this Government both in Church and State as it is now by law established. I know the principles of the Church of England are for monarchy, and the members of it have showed themselves good and loyal subjects, therefore I shall always take care to defend and support it. I know, too, that the laws of England are sufficient to make the king as great a monarch as I can wish, and as I shall never depart from the just rights and prerogative of the Crown, so I shall never invade any man's property. I have often heretofore ventured my life in defence of this nation, and I shall still go as far as any man in preserving it in all its just rights and liberties." This speech, which was received with general satisfaction by the people, was afterwards printed by order of the King, and obtainde for him the name of James the Just.

## NOTE 36.—PAGE 38.

Certainly the jovial Sir Toby must have been very prejudiced against Oliver Cromwell, for the General alluded to in the text was no other than the Lord Protector himself. Although Sir Walter Butler opposed him to the last, Cromwell nevertheless complimented him highly on his courage. When the regicide general laid siege to Kilkenny, his troops were flushed with recent success, while the garrison was weakened by a fearful plague, which raged amongst them. Sir Walter Butler, who was the Governor, having contemptuously replied to the summons to surrender, the town was assaulted, but so gallant was Sir Walter's defence that, even after a breach had been made by the assailants, they were twice repulsed by the besieged. Cromwell's soldiers becoming irresolute, he resolved to raise the siege, which he would certainly have done, had he not received a message from the civic authorities expressing their wish to surrender. On hearing this, a third assault was ordered by him, but without success. At this juncture, Ireton arrived before the walls with fresh forces, and Lord Castlehaven having written to the besieged that he could give them no assistance, Sir Walter signalled for a parley. Cessation of arms was the result, and Cromwell granted the garrison most favourable conditions. As the garrison marched forth with all the honours of war, Cromwell in person complimented the soldiers and officers on their bravery, and particularly Sir Walter Butler, on the way he conducted the defence.

## NOTE 37.—PAGE 40.

Carol or Charles O'Daly the poet was brother of Donough More O'Daly of Laragh Castle near Athenry, county of Galway, ancestor of the Dalys of Dunsandle, now Lords Dunsandle and Clanconal, the Dalys of Raford Benmore Castle, and Lurgan, and other distinguished families of the name. Carol O'Daly was one of the most accomplished gentlemen of his time, and remarkable for the exquisite manner in which he performed on the harp. He particularly excelled in oratory, poetry, and music, and was known as the Silver-tongued Bard of Connaught. He paid his addresses to Ellen O'Kavanagh, the beautiful and accomplished daughter of a powerful Chieftain of the Mac Murrough-O'Kavanagh sept, who resided in the province of Leinster. She returned his love; but her family, objecting to her alliance with O'Daly, took advantage of his unavoidable absence from the country to make her believe that he was false to her, and had left for the purpose of wedding another. This artful story had the desired effect, and after a good deal of persuasion, she was prevailed on to consent to become the wife of a valiant young Chieftain of the Dalcassian race, named Torlough Mac Namara, who was a worthy scion of the princely Clan Cuilean, and was long

the unsuccessful rival of Carol O'Daly. The day of her wedding was named, but an aged harper, who was a tried follower of O'Daly's family, having succeeded in informing his absent Chief of the circumstance, he returned the night before the intended marriage. Actuated by deep melancholy, he sought a retired spot on the sea coast, where he composed the well remembered, and now popular song called 'Eileen a roon.' It was then customary in Ireland to admit bards and minstrels, without having been previously invited, to all kinds of festivities, and many of the guests had already assembled in the hall of O'Kavanagh to honour him on the joyful occasion of his fair daughter's nuptials, when Carol O'Daly in the disguise of a harper entered. It so happened that he was requested by Ellen to play, and, overcome by his own bitter feelings, he touched the harp-strings with such thrilling pathos, that in spite of his disguise she at once recognised her former and devoted lover, and that night fled with him into Connaught, escorted by thirty young chieftains, who were in waiting for the purpose at some distance from her father's Castle. Having evaded pursuit they arrived at their destination in safety, where their marriage was celebrated with a magnificence befitting their rank. There have been several imitations of 'Eileen a roon,' and Handel is said to have declared that he would rather be the author of it than of any of his own musical compositions. It is also alleged by many persons that it was on this romantic incident Sir Walter Scott founded his much admired song of Lochinvar, sung by Lady Heron in the fifth canto of Marmion. 'Eileen a roon' has, however, been foisted on the public under the name of Robin Adair, as a Scotch melody; and Burns, 'Scotia's favoured bard,' states that this song, and 'Molly Astore,' which he calls 'Gramachree,' were both Scotch compositions. He was mistaken, but the fact of his saying so is a sufficient proof of their merit, and his own good taste. Robin Adair was an Irishman, and ancestor of Viscount Molesworth. He lived at Hollypark, county of Wicklow, and early in the last century was a member of the Irish Parliament.

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NOTE 38.—PAGE 45.

Laughtyshaughnessy was, for many years, the property of the Blake-Forsters, and comprised 192A. 2R. 24P., Irish. The name is derived from a number of families of the sept of O'Shaughnessy, having quarrelled with their Chief, deserted him, and settled here. At the time mentioned in the text, many tenants of the name of O'Shaughnessy resided on this estate, and it is remarkable, that they were more attached to the Chief of Clooneene, than to their own Chieftain. On the 7th of May, 1792, Robert Blake-Forster leased Laughtyshaughnessy to Richard D'Arcy, Esq., of Rockvale, for three lives, the last of

whom died on or about the 8th of April, 1851. This portion of the Blake-Forster property is situated within about a mile of the town of Gort, and is bounded on the north and south by public roads.

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NOTE 39.—PAGE 49.

The lands which adjoin the beautiful Lake of Loughcutra, were then a swamp, and known as Tyroloughan, or the country of the ducks, from the number of wild-fowl that frequented them; but they have not only since then changed this name, but their condition, like so many other places in this historic neighbourhood; for what was anciently Tyroloughan is now the handsome demesne of Loughcutra Castle, and, at present, the property of Lord Gough.

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NOTE 40.—PAGE 53.

From this Pierce Lynch of Rafladown, lineally descended Pierce Lynch, Esq., of Rafladown, who died on the 15th of July, 1781, and was interred in the Blake-Forster Chapel, at Kilmacduach Abbey, Francis Blake-Forster, Esq., of Clooneene, having consented, as it was the deceased gentleman's wish. He had issue five daughters, namely, 1. Mary Lynch, who married first Simon Forster, Esq., of Fidane, in the county of Galway, sixth son of Colonel Francis Forster, of Clooneene and Rathorpe, by his wife Mary, only daughter of Captain James MacDonnell, of Kilkee, in the county of Clare, by whom she had issue one son and three daughters. She married, secondly, Francis O'Brien, Esq. J. P., of Durra, county Clare, by whom she also had issue; 2. Eliza Lynch, who married William Fitzgerald, of Ashgrove, and had issue the Right Honourable James Fitzgerald, Prime Serjeant-at-Law, and a Privy Councillor of Ireland. He married in 1782 Catherine, sister and co-heiress of John Vesey, Esq., of Oranmore, county of Galway, whom she succeeded at his death in 1779, he having bequeathed the property which he inherited from his uncles to his two sisters, with an injunction that their heirs male should bear the surname and arms of Vesey. This lady was elevated to the Peerage of Ireland on the 27th of June, 1826, as Baroness Fitzgerald and Vesey of Clare and Inchicronan, in the county of Clare, in which title she was succeeded by her eldest son the Honourable William Fitzgerald, M. P. for the county of Clare, and a Privy Councillor, who assumed the additional surname and arms of Vesey, by Royal Sign Manual in 1815; 3. Margaret Lynch, who married Fitzgibbon, of Ballyseedy; 4. Jane Lynch, who married Peter Martyn, of Tillyra Castle, county of Galway, and had issue; and, 5. Julia Lynch, who married Edmond Kirwan, Esq., of county of Galway.

## NOTE 41.—PAGE 56.

Lest the Duras mentioned in the text should be mistaken for the place now called Duras Park, the property of Captain John Wilson Lynch, or Duras House, the property of the Count de Basterot, it is necessary to mention that it means Duras near Kinvara, now called Castle Forster, the property of the writer. These three estates were originally one, and belonged to a branch of the ancient family of Ffrench, from which the three present proprietors are maternally descended. The name *Duras* is derived from the Irish word *Dubh-ros*, i. e., the Black Promontory. The word *Ros*, when topographically applied, has two distinct meanings, namely, 1, a point of land extending into the sea, or a large lake; and 2, a wood or forest. Its diminutive form *popán* or *pápán* is still used in the spoken Irish to denote a shrubbery or underwood. Duras, which was sometimes written *Duros* and *Dooross*, is situated near the town of Kinvara, in the barony of Kiltarton, and county of Galway, and is, therefore, within the bounds of what anciently constituted the territory of Cineal Aodh. See Notes 16 and 42.

## NOTE 42.—PAGE 61.

This ancient monument, which is still known as the Druid Altar, is in a good state of preservation, and stands in the demesne of Castle Forster near Kinvara. For its dimensions, see territory of Cineal Aodh in Hy-Fiachrach in the Appendix.

## NOTE 43.—PAGE 64.

There are now scarcely any remains of the old Fort of Rathorpe in existence, although it was formerly a place of great strength. At a short distance from its site are a few ruined walls, which are all that are left of the mansion of Major James Forster, the High Sheriff of the county of Galway, in 1689 and 1690. The peasantry believe that this fort was inhabited by fairies, who regularly supplied the cellars of the house of Rathorpe, which adjoined it, with the best wines. At this period a gentleman named Hugh O'Shaughnessy, a representative of a junior branch of the Gortinsiguara family, resided near here. He was said to be a great astrologer, necromancer, linguist, and musician, and was known by the name of Aodh Buighe na Glass, or Yellow Hugh the Magician. It was believed he possessed all the valuable talismans and



rare books on magic, which had belonged to the terrible Dermot Riveagh, known as the 'Queen's O'Shaughnessy,' who, according to the traditions of Hy-Fiachrach, was the first magician of the O'Shaughnessy sept. It appears by the Cloran Papers, that Aodh Buighe was an adherent of James II., and was present at the battle of the Boyne. In 1689 Major James Forster resided at Rathorpe. His father Captain Francis Forster, styled the Chief of Clooneene, lived at the latter place. Young Captain Francis, the Chief's grandson, on the death of his father, the High Sheriff, resided at Rathorpe, his elder brother John, as head of the family, being living at Clooneene. On John's death, his brother Francis, then Colonel Forster of Rathorpe, succeeded to the property, and from thenceforth is styled in all the family papers of the Blake-Forsters, as of 'Clooneene and Rathorpe.' According to the Blake-Forster MSS., Rathorpe was, in 1743, the residence of his eldest son James, who was the last of the family that resided there; and from that forth Clooneene alone is mentioned in the various deeds. His younger brother Simon, the sixth son of Colonel Forster of Clooneene, removed from the latter place to Fidane, where he built a house at considerable expense. The family abandoned Rathorpe, in consequence, according to tradition, of every female who had slept in a certain room there having been found dead in the morning. It is worthy of remark, that a portion of the Irish army, while retreating from Aughrim to Limerick, made a stand at Rathorpe, at a place called Cliagh na Gaul, where they gave battle to their pursuers. A large number was slain on both sides, and the Irish afterwards continued their march, without being further molested, to Limerick, which still resolutely held out for King James. It is also said, by tradition, that Prince Charles Edward, the eldest son of the Chevalier de St. George, or King James III., as he was styled on the Continent, resided for a short time here, in 1753, in disguise. He was treated with every mark of respect by the adherents of his father in the county of Galway, who privately acknowledged him as Prince of Wales. The gay and handsome Prince was very popular, and, like the other members of his family, was a general favourite with the ladies. It is said, that on one occasion he attended a cock-fight near the town of Galway, where, observing some young men throwing a sledge, he took part in their amusement. Having cast the sledge considerably farther than any of the others, a shrewd old man present gave three cheers for the 'Blackbird,' which were heartily joined in by the rest of the people. The Mayor, Ambrose Poole, who was also present, being a staunch supporter of the Church and State, of Crown and Bible, and who was often heard to say, he would burn the Pope and Pretender together, suspecting the Prince to be some important Jacobite spy, hastened back to town to procure a strong party of soldiers to arrest him, and punish the insolence of the people for having dared to speak of the Blackbird in his presence. While absent with this intention, the Prince, by the advice of some of his friends, immediately took his departure; and though, since his heroic but unsuccessful expedition to Scotland, in 1745, a reward of £10,000 was offered for him, dead or alive, by the English

Government, he, nevertheless, escaped out of Ireland. Indeed, the romantic adventures and narrow escapes of this remarkable young Prince are stranger than fiction; and he was, perhaps, one of the most unfortunate of the unfortunate family to which he belonged. On the death of his father, the exiled James III., he took the title of Charles III.; but the English whom he called his subjects, and a great portion of the Irish and Scotch who adhered to the House of Hanover, continued to style him the Young Pretender.

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NOTE 44.—PAGE 66.

Crushnahawn, which was settled by his grandfather on John Forster, Esq., the eldest son of Major James Forster of Rathorpe, High Sheriff of the county of Galway in 1689-90, is one of the oldest houses in the county. It was afterwards called Crossford; but the late F. Blake-Forster, Esq., of Clooneene, and Knockmoy Abbey, changed the name to Rose Hill, in compliment to his wife, the Hon. Rose Blake-Forster, who was daughter of Lord Ffrench, of Castle Ffrench, county Galway. In 1817 he built a house at the Rock of Durragh, which, for the same reason, he called Rose Park. The Right Rev. Doctor Edmond Ffrench, Lord Bishop of Kilmacduach and Kilfenora, and last Catholic Warden of Galway, resided here for some years.

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NOTE 45.—PAGE 66.

The remains of this fort are still to be seen in the demesne of Clooneene, but so altered, that it is scarcely recognizable. The cave in the centre is completely stopped up.

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NOTE 46.—PAGE 67.

Sir John Forster, Knight Banneret, Lord Warden of the Middle Marches, Lord of Blanchland, and Captain and Governor of Bamborough Castle, Northumberland, was second son of Sir Thomas Forster, Knight, Lord of Ethers-ton, and his wife Dorothea, daughter of Ralph Lord Ogle, of Ogle, and Baron Bothal, of Bothal Castle, Northumberland. He married Jane, daughter of Sir Cuthbert Radcliffe, High Sheriff of Northumberland, in 1528, by his wife Margaret, daughter of Henry Lord Clifford. Sir Cuthbert Radcliffe was ancestor of the brave young Earl of Derwentwater, who was beheaded on Tower Hill on the 24th of February, 1715, for having taken part in the rebellion

raised by his kinsman General Forster, of Bamborough. See Note 181. The bill for the funeral expenses of the Lord Warden was £454 11s. 7d., an enormous amount in those days.

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NOTE 47.—PAGE 68.

The ancient Norman family of De Sarsefeld, Scarsfielde, or Sarsfield, has been settled in Ireland since the twelfth century. Sir Thomas de Sarsfield, 'Premier porte-banniere du Roi Henri II., A. D. 1172,' was the first of this family that came to Ireland. In 1302 King Edward I. invited Thomas and Stephen de Sarsfield, 'both knights of high degree,' to assist him in his Scottish wars. In 1345 John, son of Stephen de Sarsfield, was one of the guardians of the peace for the county of Cork; and a Henry, son of David Sarsfield, is returned as then residing in the same county. In the reign of this King, a branch of the family settled in Meath, one of whom, in some generations afterwards, by the style of Sarsfield, Lord of Lucan, sent two archers to the hosting of Tara. In 1554 Sir Patrick Sarsfield, Knt., was slain in a feud at Dublin, and a William Sarsfield was set upon and slain by the O'Tooles in 1543. In 1554 Patrick Sarsfield was Lord Mayor, and William Sarsfield was one of the Sheriffs of Dublin. This William was also Lord Mayor of that city in 1566, in which year, being then described as of Lucan, he was knighted by Sir Henry Sydney, the Lord Deputy of Ireland; and it was he who ravaged Imaile, and cut off the head of its Chieftain. Sir William was Seneschal of the Royal Manor of Newcastle, in 1591, and died in 1613, leaving John Sarsfield his son and heir apparent, who died some time before 1618. In 1609, Sir Dominick Sarsfield, head of another branch of the family, who was Premier Baronet of Ireland, and Lord Chief Justice of Munster, was one of the three Commissioners whom King James I. assigned to demarcate the municipal boundaries of Cork. In this year also he was appointed Second Justice of the Irish Court of King's Bench, and in 1610 was promoted to the Chief Justiceship of the Court of Common Pleas in Ireland. In 1612 he received a grant from the Crown of the Castle of Carriglemlary, with thirteen plowlands, 'license' to export corn and victuals raised on the premises, free of all customs, with tithes, fisheries, courts of pie-poudre, and the usual tolls, liberty to em-park with free warren, &c., &c. Sir Dominick Sarsfield was also bound to plant ninety families on these lands. In 1627 he was raised to the peerage by Charles I., who created him Viscount Kinsale, a place which had, since the reign of King John, given the title of Baron in the Peerage of Ireland, with unbroken succession, to the noble family of De Courcy. On hearing of the dignity conferred on Sir Dominick, John de Courcy, who then bore the title of Lord Kinsale, and Gerald, his son, petitioned King Charles and the Lords of the Council in England against Sir Dominick Sarsfield's assumption of the dignity of Viscount Kinsale. This petition was referred to the Judges, who transferred the question to the Earl Marshal of England, as the proper person to decide

the question. From his Report it appears, that the De Courcys had, from time immemorial, been styled Barons of Kinsale and Ringrone; and he, therefore held, that to have two titles standing, one of the Barony in De Courcy, and another of the Viscounty in Sarsfield, would be an ill-confounding of titles of honour; and that, therefore, Sir Dominick Sarsfield, though he might maintain his rank, should take his title from some other place in Ireland, or be called Viscount Sarsfield. Accordingly, with the King's permission, his Lordship took the title of Viscount Kilmallock. See Note 144. In 1632, a Patrick Sarsfield died, leaving Peter his son and heir, who was outlawed in 1642, by the description of 'Peter Sarsfield, of Tully, county Kildare.' In 1678, Michael, Robert, and Elizabeth Sarsfield received a confirmatory grant of 704 acres of land in Roscommon; and in the following year, John Sarsfield received one for 1,438 acres, in the county of Clare. The MacNamaras of Doolin and Ennistymon are maternally descended from the Clare branch of the Sarsfield family, as is also the family of Comyn, of Kilcorney, in that county, and Woodstock, Galway. In the Irish Parliament, opened by King James in May, 1689, the Right Honourable Dominick Sarsfield took his seat in the House of Lords, as Viscount Kilmallock.

Sir William Sarsfield, Knt., of Lucan, in the county of Dublin, already mentioned as living in the reign of King James I., died in 1613, and was succeeded by his eldest son—

John Sarsfield, Esq., of Lucan, who dying about the year 1618, was succeeded by his son—

Patrick Sarsfield, Esq., of Lucan, who married Anne, daughter of the celebrated Colonel Rory O'Moore, and his wife Jane, eldest daughter of Sir Patrick Barnewall, of Turney and Grace-Dieu in the county of Dublin, and had issue:—

I. William his heir.

II. Patrick, created Earl of Lucan, of whom presently.

III. Mary, who married her kinsman Dominick Sarsfield, Viscount Kilmallock. See Note 144.

IV. Anne, who married Edward Cheevers, created Baron of Bannow and Viscount Mount-Leinster, but had no issue. This nobleman who was an adherent of King James, followed him in his exile.

William Sarsfield, Esq. of Lucan, the eldest son, married Lady Mary, sister of the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth, who was beheaded on Tower Hill, in June, 1685, by whom he had issue one daughter—

Charlotte, who, after the attainder and forfeitures of her uncle, the brave Earl of Lucan, married Agmondesham Vesey, Esq., son of the Archbishop of Tuam, by whom she had issue:—

1. Henrietta, who married Cæsar Colclough, Esq., of Tintern Abbey, county of Wexford.

2. Anne, who married Sir John Bingham of Castlebar, county of Mayo, by whom she was ancestress of the present Earl of Lucan. In 1709, Agmondesham Vesey petitioned the Irish House of Commons, setting forth his marriage

with said Charlotte Sarsfield, and praying, in consideration of his having borrowed £1,000 for the payment of her father's debts, and of the great expenses which he had incurred in prosecuting and maintaining the right of him, and his children to her said father's estate, that a Bill should be passed empowering him (who was only tenant for life) to charge said estate with a sum not exceeding £2,000 ; and such a Bill was passed accordingly.

Patrick Sarsfield, Esq. of Lucan, the second son, succeeded to the family property on the death of his elder brother William, without male issue. He first served in France as an Ensign in the regiment of George, Count Hamilton, as appears by a letter, dated the 21st of October, 1689, written at King James's camp at Ardee by the Count d'Avaux to the Minister of War in France: "*C'est un gentilhomme distingué par son merite qui a plus de credit dans ce royaume qu'aucun homme que je connoisse ; il a de la valeur mais surtout de l'honneur et la probité à toute épreuve et c'est un homme sur qui le Roy pouvoit compter et qui ne quitteroit jamais son service. Il a servi en France en qualité d'Enseigne dans le Regiment d'Hamilton et depuis a esté Lieutenant des Gardes du Corps, du Roy en Angleterre, et est le seul qui ait combatter, pour son service contre le Prince d'Orange ; et lorsque sa Majesté Britannique fut arrivée en Irlande j'eus toutes les peines du monde à le faire faire Brigadier quoyque, M. de Tirconnell s'y employast fortement sans que j'y parusse, le Roy disant que c'estoit un fort brave homme mais qui n'avoit point de teste. My Lord Tirconnell ne laissa pas de l'envoyer dans la Province de Connaught avec une poignée de gens. Il a levé pres de deux mille hommes par son credit et avec ces troupes là il a conservé toute la Province de Connaught au Roy.*" It is incorrectly stated by some writers that this patriotic Irishman was an Ensign in the Duke of Monmouth's regiment during Charles II.'s exile, but I could never ascertain that Monmouth had a regiment on the Continent, and the above quotation plainly states that it was in Hamilton's he held the commission. He was a Lieutenant in the Royal Guards in England during the early part of the reign of James II., and on the breaking out of the revolution in England in 1688, caused by the landing of the Prince of Orange, he followed the fortunes of his King to France, as he would not recognise the authority of the Dutch Prince. In March, 1689, he accompanied King James to Ireland. Here he was created a member of the Privy Council, appointed a Colonel of a regiment of Horse, which he raised at his own expense, and promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General. The Right Honourable Almericus Lord Kinsale was Lieutenant-Colonel of this regiment. In 1690, Sarsfield was promoted to the rank of Major-General, and elevated to the Peerage by King James, who created him Baron of Rosberry, Viscount of Tully, and Earl of Lucan in the county of Dublin, and Peerage of Ireland, and the patent conferring those well-merited dignities on him was brought to Ireland, from the Court of St. Germain's by the Duke of Tyrconnell, the then Lord Lieutenant. After the memorable treaty of Limerick, which was signed on the third day of October, 1691, and to which Lord Lucan was a chief contracting party, he sailed for France, regardless of the fine property he left behind him, his rent-roll being £2,000 per

annum, a large sum in those days. In 1692, his Lordship was appointed by King James to the command of the 2nd Troop of Irish Horse Guards, and on the defeat at Steenkirk, in July that year, of the Allies under William III., by the French and Irish under the Marshal Duke de Luxembourg, that nobleman highly complimented the Earl of Lucan on his gallant conduct during the engagement. In March, 1693, Louis XIV. appointed him *Maréchal de Camp* or Major-General in the French Service. At the defeat, in the following July, of the Allies, who were again commanded by William III. at the great battle of Landen, or Neer-Winden, or Neer-Hespen, he was mortally wounded, as shown in the text, page 330, and was removed to Huy, where he shortly after died of a fever caused by his wounds. He had been married to the beautiful and accomplished Lady Honora de Burgh, second daughter of the Right Hon. William, seventh Earl of Clanricarde; and by her, who married secondly the Marshal Duke of Berwick, Peer of France, &c., (see Note 48), he had issue—

I. James Francis Edward, Viscount of Tully.

II. Lady Mary Sarsfield, who married Theodore Baron de Newburg, so well known as the celebrated Theodore, King of Corsica.

James Francis Edward Sarsfield, Viscount of Tully, who was godson of the Prince of Wales, afterwards known as King James III., succeeded his gallant father as second Earl of Lucan, and served with distinction in the Spanish service, under his illustrious stepfather the Marshal Duke of Berwick. Being wounded in the last assault made at the great siege of Barcelona in 1714 he received from Philip V., King of Spain, the Collar of the Golden Fleece, and a company of his *Guardes du Corps*. This nobleman, who inherited all the military talent of his father, having left no family, the other Sarsfields, distinguished in the service of France and Spain, belonged to other branches of the family.

At the Court of Claims in 1703, Francis Sarsfield claimed, and was allowed, a fee in lands at Saggard, county of Dublin, forfeited by Patrick Sarsfield, and in all his other estates in the county of Kildare, &c., &c. Dominick, James, and Patrick Sarsfield, minors, claimed by their father, Dominick Sarsfield, an estate tail in Cork lands, of which he was the late occupant; disallowed. Patrick Sarsfield, in behalf of his son John, a minor, claimed an estate tail in Cork lands, forfeited by the said Patrick; allowed after the decease of John's father and mother. Said Patrick Sarsfield also claimed an estate tail in Lucan, Rathbride, &c.; dismissed.

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#### NOTE 48.—PAGE 71.

James Fitz James was the eldest son of King James II., by Arabella Churchill, daughter of Sir Winstan Churchill, and sister of the famous Duke of Marlborough, one of the greatest military commanders of his time. He was born



in August, 1670, and created, during his father's reign in England, Baron of Bosworth, Earl and Marquis of Tinmouth, and Duke of Berwick in the Peerage of England, Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, Knight of the Most Ancient Order of the Thistle, Lord Lieutenant of Hampshire, Ranger of the New Forest, Governor of Portsmouth, successively, Colonel of the Infantry Regiment, now the 8th Foot; of the Cavalry Regiment, now the Blues, and Captain of the 3rd Troop of Life Guards; besides, by commission from the Emperor Leopold I., of Austria, a Sergeant-General of Battle, or Major-General, Colonel Commandant *ad interim* of the Imperial Regiment of Cuirassiers; during the war in Ireland, and afterwards on the Continent, Captain of a Troop of the Irish Horse-Guards, and Colonel of the Irish Infantry Regiment of Berwick, Marshal and Peer of France, by the title of Duke de FitzJames, Member of the Council of Regency, Commander of Languedoc, Governor of the Limousin and Strasburg, Chevalier of the Order of the Holy Ghost; of the Orders of the King, and Chevalier of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis in France, and Captain-General Duke of Liria and Xerica; Grandee of the First Class, Knight of the Military Order of Calatrava, Knight of the Ordre de la Toison d'or, Knight of the Golden Fleece, &c., in Spain. Like his maternal uncle the Duke of Marlborough, he was one of the ablest generals of his time, and a highly accomplished gentleman. He had a great taste for gardening, was fond of study, and was the intimate friend of the most learned men of the day, amongst whom were Lord Bolingbroke, the President de Montesquieu, and the witty Count Anthony Hamilton, for an account of whom see Note 81. The Duke of Berwick left Memoirs of his Life written in French, down to the year 1716. Speaking of his Grace, De Montesquieu, says:—"I have seen at a distance in the works of Plutarch what great men were; in Marshal Berwick I have seen what they are." He was married, first, at the Palace of St. Germain, in 1695, to the widow of the gallant Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, who was Lady Honora de Burgh, daughter of William, seventh Earl of Clanricarde. Her Ladyship died on the 16th of January, 1698, at Pezenas, in Languedoc, and was interred in February at Pontoise, where the following epitaph was placed to her memory. It was written by the Rev. Gelasius MacMahon, a Catholic clergyman, and head of the Milesian race of MacMahon, of Monaghan, and brother of Colonel Art, or Arthur MacMahon, who was killed at the siege of Athlone in 1691:—

"Perspice quisquis ades memorique ex Marmore disce  
 Gemma sub hoc Tumulo quam pretiosa jacet,  
 Inclyta Stirpe Ducum Regalis Sanguinis Auctrix  
 Lecta Ducis Conjux Principe digna Parens  
 Clanrickard Natam Ormond et Clancartie Neptem  
 Berwici Dominam plorat Jerna Nurum  
 Integritas Virtus florensque Modestia Morum  
 Gaudia sunt Cœlo cœtera Luctus habet  
 Pontis Sacra Domus commissum Pignus honora  
 Mortua demeritas poscit Honora Vices."

The Duke of Berwick married, secondly, in 1700, Anne, second daughter of the Honourable Henry Bulkeley, Master of the Household to Charles II., and James II., by his wife Sophia Stewart, sister of the accomplished and beautiful Duchess of Richmond, who first sat as a model for the graceful representation of Britannia, stamped on the copper coin of Great Britain. The Hon. Henry Bulkeley, the Duchess of Berwick's father, was fourth son of Thomas Bulkeley, Esq., of Baron Hall, in the Isle of Anglesea, who was in 1643 created by Charles I., Lord Viscount Bulkeley of Cashel, in the Peerage of Ireland, and was a lineal descendant of Sir Robert de Bulkeley, Lord of the Manor of Bulkeley, in the county Palatine of Chester, in the reign of King John. Her ladyship was sister of the Hon. Charlotte Bulkeley, who first married Charles O'Brien, fifth Lord Viscount Clare (see Note 163), and secondly, Lieutenant-General Daniel Count O'Mahony. She had also two other sisters, the Hon. Henrietta and the Hon. Laura Bulkeley, each of whom inspired the muse of Count Anthony Hamilton, author of the *Memoirs de Grammont*; for an account of whom see Note 81. He is said, by tradition, to have loved the former lady. Both those accomplished ladies, however, died unmarried. The Duchess of Berwick had also two brothers, one of whom was Lieutenant-General the Hon. Francis Bulkeley, Chevalier of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Colonel of the regiment de Bulkeley, and Governor of St. Jean-Pied de Port, who married the daughter of Philip de Cantillon, member of a Norman-Irish family, and an adherent of the Royal House of Stuart, whose exile he shared in France. He was also founder of one of the principal banks in Europe, which he established at Paris, and distinguished for his literary attainments. By this lady he had a son Francis Henry Count de Bulkeley, born in France in 1739. He succeeded to the colonelship of his father's regiment on the 7th March, 1754, who then resigned in his favour, and died on the 14th January, 1756, aged seventy. Count de Bulkeley was appointed Major-General on the 3rd of January, 1770, and Lieutenant-General on the 1st of January, 1784. He was also Minister Plenipotentiary from the Court of France to the Diet of the German Empire, and for his services in this capacity he received a pension.

King James's other children by Arabella Churchill, who was born in March, 1648, were—2. Henrietta FitzJames, born in 1670, who first married, in 1683, Henry Lord Waldegrave; and secondly, Lord Wilmot, and died in April, 1730; some writers incorrectly state that this lady was born in 1671; 3. Laura FitzJames, born in 1672, who became a nun in France, where she died in February, 1762, aged about ninety years; and 4. Henry FitzJames, born in 1673, Lord Grand Prior of England, &c. See Note 49. Arabella Churchill afterwards married Colonel Charles Godfrey of the first Regiment of Horse, which, since 1788, is the Fourth Royal Irish Regiment of Dragoon Guards, who was also Clerk Comptroller of the Green Cloth, and Master of the Jewel Office. By this gentleman she was mother of two daughters, Charlotte, who married Lord Falmouth, and Elizabeth who married

Edmond Dunch, Esq. Mrs. Godfrey died in May, 1730, aged eighty-two, having outlived her royal lover, her husband who died in 1715, and her children.

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NOTE 49.—PAGE 74.

Henry FitzJames, the Lord Grand Prior of England, who was born in 1673, was the fourth child, and second son of James II., by Arabella Churchill. See Note 48. During the war in Ireland he was appointed Colonel of an infantry regiment, which was known from that forth as Lord Henry FitzJames's regiment; but, when his lordship returned to France, after the battle of the Boyne, it was placed under the command of Colonel Nicholas FitzGerald, and distinguished itself during the first siege of Limerick in 1690, particularly in the memorable assault of the 6th September, which in a great measure led to the Prince of Orange being compelled to raise the siege. The Lord Grand Prior was remarkably brave, though in character he much resembled his uncle the Merry Monarch, and was from early youth intended by his father for the navy. Therefore, after King James's unsuccessful attempt to regain his Crown in Ireland, Lord Henry FitzJames entered the French marine or navy, and, in consequence, the regiment, of which he was Colonel, was known on the Continent from that forth as the '*Régiment de la Mariné.*' He particularly distinguished himself at sea in 1693, against the English, Dutch, and Spanish, he being then serving under the Count de Tourville. He was created by his father, while in Ireland, Duke of Dublin; and in France he was pleased to confer on him the additional title of Duke of Albemarle, after which his Regiment was known on the Continent as the '*Régiment d'Albemarle.*' His Grace married Marie Gabrielle, only daughter and heiress of Jean d'Audibert Baron de Valrose, and Count de Lussan, a Chevalier of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, but had no issue by her. The Duke de Albemarle, who was an Admiral in the French navy, and Lieutenant-General in the French army, died on the 17th December, 1702, aged twenty-nine, at Bagnols, in Languedoc, on which occasion Louis XIV. put the French Court in mourning for him.

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NOTE 50.—PAGE 74.

The Hon. Sir Thomas Nugent, of Pallas, in the county of Galway, was second son of Richard, second Earl of Westmeath, by his wife Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Nugent, Baronet, of Moyrath. Having chosen the law as a profession, he was appointed by Privy Seal, dated the 12th September, 1685, of the counsel learned in the law to James II.; and on the 23rd of April,

1686, Sir Richard Reynell's successor, as one of the Justices of the Court of King's Bench. On the next day the King ordered that he, the Right Hon. Denis Daly of Carrownakelly, county of Galway, Second Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and Charles Inglesby, Baron of the Exchequer, should be admitted to their respective places without being required to take the Oath of Supremacy. On the 15th of October, 1687, Sir Thomas succeeded Richard Pyne, as Chief Justice of this Court, and was created by patent, dated by the King at Dublin, 3rd of April, 1689, Baron Nugent, of Riverston, in the county of Westmeath; but as the Peerage was conferred after King James had 'abdicated'—as the Williamites term his retirement to France for his own preservation—this title was not acknowledged by William III., or his successors. However, it is a fact, strange as it may appear, that this nobleman, who was present at the capitulation of Limerick, is styled Lord Riverston by Lieutenant-General Baron de Ginckell, and some of the documents in which he is so designated by the Williamite Commander-in-chief are still in possession of Lord Riverston's lineal descendant, the Right Hon. Anthony Francis, present and ninth Earl of Westmeath. However, this title was never recognised by the present reigning dynasty, and it appears almost incomprehensible to many persons why subjects should be punished so severely, 'even unto the third and fourth generation,' for being loyal to their lawful sovereign. But though the Government did not recognise this title, Lord Riverston has by hereditary descent succeeded to the Earldom of Westmeath. Lord Riverston was on the 6th of July, 1689, appointed a Commissioner of the Treasury in Ireland, as he was again on the 17th of June, 1690, with the Duke of Tyrconnell, Lord Dover, Sir Stephen Rice, and Bruno Talbot, Esq., but his Lordship was outlawed by William III. for being an adherent of King James. In 1680, Lord Riverston married Mariana, only daughter of Henry, second Lord Viscount Kingsland, and dying in May, 1715, had issue by her, who died at Pallas, on the 16th of September, 1735.

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NOTE 51.—PAGE 76.

Such is not now the case, as Ennis returns but one member to the Imperial Parliament, and the municipal body consists of Town Commissioners. The following sketch of the annals of this town, from the commencement of the seventeenth century, may be found interesting:—

1689. In James II.'s Irish Parliament, which assembled at Dublin, on the 7th May, this year, the famous Sir Toby Butler and Florence Mac Carthy represented Ennis. See Note 66.

1690. On the 10th of April, James II. issued a commission for applotting £20,000 per month on personal estates and the benefit of trade and traffic, 'according to the ancient custom of this kingdom used in the time of danger.'

King James appointed persons of local influence throughout the country to collect this tax for three months. Those for the county of Clare, were—

The High Sheriff, *pro tem.*

Sir Donough O'Brien, Bart., of Dromoland and Lemenagh.

John Mac Namara, D. L., of Cratloe Castle.

Donough O'Brien, J. P., of Dough Castle.

Colonel John Mac Namara, of Moyriesk.

Florence Mac Namara.

Daniel Mac Namara.

James Aylmer.

Samuel Boyton.

John Mac Namara, Collector, and

The Provost of Ennis, *pro tem.*

Their applotment amounted to £1798 5s. 6d.

1703. In the Parliament which met at Dublin, on the 21st of September, this year, the Members for the county of Clare, were—Sir Donough O'Brien, Bart., of Dromoland, and Lucius O'Brien, Esq., his son. Those elected to represent the borough of Ennis were—Francis Burton, and Simon Purdon.

1714. In the new Parliament which assembled on the 25th November, the members for the county of Clare were—Sir Donough O'Brien, Bart., of Dromoland, and Sir Lucius O'Brien, Knt., his son. Those elected for the town of Ennis, were—Francis Burton and Francis Gore. The latter took his seat in place of David Bindon, who was declared on petition to have been unduly elected.

1715. On the accession of the House of Hanover to the throne of England, it was necessary to call a new Parliament—the previous one having been brought to a close by the death of Queen Anne, on the 1st of August, 1714.

The election of members for this Parliament is remarkable for the ill-feeling which the Catholics and Protestants exhibited towards each other, and the ruinous effect of the Penal Laws, which caused such party spirit to exist between the people of this country. Sir Donough O'Brien, the senior member in the late Parliament, owing to his advanced age, and declining health, refused to become a candidate for Parliamentary honors on this occasion. Consequently his second son, Henry O'Brien, and Nicholas Westby, were nominated to represent the freeholders of the county of Clare, but were opposed by Francis Gore, the late member for Ennis, and John Ievers. The two latter were declared duly elected by the High Sheriff. Shortly after the meeting of Parliament, however, a petition was presented by the unsuccessful candidates on their own behalf, and on that of the majority of the Protestant freeholders, which stated that the city members, Francis Gore and John Ievers, had been candidates publicly announced for the representation of the county of Clare. That Arthur Gore (son of the said Francis, the candidate), having been the High Sheriff, and having received the writ of election on the 7th or 9th of October, 1715, did not give notice of the time or place of holding the election

until the 21st of that month, when at a County Court held at Asollas he caused proclamation to be made that he would on the 27th of that month, between the hours of ten and twelve o'clock in the morning, proceed to hold the election. That he signed warrants for the freeholders to meet at the said last-mentioned place, without stating the precise hour. That the Sheriff having previously caused a stage to be erected on the lands of Mount Ievers, near the house of the said Ievers, one of the candidates, and close to six-mile-bridge, did at the hour of nine in the forenoon of the said day of election call a poll, and did poll nine or ten votes for the said Ievers and his father, and about one or two for the petitioners. That the said Sheriff was then informed that a great number of freeholders were within a quarter of a mile of the place, on their way to vote, and he was asked to delay declaring the poll, but refused to comply with the request; and that he then and there declared his father and John Ievers duly elected. That shortly after ten o'clock the petitioner, Henry O'Brien and Charles Smyth, on behalf of Nicholas Westby, came to the place of election with about 150 of the known Protestant freeholders, and demanded a poll, which was refused. That as the said petitioner and Charles Smyth, and the freeholders whom they claimed to have polled, were riding off from the place, seven or eight of the Sheriff's men, wearing his livery, with charged carbines, fired a volley at the petitioner and those by whom he was so accompanied. That after the departure of the petitioner and the said Smyth, the Sheriff went to the house of one Stephen Bagwell, and there did receive the votes of several persons in favour of his father and Ievers, and did indent them. There was also another petition corroborating the statements of the petitioners, and praying that the election of the sitting Members might be declared null and void, which was presented from Neptune Blood, Dean of Kilfenora, George Colpoyse and Robert Harrison, Esqrs. This petition was referred to a Committee of the House appointed to inquire into the matter. Notwithstanding the strenuous exertions made by the defeated candidates and their friends, the election was confirmed on the 13th of the following December, as appears by the journals of the House of Commons.

1727. The death of George I., on the 11th of June this year, put an end to the Parliament in Ireland, which had met twelve years previously. Accordingly a new one was summoned to assemble on the 14th of November in the same year. Sir Donough O'Brien of Dromoland died ten years before this event took place, and having survived his eldest son Sir Lucius O'Brien, Knt., on his death the Baronetcy and estates devolved on his grandson, Edward. Sir Edward now became a candidate for the representation of the county, but met with great opposition from the High Sheriff, who was opposed to his party. The other candidates were Francis Burton, John Ievers, and George Purdon. Burton and Purdon were returned by the High Sheriff as duly elected; and on the 30th of November, Sir Edward O'Brien presented a petition against George Purdon's return. Sir Edward alleged that the High Sheriff behaved with great partiality, and received the votes of unqualified persons for Ievers and



Purdon, while he refused those of duly qualified persons for the petitioner and Francis Burton. That although he had a greater number of voters in his favour than any of the other candidates had, and should have been declared duly elected along with Francis Burton, yet that the Sheriff returned the name of Purdon instead of petitioner's, who therefore claimed redress.

Another petition was presented by John Ievers against the High Sheriff, charging him with having interposed artful delays and arbitrary adjournments to the progress of the election, and with having refused to hear the petitioner's objections to the votes received by him in favour of the other candidates. On the reception of those petitions a resolution passed the House that the witnesses should be examined in a most solemn manner. It appeared Ievers having been allowed to withdraw his petition, and Sir Edward O'Brien permitted to prove bribery and corruption on the part of the sitting Member, Purdon, that the number of the voters as alleged by the petitioner were as follows :—For—

Sir Edward O'Brien, Bart.,	.	.	196.
Francis Burton,	.	.	187.
George Purdon,	.	.	182.
John Ievers,	.	.	149.

The Committee having, on the hearing, resolved that it was their opinion that a Protestant married to a Popish wife, since the 1st of January, 1697, who had not within one year after such marriage become a Protestant, had no right to vote at any election for members to serve in Parliament, and they accordingly declared that Sir Edward O'Brien had been duly elected, and should have been returned to serve in Parliament instead of George Purdon !! Thomas Studdert, the High Sheriff, was ordered to attend the House, and answer the charges of misconduct made against him, but the journals of the House of Commons make no further mention of the proceedings adopted with regard to him.

The representatives for Ennis in this new Parliament, were—Arthur Gore, and Samuel Bindon. The former, however, was shortly after replaced by David Bindon.

1761. In the Parliament which met at Dublin on the 22nd of October this year, the members for the county of Clare were—Sir Edward O'Brien, Bart., of Dromoland, and Francis Pierpoint Burton. Those elected to represent the borough of Ennis were—Thomas Burton, and Lucius, son of Sir Edward O'Brien.

1765. Sir Edward O'Brien, Bart., of Dromoland and Lemenagh, one of the members for the county of Clare, died on the 26th of November this year. He was succeeded in the representation of the county by his son-in-law, Lieutenant-Colonel Charles MacDonnell, of Kilkee and Killone Abbey, now called New Hall, and in the title by his eldest son, Lucius Henry O'Brien.

1769. In the Parliament which met in Dublin on the 19th of October, this year, the members for the county of Clare were Sir Lucius Henry O'Brien, Bart., and Francis Pierpoint Burton. Those elected to represent the borough

of Ennis were Lieutenant-Colonel Charles MacDonnell, and Crofton Vandeleur.

1795. Sir Edward O'Brien, Bart., of Dromoland, was elected to serve in Parliament for the borough of Ennis in room of his father, Sir Lucius Henry O'Brien, deceased.

1821. The population of Ennis this year was 6701.

1823. A Savings Bank was established in the town.

1828. This year is memorable for the patriotic part taken by the men of Clare, who, despite all opposition, returned the great O'Connell as their representative. On the 24th of June, the late F. Blake-Forster (grandfather of the writer), was unanimously chosen Chairman of the celebrated meeting held on that day, which resulted in the representation of the county being contested in the person of O'Connell, the leader of the national party. He was also one of the committee appointed to conduct the return of the Liberator.

1831. The population was 7711. The total population within the boundary of the borough was 9727.

1834. In the parish of Drumcliffe in which Ennis is situated, there were twenty-one schools in which were educated 772 males and 428 females. Of these schools, four were Sunday schools, seven hedge schools, and one in connexion with the National Board of Education.

1835. This year the Clare Orphan Society was established in Ennis.

1850. A very handsome courthouse was erected from the design of H. Whitstone, Esq. The Ionic front is much admired, and the building cost £12,000.

1856. The Presbyterian church was opened on Easter Sunday. This building, which is a neat Gothic structure, was erected from the designs of Mr. J. Fogarty, of Limerick, and cost £570.

1857. Until this year the Act 9th Geo. IV., c. 82, was in force in Ennis, but 'The Towns Improvement Act,' in part, namely—for cleansing and lighting—has been adopted.

1858. In the month of May a very fine organ, built by Mr. White, of Dublin, for £550, was erected in the Catholic chapel.

1864. The Ennis Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association was established. It has a reading-room and library in Church-street, and holds essay classes once a fortnight during the winter.

1865. The O'Connell monument was inaugurated on the 3rd of October. This handsome column is surmounted by a statue of the Liberator, by Cahill, of Dublin. It is erected on the site of the old Court-house in High-street, where the people of Clare so independently returned Daniel O'Connell against all opposition thirty-seven years previously.

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#### NOTE 52.—PAGE 80.

The following is a correct list of the chieftains and others who were parties to this indenture :—

“ Com. Clare and Thomond.

“ Indenture made betwixt the Right Hon. Sir John Perrot, Knt., &c., of the one part, and the Lords spirituall and temporal chieftaines, gentlemen &c., of that part of the province of Connaught called Thomond, that is to say, Donogh, Earle of Thomond; Murrough, lord baron of Inchiquin; The Reverend fathers in God, Mauricius, Bishopp of Kyllalowe; Daniell, elect bishop of Kyllfynnoraghe; Donogh O’Horan, dean of Kyllalow; Daniell Shennaghe, dean of Kyllfinoraghe; Denis, archdeacon of the same; Sir Edward Waterhouse, of Downasse, Knt.; Sir Tyrrelagh O’Brien of Ennestyvey, Knt.; John M’Nemara of Knappock, otherwise called M’Nemarra of Westclancullun; Donell Reagh M’Nemarraghe of Garrowelagh, otherwise called M’Nemarragh, of Easte Clancullun; Teige M’Mahoun of Clonderrala, otherwise called M’Mahoun of Castle Corkowaskin; Tyrrelaghe M’Mahoun of Moyurtye, chief of his name in West Corkowaskin; Moriertagh O’Brien of Dromeleyne, gent.; Mahowne O’Brien of Clondewan, gen.; Owny O’Laughleine of the Gragans, otherwise called O’Laughlene; Rosse O’Laughlin of Glan Collumkyllie, tanest to the same O’Laghlen; Mahone and Dermott O’Dea of Tullaghadea, chiefs of their names; Connor MacGilreoghe of Cragbreane, chieffe of his name; Tyrrelaghe Mac Teig O’Brien of Beallacorige, gen.; Luke Bradey, sonne and heire of the late bishopp of Meath; Edward White of the Crattelagh, gen.; George Cusacke of Dromoylen, gen.; Boetius Clanchie of Knockfynney, gen.; John M’Nemara, of the Mactullen, gen.; Henry O’Grady of the Island of Inchicronan, gen.; Donnogh M’Clanchie of the Urlion, chieffe of his name; Donnogh Garraghe O’Brien of Ballecessye, gen.; Connor O’Brien of Curharcorca, gen.; and George Fanninge of Limerick, merchant, of the other parte.” This indenture bears date 17th of August, 1585.

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NOTE 53.—PAGE 82.

Colonel Ingoldsby’s men also murdered 100 of the Irish in the baronies of Bunratty and Tullagh, although they were under protection, and two of his officers, Captains Stase and Apers, put to death 500 families in the baronies of Islands Ibricken, Clonderala, and Moyarta, although they had received protection. The Cromwellians committed several other atrocities in the county of Clare too numerous to relate.

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NOTE 54.—PAGE 89.

Sir Richard of Kinsale was the eldest surviving son of Ulick, third Earl of Clanricarde, and his wife, Lady Margaret FitzAlan, daughter of Richard Earl of Arundel, and succeeded his father as fourth Earl of Clanricarde at his death on the 20th of May, 1601. This nobleman was advanced by King James, as

a reward for his 'eminent abilities and services,' to the dignity of a Peer of England. He was accordingly created, on the 3rd of April, 1624, Baron of Somerhill, a manor of his in Kent, and Viscount Tunbridge, to which titles Charles I., on the 23rd of August, 1628, was pleased to add those of Baron of Imany, Viscount of Galway, and Earl of St. Albans. His Lordship died at Somerhill on the 12th of November, 1635. He was married to Frances, daughter and heiress of Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, and widow of the great Sir Philip Sydney, and of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, that Queen's unfortunate favourite, and the victim of the noted Earl of Leicester's passion. By this lady the Earl of Clanricarde had Ulick, who succeeded him as fifth Earl; Lady Margaret de Burgh, married to the Hon. Edmond Butler, son of James Earl of Ormonde and Lady Honora, who became the second wife of John Paulet, Marquis of Winchester. Ulick, fifth Earl of Clanricarde, who was one of the most distinguished men of his family, was on the 21st of February, 1644, advanced to the dignity of Marquis of Clanricarde, and on the 6th of December, 1650, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In December, 1622, the Marquis of Clanricarde married Lady Anne Compton, daughter of William Earl of Northampton, and by her, who died on the 17th of August, 1675, had an only child, Lady Margaret de Burgh, who first married Lord Muskerry, eldest son of the Earl of Clancarty, for an account of whom see Note 27. Therefore, as his Lordship left no male issue, the Marquisate of Clanricarde, the Earldom of St. Albans, the Viscounties of Tunbridge and Galway, and the Baronies of Somerhill and Imany became extinct, but the Earldom of Clanricarde and the Barony of Dunkellin devolved on his cousin-german, Richard de Burgh, who was the eldest son of his uncle, the Hon. William de Burgh and his wife Joan, eldest daughter of Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy, Knt., of Gortinsiguara, by his wife Sheela ny Hubert de Burgh. It is incorrectly stated in Archdall's edition of Lodge's Peerage that he was married to 'Mary, the second daughter of Sir James Mac Sorley Boy MacDonnell, Bart., brother to Randall, created Earl of Antrim,' but this error has been corrected by the writer. See O'Shaughnessy pedigree in the appendix to this work. This Richard, sixth Earl of Clanricarde, married Lady Elizabeth Butler, seventh daughter of Walter Earl of Ormonde, but having no male issue, he was succeeded by his brother William, seventh Earl of Clanricarde (see Note 76), whose successor, Richard, eighth Earl of Clanricarde, was the nobleman alluded to in the text, as being in arms for King James.

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NOTE 55.—PAGE 95.

This was Sir Thomas Southwell, of Callow and Castlemattress, son of Sir Thomas Southwell, of Court Mattress and Castlemattress, Knight, who was Sheriff of the counties of Limerick, Kerry, and Clare, in 1654, and created a Baronet by Charles II., in March, 1661, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of William Starkey, Esq., of Dromolen, in the county of Clare. He was the

second Baronet, and became a staunch supporter of the Prince of Orange. On the surrender of Moyallow to the forces of King James, himself with his brother William, Captain Purdon, Thomas Ponsonby, Edward Percival, and John Ponsonby, with about 200 other Williamites, determined to join Lord Kingston. On their way to Sligo for that purpose they encountered several small bodies of Rapparees, whom, however, they easily defeated with little loss to themselves. James Power, the High Sheriff of the county of Galway, having heard on the previous day of their intended march, raised the whole *posse comitatus* of the county, and assisted by Major James Forster, his eldest son, John Forster of Crushnahawn, Cuthbert Fenwick, Captain Arthur Ffrench, of Tyrone, Theobald Butler, of Cregg, Dermot Oge Cloran, Dermot Daly, Nicholas Ffrench, Sir Ulick Burke, Robert Forster, Oliver Ffrench, Myles Burke, and many other gentlemen of high standing in the county, marched forth to meet them. But Sir Thomas and his party having surrendered, they were conducted, by order of the High Sheriff, to Loughrea, where they were kept for the night under arrest, and next day escorted by a strong guard to Galway, and confined in the county Court House. However, some of them having afterwards applied to the High Sheriff, were allowed by him to remain at private lodgings. On the 16th of March, the prisoners were brought up for trial, when they pleaded guilty, and threw themselves on the mercy of the Court, but were on the following day sentenced by Peter Martin, of Kilconnell, the Judge, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. After a fortnight's imprisonment, a respite was granted for a month, which was afterwards extended for three months, and finally for six months, in consequence of their friends having promised to procure from the English Government the liberty of an equal number of Catholic Irish prisoners then undergoing imprisonment in that country. Some of the Williamite prisoners, not being satisfied to wait until the exchange could be made, having endeavoured to escape, Sir Thomas Southwell received the following message from the Earl of Clanricarde, who was a firm supporter of King James, which was delivered to him in the prison by the Earl's confidential major—

“Gentlemen, you could not be satisfied with his Majesty King James's mercy, which he has hitherto afforded you in sparing your lives, but now, unmindful of his kindness, you hold correspondence with the Northern Williamites, and plot with them, who are his Majesty's enemies, and the enemies of your country, to overthrow his Government in this kingdom, and to establish that of the usurper William; therefore I am sent unto ye to bid you all prepare for instant death, which you have now the second time justly deserved.”

When this was read to the prisoners, they were struck with terror, and humbly requested the Earl, by petition, to be allowed to prove their innocence to King James; but the answer they received was—“Longer time to repent I grant ye, but as for sending any messages to his Majesty, I will not permit.” This reply, which they received on Friday morning, caused them immediately to prepare for death, as they were informed they would be executed on the

following Tuesday. Early on Monday morning, hearing the tramp of men passing the prison, and kettle drums beating, and thinking it was a military force ordered to attend their execution, they threw themselves on their knees, and prayed fervently. Soon after they were relieved from anxiety by receiving the following from Colonel MacDonnell, of Drumsna, in the county of Leitrim, then Governor of Galway:—"Be of good courage, for what has passed was only a joke of the Earl's to teach you better manners, and greater sobriety for the future." Not long after, the Earl of Seaford, having had an interview with Sir Thomas, and taking a great fancy to him, promised to exercise all his influence to obtain his release, and accordingly obtained a warrant from the King, directing the Attorney-General, Sir Richard Nagle, to release Sir Thomas Southwell from prison. The Attorney-General positively refused to comply with the King's order, saying, 'It was more than his Majesty could do;' but being summoned by the King to appear before him, for the purpose of stating in person his reasons for refusing to obey, Sir Richard said—"My Liege, it is not in your power to grant Sir Thomas Southwell a pardon, for by the Act of Attainder your Majesty is debarred from exercising the prerogative of pardoning, and the subject foreclosed from all expectation of the Royal mercy." After this no further steps were taken on behalf of the prisoners until the 2nd of January, when Captain Bozier arrived in Galway with an order to discharge Sir Thomas, and his pardon was accordingly signed by the King on the 1st of April, 1690. In 1717, Sir Thomas was created Baron Southwell, of Castlemattress, in the county of Limerick. He married in 1696 Melinora, daughter of Thomas Coningsby, Baron of Clanbrassil in the Peerage of Ireland, created Earl Coningsby in the Peerage of England, and was father of, with other issue, Thomas, the second Baron, who, by his first wife, the Lady Mary Stanhope, daughter of Philip Earl of Chesterfield, had, with other issue, Thomas George, created on the 18th of July, 1776, Viscount Southwell of Castlemattress.

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NOTE 56.—PAGE 95.

Peter Martin, Esq., of Kilconnell, county of Galway, was third Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in Ireland, during the reign of James II., and was a member of one of the families which composed the fourteen tribes of Galway. John Keating, a Protestant gentleman, was Lord Chief Justice, and the Right Hon. Denis Daly, of Carrownakelly, a Catholic gentleman, and the 'faithful counsellor and steadfast friend of James II., was second Justice of this Court. The other officers were Edward Fitzgerald, chief and only Prothonotary, Richard Fenner, his Deputy, Robert Barnwell, Custos Brevium and Chirographer, and James Nagle, Clerk of the Outlawries. Judge Martin is said by tradition to have been a remarkably humorous character, and in the last generation many amusing anecdotes were preserved of him, as well as of Peter



Daly, Esq., of Quamsborough, father-in-law of the Earl of Louth, who was also twenty-second Lord of Athenry, and Premier Baron of Ireland. He is still remembered in the traditions of this county as 'Peter the *Fool*,' from having been considered so *wise*. Seven of the Martins were outlawed for having been adherents of King James, including Judge Martin, whose property, the fine old Abbey of Kilconnell, its precincts and possessions, vested in the Crown. His Galway estates were purchased from the Commissioners of Forfeited Estates, in 1703, by the Rev. John Trench, Dean of Raphoe, referred to in Chapter XXIX., Page 205. From this gentleman is descended the present Lord Ashtown, of Woodlawn, county Galway.

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NOTE 57.—PAGE 99.

William O'Brien, eighth Baron and third Earl of Inchiquin, was one of the most hospitable noblemen of his time, and consequently received large supplies of wines by the contraband vessels from France. He was, therefore, acquainted with the Chevalier de Tourville, who entertained hopes that his Lordship would take up arms in the cause of King James, though he was suspected by many of his friends of being secretly in favour of the designs of the Prince of Orange. The many horrors and tragic occurrences incidental to civil wars are already too well known to require any lengthened notice here. Suffice to say, that in these usually sanguinary struggles the nearest relatives and most intimate friends frequently take opposite views, and, in the endeavour to sustain them, unhesitatingly spill each other's blood. Like other families of this period, the noble House of O'Brien was divided, and I find that the following persons were attainted by King James's Parliament in the county of Clare:—William Earl of Inchiquin, William Lord O'Brien, his son Henry Lord Ibrickan, son of the Earl of Thomond; Conor O'Brien of Drumore, Henry Hickman of Donogroge, Thomas Hawkins of Killalow, James Hamilton, Francis Burton of Buncraggan, Henry Brady of Tomgraney, Francis Gore of Mount Shannon, Samuel Lucas of Corofin, and John Drew.

William, eighth Baron and third Earl of Inchiquin, served in the English army for William III. in Ireland, and afterwards in Flanders. On the 1st of September, 1693, he was appointed Governor of the town and fort of Kinsale, with a fee of 20s. per day. In the Parliament that assembled on the 27th of August, 1695, he took his seat as Earl of Inchiquin, and on the 2nd of December, 1697, signed the declaration and association in defence of King William's person and Government, after the attempt to assassinate him, as appears by the journals of the House of Lords, p. 673. On the 1st of March, 1703, he was appointed Colonel of a regiment of foot, which he afterwards sold. He was Governor of the county of Clare until his death, which took place at Rostellan, one of his residences, on the 24th of December, 1719, when

he was interred in a vault which belonged to his family in the cathedral of Cloyne. He was married to Mary, youngest daughter of Sir Edward Villiers, and sister of Edward Earl of Jersey, and by her, who died at Bath on the 17th of April, 1753, he had three sons and two daughters.

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NOTE 58.—PAGE 113.

In the House of Lords the following noblemen asked permission to enter their protest against the Bill, and being permitted by King James, recorded their dissent:—Lords Granard, Longford, Rosse, and Howth, the Bishops of Meath, Ossory, Cork, and Limerick. The protest was also signed by the proxies of the Archbishop of Armagh and the Bishop of Waterford.

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NOTE 59.—PAGE 114.

The term Rapparee is derived from an Irish word signifying a half stick or pike handle, and consequently all those who carried this weapon, and were not recognised as regular troops, were styled Rapparees. Whenever they found it necessary to conceal themselves from their enemies, they could do so with facility, as they were acquainted with all the bogs, woods, and caves in the country. For this purpose they first concealed their arms, by taking off the locks of their muskets and hiding them in their clothes, stopping the muzzles with cork, the touch-holes with the points of quills, and, finally, by throwing the guns into shallow water. Every man knowing where his arms were secured, the whole force could be got ready for active service at an hour's warning, and often in a shorter time. The Rapparees fought so desperately during the war, that whenever any of them were taken prisoners by the enemy they were invariably hung on the nearest tree. The principal leaders were Donal Bran, Galloping O'Hogan, Conor O'Shaughnessy, Iron MacCabe, Flying Grace, O'Kavanagh, better known as the White Sergeant; O'Callaghan, O'Higgins, Keating, O'Conor, O'Neill, and O'Nee. Some even go so far as to include Don Hugh Balldearg O'Donnell among the Rapparee leaders, in consequence of his conduct before joining Baron de Ginckell.

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NOTE 60.—PAGE 114.

This lady was Margaret, eldest daughter of Sir William Selby, Knt., of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and sister of Sir George Selby, Knight Banneret. She was long remembered in the traditions of Northumberland as a celebrated

witch, and was known by the name Meg of Meldon. Indeed it is probable that Sir Walter Scott founded his character of Meg Merrilies the gipsy, in the novel of Guy Mannering or the Astrologer, on the numerous legends current on the Borders relative to this lady. Mackenzie, in his history of Northumberland, thus speaks of Lady Fenwick of Wallington, in his description of Meldon parish:—“The manor was afterwards held by the Fenwicks. Sir William Fenwick, of Meldon, was second son of the House of Stanton. A portrait at Ford Castle, much defaced by rain, was said to be this Sir William, and another in the same place was called *Meg*, his lady. There was also a portrait of this famous character preserved at Seaton Delaval, she having been related to the Delaval family. She is represented in the costume of a witch, with a high pointed hat; her nose is crooked, her eyes penetrating, and her whole countenance indicates that superior acuteness, intelligence, and strength of mind, which being so uncommon among an ignorant and barbarous people, acquired her the character by which she is distinguished. The infernal machinations of *Meg* long continued the terror of the neighbouring villages. In fact, few in the last age were so foolhardy as to venture through Meldon Wood, where it is reported she made her dreadful exit when the sun was below the horizon; but the present unbelieving race of rustics have begun to question the powers of Meg’s wandering spirit. Katherine, eldest daughter and co-heir of Sir John Fenwick, married Francis, first Earl of Derwentwater, and carried this and other valuable estates into the Radcliffe family. On the attainder of James, third Earl of Derwentwater, Meldon was given to Greenwich Hospital.” There is, however, one mistake in the above quotation. Sir William Fenwick was not second son of the House of Stanton. There never was a Sir William in the family of Fenwick of Stanton, but he was Sir William Fenwick of Wallington, Bart., the father of the patriot, Sir John Fenwick, Bart., who was executed on Tower Hill. See Note 147. By the famous Meg of Meldon this Sir William Fenwick had, besides other issue, a daughter Elizabeth, who married Sir Claud Forster, Bart., of Bamborough Castle, Lord of Blanchland, &c., &c. The Earl of Derwentwater, alluded to in the above quotation, was nearly related to General Forster, of Etherston and Bamborough Castle, and was attainted and executed on Tower Hill for having taken part in Forster’s Rebellion in 1715. See Note 46, and also Note 181.

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NOTE 61.—PAGE 117.

This Rapparee, who resided previous to the war near the Fort of Rathorpe, is said by local tradition to have been a man of desperate disposition and reckless of life. He was celebrated for his untiring activity in capturing horses from the Williamite soldiers during the struggle for the Crown between James II. and William III.—a proclivity which he probably inherited from his Caledonian an-

cestors, who were noted marauders on the Borders. None of his name or family now reside in the neighbourhood of Gort, but his memory was long held in as much detestation as that of the traitor, Colonel Luttrell, for an account of whom, see Note 115.

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NOTE 62.—PAGE 117.

The place where Honora de Burgh was killed, in memory of the occurrence, is still called Barna na Coashda, or the gap of the coach. Her remains were interred by the peasantry in the place where the accident occurred, and a very large heap of stones was erected over her grave. In making the new line of road some years ago, this heap being removed, a human skeleton was discovered which was believed to be that of Nora na Cean. Ballyturn Castle was thrown down by Edmond Kirwan, Esq., of Dalgan, who resided at Ballyturn, about the year 1780.

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NOTE 63.—PAGE 121.

A difference of opinion exists as to whether the order given to the Irish soldiers by their commander was to face to the *right* or to face to the *left*. I prefer following the version given in the text, namely, to face to the *right*. O'Callaghan, in his Green Book, second edition, published in 1844, writes in page 96—"Lord Mountcashel ordered that some troops should 'face to the right,' to aid their companions. A fatal blunder in the delivery of this command occasioned the loss of the battle. The officer who received the order, instead of saying—'face to the *right*,' bade his men 'face to the right about.' The movement took place accordingly." Now, however, in the History of the Irish Brigades in the service of France, by the same author, published in 1870, he writes in page 17, Book I., in describing this engagement—"Hamilton," referring to Brigadier Hamilton, afterwards known on the Continent as Count Anthony Hamilton, "told a Captain Lavallin to order a 'wheel to the *left*.' . . . But Lavallin gave the word as 'to the left about,' which was understood in a worse sense." Undoubtedly here are two different versions given by O'Callaghan; but one thing is certain, that the officer must have made a mistake, as was generally believed to have been the case by the regular troops and Rapparees at the time. Such was the general belief of the public. However, whether it was that he got confused in the heat of the engagement, or whether it was that he gave the order just as he received it, he maintained to the last that the latter was the case, while Hamilton as obstinately maintained that it was not. In three weeks after the action, Brigadier Hamilton and Captain Lavallin were brought to trial before a court-martial in Dublin, the

president being the Count de Rosen. After the hearing of the case, Hamilton was acquitted, and Lavallin was sentenced to death. Before his execution he solemnly protested that he delivered the word of command just as he received it, and it is said that 'many respectable persons believed his protestation.' He was a gentleman of ancient family and considerable property in the county of Cork, whose conduct as a man of honour had never previously been impeached. Whatever truth may be in Hamilton's statement, it cannot be doubted that he and his family possessed the greatest influence, and enjoyed a large amount of Royal favour, as will be more fully seen by referring to Note 81. It may also be suggested that the author of the Grammont Memoirs might not have been over scrupulous in his statements regarding this unfortunate occurrence.

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NOTE 64.—PAGE 123.

Sir Matthew Forster, Lord of Etherston, who resided in Etherston Castle, which had been for many centuries the seat of his ancestors, was High Sheriff of Northumberland in the 18th year of James I. ; married Catherine, daughter of Sir Ralph Gray, of Chillingham Castle, ancestor of the Earl of Tankerville, and had, with other issue, Thomas Forster, Lord of Etherston, who married Mary, daughter of Sir William Fenwick, of Wallington, and was father of Colonel Thomas Forster, Lord of Etherston, who married, on the 27th of January, 1651, Mary, daughter of Sir Nicholas Cole, of Brancepath Castle, and was father of Thomas Forster, Lord of Etherston, born 6th of August, 1659, married on the 27th of January, 1680-1, Frances, daughter of Sir William Forster, of Bamborough Castle, was High Sheriff of Northumberland in 1703, and M. P. for that county in the 4th of Queen Anne. He was father of Thomas Forster, baptized 29th of March, 1683, M. P. for Northumberland in the 7th, 9th, 12th of Queen Anne, 1st of George I. ; and being the leader of the Rebellion of 1715, he is mentioned in English history as the Rebel General. His hereditary property was confiscated by the Government, and he died in exile at Boulogne.

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NOTE 65.—PAGE 124.

Such a record would be most valuable, and would have prevented much of the litigation that occurred since the time of King James. Moreover, incredulous persons would not be so ready to question the authenticity of the descent of families whose pedigrees, in consequence of being traced to a remote antiquity, appear to them to be mere fabrications, compiled to flatter the vanity of those in high positions, as of old, the great among the Romans were envious of being descended from the gods. At the present day there are per-

sons who consider that no one is able to treat on the subject of Genealogy except the heralds; but for the reason given in the text, the heralds should not be taken as infallible authorities in such matters, as they are open to many irregularities. Far be it from me to question the honesty of the heralds of the present time; but it is evident, that those of the past century were not above suspicion; and that as they were 'badly paid,' they were 'consequently careless;' and we have the authority of the profound Blackstone, in his Commentaries, Book III.; c. 7, for making this accusation:—"The marshalling of coat-armour, which was formerly the pride and study of all the best families in the kingdom, is now greatly disregarded, and has fallen into the hands of certain officers and attendants upon this court (of chivalry), called heralds, who consider it only as a matter of lucre, and not of justice, whereby such falsity and confusion have crept into their records (which ought to be the standing evidence of families, descents, and coat-armour), that though formerly some credit has been paid to their testimony, now even their common seal would not be received as evidence in any court of justice in the kingdom." Such was the opinion of one of the greatest of English lawyers, for a short account of whom see Note 191. It is almost unnecessary to state, that any writer who wishes to give a full, faithful, and impartial genealogy of any family, must take as his authorities, and be guided only by, authenticated deeds, patents, inquisitions, and contemporary histories.

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NOTE 66.—PAGE 125.

Sir Toby Butler and Florence Mac Carthy, Esq., of Dromad, were returned to Parliament for the borough of Ennis on the 10th of May, this year, 1689. The members returned for the county of Clare were, Lieutenant-Colonel John Mac Namara, D. L., of Cratloe Castle, and Daniel O'Brien, J. P.

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NOTE 67.—PAGE 136.

Lest the character given of the Prince of Orange in the text might be considered prejudiced, it may be necessary to quote from a few authorities on this subject:—

"William was a fatalist in religion, indefatigable in war, enterprising in politics, dead to all the warm and generous emotions of the human heart, a cold relation, an indifferent husband, a disagreeable man, an ungracious prince, and an imperious sovereign."—*Smollett*.



“ William of Orange was a man of bronze, a stranger to every feeling of nature and humanity. Raised by the party of De Witt, he was their ruin; Stuart by the family of his mother, he overthrew the Stuarts; the son-in-law of James II., he dethroned him; and England, which he had taken from his family, he left to those whom he hated—to the Princes of the House of Hanover. He had but one passion, but it was atrocious—the hatred of France. It is said, that at the peace of Nimuegen, when he endeavoured to surprise Luxemburg, he had already a knowledge of the treaty; but he still thirsted for French blood. It is remarkable, that this great and intrepid general almost always waged war while retiring before his foe; but his admirable retreats were worth victories.”—*Potter's Michelet*.

“ There was a copy of the Treaty of Nimuegen signed, in the Prince of Orange's pocket, when he fought at Mons.”—*Macpherson's Original Papers*.

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NOTE 68.—PAGE 137.

This nobleman was Joseph Comerford, Baron of Danganmore, county Kilkenny, in Ireland, Captain in the Earl of Tyrone's Regiment of Infantry, and afterwards Marquis d'Anglure, and Chevalier of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, in France, and a relative of Colonel Don Juan de Comerford. During the reign of King James II., several of the Comerfords settled in France and Spain, where they distinguished themselves in the armies of those countries, as appears by the dedication of the Abbe MacGeoghegan's able History of Ireland; and a marginal note in Comerford's history of that country also alludes to this circumstance. Seven of the Danganmore line were officers in the gallant Irish Brigade, in the Regiments of Dillon, Lee, and Bulkeley, of whom six were Captains, one a Lieutenant, and four Chevaliers of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis. The following notice of this family, which was written by the late Sir William Betham, Ulster-King-at-Arms, may prove interesting to those of the name:—

“ Amongst the chivalrous nobles and bold warriors (all of whom were not Normans) who accompanied William I., seventh reigning Duke of Normandy, surnamed the Conqueror, in his invasion of England, A. D. 1066, was Sir Fulco de Comerford, under whose *azure* banner, on which was emblazoned three mullets *or*, fought twenty men-at-arms, and four knights of kindred to himself. After the conquest of England, Sir Fulco received a grant of several lordships from William the Conqueror, and from him descended De Comerford, of the county of Stafford, whose younger brother, Sir Henry de Comerford, and his nephew, Sir Fulco de Comerford, came over to Ireland with Prince John, son of Henry II., King of England, A. D. 1189. Sir Fulco returned to England with the Earl of Mortaigne; but his uncle, Sir Henry de Comerford, remained in Ireland, and, marrying a niece of the powerful Sir Hugo de Lacy,

Governor of Ireland in 1172, became possessed of considerable property, and was ancestor of the Comerford family. Prince John, Earl of Mortaigne, in Normandy, did not bear that title at the time he was in Ireland; but afterwards, as I find by several of his charters, in which he is styled Johannes Comes Moritonie. And King Henry, his father, in a Parliament at Oxford, granted him also the kingdom of Ireland, having obtained from Pope Urban III. a grant, that it should be lawful to crown which of his sons he pleased King of Ireland, who sent him also a crown of feathers, interwoven with gold in his grant (as other Popes had done before), reserving to himself the Peter Pence; whereupon the King, conferring upon Earl John the Order of Knighthood at Windsor, sent him with speed into Ireland, where he was received by the Archbishop of Dublin and the State; but having wasted, through ill-government, the better half of his army, he returned home, without having effected much, who, though Hoveden give him the title of King of Ireland, yet was he never crowned, nor used other style in his seal than ‘Sigillum Johannis Filii Regis Anglie Domini Hibernie.’”—See Sandford’s ‘Genealogical History,’ printed in the reign of King Charles II., to whom it was dedicated by permission. The following is taken from an ancient vellum MS., which gives an account of those families who came with Prince John, Earl of Mortaigne, and Lord of Ireland, surnamed Lackland, youngest son of King Henry II., to Ireland. After giving an account of the actions performed by Henricus de Comerford Militi, it says that “Hee wase ane gudely Knyghte and ancesture of ye Comerfords, Barons of Dangeanmore.” The following, relative to the settlement of the Comerford family in this country, is extracted from O’Connor’s Preface to his Translation of Dr. Keating’s History of Ireland, originally written in the Irish language, and published in 1723:—“There has been a dispute among learned men, whether the ancient Kings of Ireland, of the Milesian race, wore crowns of gold after the manner of other nations. We are informed by Hector Boetius, in his second and tenth books, that the Kings of Scotland, from the time of Fergus to the reign of Achaius, used a plain crown of gold, *militaris Valli forma*, in the form of a military trench. And it is probable that in this practice they followed the Irish monarchs, from whom they derived their descent and customs. And this conjecture is still rendered more reasonable by a golden cap, supposed to be a Provincial Crown, that was found in the year 1692, in the county of Tipperary, at a place called Barnanelly by the Irish, and by the English the Devil’s Bit; it was discovered about ten foot under ground by some workmen that were digging up turf for firing. This cap or crown weighs about five ounces; the border and the head is raised in case-work, in the form here represented, and it seems to bear some resemblance to the close crown of the Eastern Empire, which was composed of the helmet, together with a diadem, as the learned Selden observes in his Titles of Honour, Part I., Chap. 8. Some antiquarians of Ireland have imagined that this was the crown worn by some provincial kings under the command of Bryen Boiroidhe, who beat the Danes in so many battles; others are rather inclined

to believe that it belonged to the Irish monarchs before the planting of Christianity in that kingdom; and they give this reason, because it is not adorned with a cross, which was the common ensign of Christian Princes. However, it is a valuable piece of curiosity, and would unavoidably have been melted down, had it not been preserved by Joseph Comerford, Esq., a curious gentleman, descended from a younger brother of Comerford, in the county of Stafford, who attended King John in his expedition into Ireland, and there married the niece of Hugo de Lacy, a great favourite of that King, ever since which time the family has flourished in that country, and were formerly titular Barons of Danganmore. This gentleman being rendered incapable, by reason of his religion, to purchase lands in his own country, has the Marquisate of Anglure, with a good estate upon the River Aule, in Champagne, which he has settled, in default of issue, upon his kinsman, Sir John Comerford (a Major-General and Colonel of a Regiment of Foot in the service of the King of Spain), and his male issue, Sir George Skiddy, a near relative to Mr. Comerford, has likewise acquired a good estate in France. This gentleman is a great grandson to Sir George Skiddy, formerly of Waterford, and also of Skiddy Castle, in the county of Cork; is a Knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, and a Colonel of Foot, to whom a plate of his arms is humbly inscribed." The parts of Ireland in which the ancient family of Comerford principally flourished were Kilkenny and Waterford, to which latter place it gave many mayors since the year 1432; and in a volume of Irish pedigrees in my possession, the following account is given of this sept:—"The Comerford family settled at an early period in the county of Kilkenny, where they held very considerable possessions. The chief branch, or main line of the House, were from time immemorial styled Lords or Barons of Danganmore, which was their principal seat in that county. Other branches (junior ones) of this family were seated at Inchologhan Ballybur, Brittas, Callan, and Ballymacka, in the county of Kilkenny, Cowlemucky, in the county of Waterford, and Holy Cross, in Tipperary; all these different branches of the family were highly connected, having always intermarried with the most respectable families in Ireland, both of Norman and Celtic origin. In 1300 Gerald Comerford was Guardian of the Peace for Kilkenny, and in 1302 married Arabella, daughter of Sir Arthur Plunket, Knight Banneret. In 1358 John Comerford was one of those persons appointed by King Edward III. to collect a subsidy over Kilkenny, in aid of the war carried on against Art O'Kavanagh. The Comerfords became possessed of several valuable estates by the marriage of Richard Comerford, senior, with Ellen, daughter and co-heiress of Patrick de la Freyne, or Ffrench, descended from Sir William de la Freyne, alias Ffrench, who was knighted by His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and younger son of Sir Fulco de la Freyne, surnamed Le Chevalier, A. D. 1318. This Richard was succeeded by his eldest son, Richard Oge Comerford, or the younger, whose son and heir, Thomas, died in 1558, possessed of the manor, castle, lands, and town of Ballybur, and was succeeded by his son and heir, Richard, who was

then twenty-four years of age, and married. The only daughter of Richard Comerford, Baron of Danganmore, married John, second son of Sir Thomas Fitzgerald, surnamed Rufus, or the Red, who afterwards succeeded to the Earldom of Desmond, and was mother of Gerald, known on the Continent as the Count de Desmond. This nobleman being expelled from Ireland by the tyrannical government of England, served with distinction in the armies of the King of Spain, and of the Emperor in Germany, where he died without issue, in 1632. The said Richard Comerford, Lord of Danganmore, grandfather of the exiled Earl of Desmond, died on the 6th of December, 1624, leaving Edmond, his son and heir, who succeeded him as Baron of Danganmore, and died in January, 1629, leaving Thomas, his son and heir, who was then twenty-one years of age, and succeeded his father as Baron of Danganmore. Richard Comerford, Esq., of Ballybur, died on the 19th of July, 1637, leaving issue, 1. John Comerford, his heir, who married the Hon. Grace Butler, granddaughter of the Right Hon. Viscount Mountgarrett. 2. Eleanor Comerford, who married the Hon. Dermot Fitzpatrick, second son of the Right Hon. Teige, Lord Upper-Ossory. Gerald or Garrett Comerford, of Inchologan, was a person of great importance in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was appointed by the Lord Deputy of Ireland, Sir Charles Blount, as one of the Counsellors to assist the Lord President of Munster, and I find in the *Pacata Hibernia* repeated and honourable notices of him. He ranked as Second Justice of the Province of Munster, and was in 1603 advanced to the dignity of Second Baron of the Irish Court of Exchequer. He died at Cowlemucky, in the county of Waterford, on the 29th of October, 1604, seised in fee of the Manor of Inchologan, with the advowson thereto belonging, and leaving Fulke, his son and heir, then of full age, but not married. He afterwards received the honour of knighthood, and died on the 2nd of February, 1622, leaving a son and heir, Gerald, then eleven years of age. Thomas Comerford, Esq., of Ballymacka, was seised of several lands, and died on the 12th of December, 1635, leaving James, then aged twenty-one; but Edward Comerford, of Callan, and George Comerford, of Tullaghanbroge, Esqrs., his relatives, claimed portions of his estates. In 1607 Thomas Comerford, of Callan, received a grant of sundry messuages and gardens in that town, or within the liberties of said town; and in 1617 Thomas Comerford had livery of his lands, as son and heir of James Comerford, of Ballymacka, deceased. He was subsequently seised of Garrybricken, and died in 1635, leaving James Comerford, junior, his son, and heir-at-law, who was then aged twenty-one years. In 1624 Richard Comerford, Baron of Danganmore died, seised of the Manor of Blackcastle, in the county of Meath, with many other castles, houses, lordships, lands, &c. as appears by the Inquisition taken after his death. Edmond, his son and heir-at-law, died five years afterwards, and was succeeded by his son Thomas, who was then of age, and married. Pierce Comerford, of Mangin, in the county of Wicklow, is the only one of this family whose name appears in the Roll of Attainders of 1642. At the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics in

1647, the Right Rev. Dr. Patrick Comerford, the Catholic Lord Bishop of Waterford, sat as one of the Spiritual Peers; and Edward Comerford, Esq., of Callan, as one of the Commons of Ireland. Those anxious to learn more of this distinguished prelate are referred to the Rev. C. P. Meehan's *Rise and Fall of the Franciscan Monasteries*. Richard Kearney, as 'only son or executor' of Daniel Kearney, claimed, and was allowed a freehold remainder in estates in Tipperary, forfeited by his relative, Sir John Everard, of Fethard, while Mary Kearney, *alias* Comerford, and James Kearney claimed, and were allowed leaseholds in the said lands. Robert Shee, of Uppercourt and Cloran, married Margaret, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Richard Masterson, of Ferns, by his first wife Mabel, daughter of Sir Christopher Barnewall, Knt., of Turvey, and had one son and four daughters. 1. Richard, who married Catherine, daughter of Sir Richard Everard, Bart., of Fethard, county of Tipperary. 2. Marian, who married Cantwell, of Cantwell Court. 3. Margaret, who married Butler, of Kildellick. 4. Ellen, who married Comerford, of Inchologan. 5. Mabel, who married Baggette of Carnegeall. Edmond Comerford, Esq., M. P. for Callan in 1634, married Anne, daughter of William Hore, of Harpers-town, and his wife, Margaret, daughter of Oliver Keating, of Kilcoan, by Joan his wife, daughter of the Right Hon. Pierce Butler, Lord Baron Cayer, second son of the Right Hon. Sir Richard Butler, first Lord Viscount Mountgarrett. In the Attainders of 1691 the names of four of the Comerford, family who were proprietors in Kilkenny, together with Thomas Comerford, of Enniscorthy, are to be found. During the wars of the Spanish succession, Major-General Sir John Comerford, known in Spain as Don Juan de Comerford, greatly distinguished himself as Colonel of an Irish Regiment of Infantry in the army of his Catholic Majesty King Philip V.; speaking of whom, O'Callaghan, in his *History of the Irish Brigades in the service of France*, says, his 'name was established since the time of the Anjou-Norman King Johan, or John, in Erin, was long of baronial eminence at Danganmore, in the county of Kilkenny; and in France, as well as in Spain, has been distinguished by its gallant officers, including several Chevaliers of St. Louis.' There are certificates enrolled of the following members of this family in the office of the Chief Remembrancer of the Exchequer, Dublin:—

Edward Comerford,	xxi. 40. xxiv. 31.
Garrott       ,,	xxiv. 31.
George       ,,	xxvi. 64.
James       ,,	xxiv. 37.
Lettice       ,,	xxiv. 32.
Isaac       ,,	xxiv. 31, 35.
Nicholas     ,,	xxvi. 64.
Patrick       ,,	xxiv. 31.
Piers       ,,	xxiv. 31.
Richard       ,,	xv. 76. xxiv. 31.
Thomas       ,,	xxi. 39.
William       ,,	xv. 76.

In the Index Nominum to the Inrolments of the Decrees of Innocents in the office of the Chief Remembrancer of the Exchequer, Dublin, are the names of the following members of this family :—

Beale Comerford,	v. 2.
Garrett „	vii. 68.
John „	v. 1.
Patrick „	v. 2.
Richard FitzEdward	x. 20.
Elizabeth „	v. 1.

In the Index Nominum to the Inrolments of Adjudications in favour of the ‘ 1649 officers,’ same office as the above, I find two of the family—

Patrick Comerford,	i. 23. 78. ii. 2.
Richard „	i. 18. 55. 72. ii. i. 78.

After the great civil war of 1641 the Comerfords lost or forfeited the principal part of their possessions in consequence of their loyalty to their country, and I do not find that any of them obtained grants of their ancestral properties under the Act of Settlement and Explanation, although several of the family applied for the restoration of their estates. Having been Catholics, many of them laid their cases before the Court of Claims in the reign of the ungrateful Charles II., and succeeded in obtaining Decrees as Innocent Papists, and were decreed to be entitled to several of their estates. Amongst those who obtained Decrees were Beale and Elizabeth Comerford, already mentioned. After the great War of the Revolution in Ireland during the reign of James II., several members of the Comerford family dispersed through different parts of Ireland, and great numbers went to France, Spain, Poland, Austria, and other Catholic countries of Europe, where their descendants now enjoy high titles with credit to themselves and to the unhappy and misgoverned country of their ancestors, from which they were driven by the tyranny of England.

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#### NOTE 69.—PAGE 138.

Richard II., surnamed of Bordeaux, King of England, and Lord of Ireland (Henry VIII. was the first who assumed the title of King of Ireland), was the only surviving son of the heroic Edward, Prince of Wales, famous in history as the Black Prince, eldest son of Edward III. Richard II. lived in a more magnificent and royal style than any of his predecessors, and perhaps than any of his successors. His household consisted of 10,000 persons, and he was fond of tournaments and all other sorts of pageantry. While absent in Ireland in 1399 he was dethroned by his ambitious cousin, the Duke of Lancaster, the eldest son of John of Gaunt, and grandson of Edward III. He was the first of the House of Lancaster, or the Red Rose, and ascended the throne as Henry IV. From the deposition of Richard II. in 1399, no King of England



visited Ireland until the landing of James II., in 1689. Since then the Sovereigns of Great Britain who came to Ireland were William III. in 1689, George IV. in 1821, and her present Majesty, Queen Victoria, first in 1849, and again in 1853. The Duke of Berwick inadvertently states in his Memoirs, speaking of the reception his father, King James, received in Ireland, that 'The people made demonstrations of extraordinary joy in all parts, having never seen a king since Henry II.' His being unacquainted with Richard II.'s reign was probably caused by his foreign education.

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NOTE 70.—PAGE 139.

The golden collar of the Most Noble Order of the Garter worn by the King on this occasion was one of the principal heirlooms of the House of Stuart, and was presented to James VI. of Scotland by Queen Elizabeth when she created him a Knight of that Order, and the Badge was made for him at the same time. He afterwards succeeded her Majesty as James I. of England. These valuable and interesting relics having descended to the last heir male of the Stuarts, his Royal Highness, Cardinal York—called King Henry IX. by his adherents, after the death of his elder brother, Prince Charles Edward, styled on the continent Charles III., King of Great Britain and Ireland, who died at Rome in 1788—he presented them to George IV. His Eminence also gave King George the St. Andrew and a ruby ring encircled with diamonds, which was the coronation ring of King Charles I., the Cardinal's great grandfather. The St. Andrew has exquisitely carved on one of its sides the representation of the patron saint of Scotland on an onyx set round with valuable diamonds. On the other side is the Badge of the Thistle with a secret opening, under which is placed a very fine miniature of Queen Anne, wife of James I. of England, and daughter of Frederick II. of Denmark. She was grandmother of James II. of England and Ireland, and VII. of Scotland. George IV. was much pleased on being presented with these four ancient and historic jewels, which were a portion of the Regalia of the dominions over which he ruled, and which had always remained with the rightful heirs to the Crown of the United Kingdom. Shortly after the accession of William IV. these jewels were in His Majesty's presence delivered to Sir Adam Ferguson, Knt., Deputy Keeper of the Regalia of the Kingdom of Scotland, with instructions that they should, under the direction of the Officers of State in Scotland, be forthwith deposited in the Crown Room of the Castle of Edinburgh. They were accordingly placed there on the 18th of December, 1830, in presence of those officers.

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NOTE 71.—PAGE 140.

The battle of Beal-an-Atha-Buidhe, or the Yellow Ford, was fought on Thursday, the 10th of August, 1598, in the County of Armagh, about five

miles north-west of the city of Armagh, in the parish of Clonfeacle, near Portmore, now known as Blackwatertown. Some historians call it the battle of the Blackwater, from its being fought near that river, which separates the counties of Tyrone and Armagh; but all Irish writers call it the battle of *Beal-an-Atha-Buidhe*, which signifies the mouth of the yellow ford, from a stream of yellow water which flowed from the marshy ground adjacent to it. The Irish were under the command of Hugh O'Neill, the great Earl of Tyrone, and 'The dauntless' Red Hugh O'Donnell, Chieftain of Tyrconnell, and Hugh Maguire, Chieftain of Fermanagh, and many others of less note. Their combined forces amounted to about 4,500 foot and 600 horse. The English army, which was commanded by Marshal Sir Henry Bagnall, is said to have amounted to about 4,500 foot and 500 horse, or something less than that of the Irish forces. There were, however, many Irish on the side of Sir Henry Bagnall under Fitz-Patrick, Chieftain of Ossory, who carried the English standard on the occasion, O'Reilly, and others. Indeed during the reign of Queen Elizabeth great numbers of the Irish Chieftains acknowledged her authority and fought in her service, such as O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, and Lord Inchiquin, Niall Garv O'Donnell, Baron of Lifford, Conor Roe Maguire, who were consequently known as the 'Queen's O'Brien,' the 'Queen's O'Donnell,' &c. For the 'Queen's O'Shaughnessy' see Note 43. This battle forms the subject of a poem by the talented William Drennan, which will be found in the Spirit of the Nation published in 1862.

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NOTE 72.—PAGE 142.

Captain Forster's mother was Eleanor, daughter of Colonel Gerald Burke of Tyaquin Castle, as may be seen by referring to Chapter VI. of this work. The Burkes of Tyaquin, in the county of Galway, were one of the leading branches of the De Burghs, anciently Earls of Ulster and Lords of Connaught, and in later times (after the former titles merged in the Crown, through intermarriage), Earls of Clanricarde. The first of this family who settled in Ireland was William FitzAdelm de Burgh, who, according to Sir Richard Cox, 'founded one of the best and noblest families of Ireland, which has yielded many brave and worthy men, that have proved eminently serviceable to their King and country, whereby their name, estate, and family are preserved in great honour and reputation to this day.' Many of the royal Houses of Europe are descended from the De Burghs, through the marriage of Lady Elizabeth de Burgh with Prince Lionel of Antwerp, Duke of Clarence and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, second surviving son of Edward III. King Charles I. being anxious to oblige the Hon. John de Burgh, of Dunsandle, in the county of Galway, fourth son of Ulick, third Earl of Clanricarde, by conferring on him a particular mark of his royal favour, raised him to the dignity of the Peerage, by creating him

Lord Viscount Burke of Clanmoryes, in the county of Mayo. In the Patent, which was dated the 20th of April, 1629, his Majesty states that it was no lessening of his royal dignity to acknowledge himself a descendant of the De Burghs; but let the preamble of this document speak for itself.

“Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To the archbishops, dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts, bishops, barons, knights, constables, freeholders, and all our officers, ministers, and subjects whatsoever, to whom these presents may come greeting. Whereas the illustrious and ancient family, surnamed De Burgh, is very well known to us by *certain and undoubted testimonies*, not only from William de Burgh, formerly Earl of Ulster, one of *our ancestors, from whom we* think it *no lessening* to acknowledge ourselves *descended in a direct line*; but also from numberless other heroes and noblemen of the same name now and in past ages flourishing in this our kingdom; in so much that in *lustre* and nobleness of extraction and blood it seems *to be inferior to none*. And whereas our beloved and trusty subject, John Burke, of Dunsandle, in the county of Galway, Esquire, one of the younger sons of Ulick de Burgh, or Burke, late Earl of Clanricarde, sprang from that *most honourable race*, hath, by his many loyal and acceptable services done to us and to our Crown, proved himself to be *a true co-heir* of the *innate virtues* of the said *most noble family* of De Burgh; and by his wealth, revenue, and large possessions, is so oppulent that he is fully qualified to acquit himself with splendour and magnificence of any charge entrusted to him. We, in regard to the merits of said John, being willing to add a little to the former honours conferred on said family by our ancestors, and desirous, through our royal affection and bounty, to favour said John with some mark of our royal benevolence, have resolved to rank the said John among the nobles and peers of this kingdom, and to raise him to the state and degree of an hereditary viscount of this kingdom. Know ye, therefore, &c.”

This title is now borne by Lord Hubert George de Burgh Canning—eldest surviving son of the Marquis of Clanricarde, K. P., &c. Lord Burke assumed this title on the death of his eldest brother, the late lamented Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Dunkellin, M. P., on whose decease he became heir to the titles and estates of the House of Clanricarde.

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NOTE 73.—PAGE 143.

From a very early period the Forsters claimed the Earldom of Angus. Sir Thomas Forster, Knt., living in the time of King Richard II. (who reigned from 1377 till 1399), was the eldest son of Sir Richard Forster, who fought at Crecy, on the 25th of August, 1346, and at Poitiers on the 19th of September, 1356, whom he succeeded in 1371. Sir Thomas Forster married the Lady Joan de Elmedon, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Thomas de Elmedon, who died

on the 4th of August, 1416, by his wife, Lady Elizabeth, daughter of Robert de Umfreville, Earl of Angus, who died in 1325, by his second wife, Alma, whose surname I have been unable to discover. Sir William de Elmedon, Lord of Elmedon, in the county of Durham, died in 1339, leaving by his wife Johanna, a son and successor, Sir William de Elmedon, Lord of Elmedon. He married Johanna, daughter and co-heiress of Sir John Bardolph, Knt., Lord of Brandon, by whom he had a son, the above-named Sir Thomas de Elmedon, who married Lady Elizabeth de Umfreville, daughter of the Earl of Angus, and was father of the Lady Joan, who married Sir Thomas Forster, Knt., as already stated. Lady de Elmedon, the wife of Sir Thomas de Elmedon, who died in 1416, was step-sister of Gilbert de Umfreville, Earl of Angus, who married Elizabeth, sister and co-heiress of Sir Gilbert Burdon, Knt., this nobleman's mother being Lucy, sister and heiress of William Lord de Kyme, the first wife of Robert, Earl of Angus, who died in 1325, and was the eldest son and successor of Gilbert de Umfreville, Earl of Angus, who is returned as being living from the twenty-first year of the reign of Edward I. to the first year of the reign of Edward II., by his wife, the Lady Agnes Comyn, daughter of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, in the Peerage of Scotland, from whom the family of Comyn, of Kilcorney, in the county of Clare, and Woodstock, Galway, are descended.

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NOTE 74.—PAGE 143.

It was King James's intention, had he succeeded in regaining his throne, to confer peerages on many of his adherents, but the discontent and jealous disposition which existed in his army, in consequence of the few peerages which he conferred after his arrival in Ireland, prevented him from publicly bestowing any more honours of this description. However, the heads of many Jacobite families, who had adhered to him in his misfortunes, privately received patents of nobility from the King, which would have been recognised by him had he succeeded in regaining his crown.

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NOTE 75.—PAGE 143.

This lady was Frances, daughter and co-heiress of Richard Jennings, Esq., of Sundridge, in the county of Hertford, and eldest sister of the celebrated Duchess of Marlborough, the favourite of Queen Anne. The 'Fair Fanny Jennings,' as she was called, was remarkable for her great beauty, and was justly admired when she was Maid of Honour at the Court of her Royal Highness the Duchess of York. She first married Count George Hamilton, brother of Major-General Richard Hamilton, who was taken prisoner by the

Williamites at the battle of the Boyne. On his death she married, secondly, Richard Talbot, the favourite of James II. See Notes 81 and 131. As stated in the text, that monarch, after landing in Ireland in March, 1689, created Talbot, who was then Earl of Tyrconnell and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, a Duke, though his patent for the Dukedom of Tyrconnell did not pass until the 11th of July following. Lady Tyrconnell's life was a scene of vicissitudes. While her ambitious and haughty sister, the Duchess of Marlborough, ruled England, she retired from the world, and established on the site of her husband's house in King-street, Dublin, a convent for Poor Clares. Here, after a life of great devotion, she expired on the 29th of February, 1730, in the 82nd year of her age, and on the 9th of March following she was interred in St. Patrick's Cathedral. It is a curious coincidence that both Frances and her sister Sarah, who were so different in character, died Duchesses, and though they enjoyed for a time the highest honours, they both, in a wordly point of view, outlived their greatness, and died in retirement. A mural slab, placed in the west wall of St. Andrew's Scotch College, at Paris, commemorates her in a country where the exiled Irish found a hospitable home. According to the inscription, the Duchess of Tyrconnell was a munificent benefactress of this establishment, and bequeathed an endowment to the Fathers for the celebration of a daily Mass there for ever for the repose of her soul and those of her two husbands, Count Hamilton and the Duke of Tyrconnell.

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NOTE 76.—PAGE 144.

This lady, who is said by tradition to have been one of the handsomest women of her time, was daughter of the Earl of Clanricarde, and was twice married, on both occasions to distinguished commanders, who died in the field. One, the patriot, Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, the other, the illustrious Duke of Berwick, for an account of whom see Note 48.

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NOTE 77.—PAGE 145.

The royal line of Stuart was undoubtedly one of the oldest dynasties in Europe, and the undoubted male descendants of the early Kings of Ireland through the Princes or Dynasts of Dalriedia in Ulster, which took its name from Carbry Rieda, son of Conor II. Monarch of all Ireland, and ancestor of Fergus I. King of Scotland. From this king lineally descended Banquo, Thane of Lochaber, who has been immortalized by Shakspeare in his play of Macbeth, and it is evident that the great dramatist wished to compliment King James I., and alluded to his family in Act IV., Scene I., where, when the witches raise

the spirits of eight kings, the last of whom carries a glass, and passes over the stage, followed by Banquo, who was the King's ancestor, Macbeth exclaims—

“*Macb.* Thou art too like the spirit of Banquo ; Down !  
 Thy crown does sear mine eye-balls :—And thy hair,  
 Thou other gold-bound brow, is like the first :—  
 A third is like the former :—Filthy hags !  
 Why do you shew me this ?—A fourth !—start eyes !  
 What ! will the line stretch out to the crack of doom ?  
 Another yet ?—A seventh ?—I'll see no more :—  
 And yet the eighth appears, who bears a glass,  
 Which shews me many more ; and some I see  
 That two-fold balls and triple sceptres carry ;  
 Horrible sight !—Ay now I see 'tis true :  
 For the blood-bolter'd Banquo smiles upon me,  
 And points at them for his.—What, is this so ?

*1st Witch.* Ay, sir, all this is so :—But why  
 Stands Macbeth thus amazedly ?”

These spirits were intended to represent Robert II., Robert III., James I., James II., James III., James IV., James V., and James VI., all of whom were the descendants of Banquo, and governed Scotland in succession, with one exception, that Queen Mary is excluded, whose reign intervened between that of her father, James V., and her son, James VI., who, on the death of Queen Elizabeth, became James I. of England, and was the seventy-fourth King of Scotland since the reign of Loran I. the Great, A. D. 503, the brother of Fergus I., ancestor of the royal line of Scotland, and son of Eric, Prince of Dalriedia, great-great-grandson of Carbry Rieda, who was son of Conor II., Monarch of Ireland, of the Milesian dynasty, in the year 212, according to all the most authentic and reliable histories of Ireland. The allusion to the triple sceptres signifies that James VI. of Scotland and his descendants would govern England, Ireland and Scotland. The six sovereigns of the House of Stuart who sat upon the throne of Great Britain, James I., Charles I., Charles II., James II., Mary II., the wife of William III., and Anne, the wife of Prince George of Denmark, were all acquainted with and acknowledged their descent from the monarchs of Ireland. James VI. was the first monarch of the House of Stuart that sat upon the throne of England, and united in his person the right to the crowns of the three kingdoms, which he derived by lineal descent from the Scottish, British, Danish, Saxon, and Norman Kings, as well as from a long line of the ancient Irish Kings of the Milesian dynasty, to whom the old Kings of Albany owed their origin. He always put forward his claim to the crown of Ireland by hereditary descent ; and in the account of his reign in Sir Richard Cox's *Hibernia Anglicana*, it is said that in a speech delivered by him at the Council table in Whitehall Palace, on the 21st of April, 1613, he used the following expressions—  
 “ There is a double cause why I should be careful of the welfare of that people (the Irish), first as the King of England, by reason of the long possession the



Crown of England hath had of that land, and also as King of Scotland, for the ancient Kings of Scotland are descended of the Kings of Ireland." Sir William Blackstone, the famous lawyer (for a notice of whom see Note 191), thus speaks of the claim of King James's eldest surviving son, Charles I.:—"He united in his person every possible claim by hereditary right to the English as well as the Scottish throne, being the heir both of Egbert and William the Conqueror." Francis Sandford Lancaster, Herald in the reign of Charles II., after many years of great labour, compiled a genealogical history of the Kings of England from the Norman Invasion to his own time, which he dedicated to that sovereign. In his dedication he makes use of the following passage:—"I now humbly present to your Majesty, to whom only of right it belongs, you being (as it were) the ocean into which all these mighty springs of royalty have, through the streams of so many several generations, discharged themselves, and in your veins running the royal blood of all those Kings of so many sundry nations who within the records of time have swayed the sceptre of this noble island." And again, alluding to the loyalty of the people, he says—"For whether they derive their descent from Britons, Saxons, Danes, Normans, or Scots (of all which nations the inhabitants of this island are composed), you are still their lawful sovereign by a continued succession of near twelve hundred years." But none of the family prided himself so much on their Irish origin as James II., to whom, when Duke of York and Albany, and Earl of Ulster, the learned O'Flaherty dedicated his *Ogygia*, one of the best authorities extant on Irish history. In this valuable work the Irish origin of the Stuarts is clearly proved, and a correct catalogue of the Kings of Scotland given from the reign of Loran the Great to the days of Charles II., who was then Monarch of Great Britain and Ireland. However, some attempts have been made of late to trace the origin of this family to the Norman House of FitzAlan in England, because, indeed, Walter I., who was surnamed Stuart, had a son called Allan! Now, on the contrary, instead of he being Walter FitzAlan, an English nobleman, he was son of Flean, by Nesta, daughter of Griffith, son of Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, and this Flean was son of Banquo, Thane of Lochaber, in the reign of Duncan, the forty-ninth King of Scotland, and whom Macbeth caused to be murdered, in consequence of his claim to Duncan's crown, which he himself had usurped. Their Irish descent is also confirmed by the Book of Lecan, Kennedy and Comerford, the historians, and others; but enough has been said on this subject.

#### NOTE 78.—PAGE 148.

The ball tore away the coat from the Prince of Orange's shoulder, which it slightly grazed, causing him to fall out on the neck of his horse. This circumstance at first led the Irish to believe that he was killed, but they were soon

convinced that they were in error. According to tradition, the gunner's name who fired at the Prince was Rickard Burke, and it is said that when he was taking aim he remarked to King James—"My Liege, this war will soon be at an end, for in less than a minute the Prince of Orange will be slain," to which King James, replied excitedly—"What, knave, would you make my daughter a widow?" at the same time endeavouring to seize the match which the gunner held in his hand, but ere he could do so the gun exploded. After the battle his companions upbraided Burke for having made this remark to the King, saying he should have fired first and told him after. This was not the only escape the Prince of Orange had at the Boyne. One of the Enniskilleners, a regiment which William always detested after this famous battle, on account of their cowardly conduct, mistaking the Prince for one of King James's officers, presented his musket and was about to fire, when William cried, Ho, there! What, don't you know your friends from your foes? The Prince of Orange was remarkable through life for his great courage; and though he was often compelled to retreat before his enemies, his retreats were as creditable as another's victory. At the battle of Senef he took a most active part. He fought very bravely, and charged in person in several parts of the field, to his own imminent danger. Having got in amongst the ranks of the French, and in his excitement mistaking them for his own men, he commanded them to charge, but they answered to a man that they had no powder left. No sooner had they spoken than he perceived his mistake, and turning from amongst them, placed himself at the head of his own troop. He then charged his enemies with an impetuosity that drove them from the field. After a severe contest at the battle of Montcassel, the first regiment of Dutch Guards began to waver. The Prince used every exertion to encourage them, but was at last compelled to retreat in consequence of the flight of his men. In his rage he cut amongst them with as much vigour as if they were his enemies. Cutting the first with his sword in the face, he cried out—"Rascal, I will set a mark on thee, that I may know where to find a coward." Finding all his endeavours useless, he accomplished an orderly retreat.

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NOTE 79.—PAGE 153.

Some historians who have written on the battle of the Boyne would have it understood that Sir Neill O'Neill was slain there. On the contrary, he was only wounded in that memorable battle, and afterwards accompanied King James to the city of Waterford, where he died, which is proved by the following inscription in Roman characters on his tomb in the Franciscan Friary, now the Franciscan Church, in that city:—

"Here lyes the body of Sir Neal O'Neill, Barronet, of Killilag, in the county of Antrim, who dyed the 8th of July, in the year 1690, at the age of

32 years and six months. He married the second daughter of Lord Viscount Molyneux, of Sefton, in Lancashire, in England."

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NOTE 80.—PAGE 154.

The Marshal Duke de Schonberg is styled by several Jacobite writers Count de Schonberg, the Dukedom conferred on him by King William not being recognised by them. It is alleged that he fell by the hand of Sir Charles O'Toole, but it is most probable that the shot which caused his death was fired by the Duke of Tyrconnell's Horse, as they were cutting through the Huguenots at the time he was slain. The last words he uttered were addressed to the Huguenots, while at the same time he pointed to the French in the service of King James. He said—"Come on, come on, Messieurs, behold your persecutors." Shortly after the Duke de Schonberg's death the Rev. George Walker, Rector of Donoughmore, Colonel of a Williamite regiment and Governor of Derry during the blockade in 1689, and afterwards Bishop of Derry, having gone in search of him with a party of horse, was slain. No sooner was this warlike Bishop killed, than the dragoons who accompanied him stripped his body and left it naked on the battle field. The Prince of Orange, who always disliked this military clergyman, on hearing of his death, coldly exclaimed—"The stupid fool, what the Devil business had he there." Though Walker was thought so little of by the Williamites of his time, he afterwards became the boast of the Orangemen, and a monument was erected to his memory in the streets of Derry.

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NOTE 81.—PAGE 154.

After the Prince of Orange came from Holland, and was proclaimed King of England, the Duke, then Earl of Tyrconnell, refused to resign the sword of state. Seeing how matters stood, William sent over Major-General Richard Hamilton to try and persuade Tyrconnell to espouse his cause, but on arriving in Ireland, Hamilton, who was a Catholic, again resumed his allegiance to King James, and was soon afterwards made Lieutenant-General of the Irish army. When he was now brought a prisoner before the Prince of Orange, he was asked—"Is it your opinion that the Irish will fight again?" To this he replied—"Upon my honour I believe they will: if you exchange commanders with us, gentlemen, even with all the other odds against us, we will fight the battle over again." "Honour—your honour, indeed," said William, with a sarcastic sneer, the recollection of Hamilton having joined Tyrconnell occurring to him at the time. This saying of Richard Hamilton's is attributed by different writers to different officers in the Irish army, but most of them

ascribe it to Sarsfield. However, as he was not taken prisoner at the Boyne, it certainly could not have been said by him. In a letter written by Queen Mary II. to her husband, King William, then in Ireland, dated Whitehall, Aug. 19, 1690, she thus speaks of General Hamilton, who was made prisoner at the Boyne—"Lord Steward [Devonshire] desires me to let you know he had a letter from Monsieur et Madame de Grammon about her brother Ham[ilton]; they earnestly desire he may be exchanged for Lord Mountjoy." On this passage of Queen Mary's letter Miss Strickland makes these remarks.—"The celebrated family group thus named by Queen Mary were all individuals intimately known to her in her youth. Madam de Grammon was the beautiful Miss Hamilton, who married the profligate fop, Count de Grammont. He resided some time at the Court of Charles II., which, if possible, he made worse than he found it. Mr. Hamilton, mentioned by the Queen, was the brother of the lady; he is better known as the Witty Count Anthony Hamilton, the author whose pen embodied the scandalous reminiscences of his brother-in-law under the title of *Memoirs de Grammont*. Count Anthony Hamilton was now a prisoner from the battle of the Boyne. He had greatly incensed King William, by undertaking to induce Lord Lieutenant Tyrconnell to yield up Ireland to him, and when he had obtained all the confidence with which the Whigs could trust him, he posted over to Ireland, and did all in his power by pen, interest, or sword, in the cause of his master, King James. A man of delicate honour would not have accepted the confidence of William, or acted thus, but a few falsehoods more or less broke no squares with the author of the scandalous chronicle aforesaid; yet it is strange to find Count Anthony Hamilton risking at once his life and his honour in the service of James II., whom he had libelled so viciously, and after his ruin, too." In Note 2 to the same page she says—"The Queen has throughout written his name according to her usual abbreviations, Ham.; but his description as the Count de Grammont's brother-in-law clearly identifies him." Undoubtedly Count Anthony Hamilton was brother of *la belle* Hamilton, who was wife of the Count Philliberte de Grammont. It is also a fact that he was taken prisoner at the Boyne, fighting on the side of King James, and released through the interest of the Queen, with whom his sister, the Countess de Grammont, and the Duke of Devonshire made interest. But Miss Strickland is mistaken in confounding him with his younger brother, Brigadier Richard Hamilton, who was also made prisoner at this battle, as already shown, and who was the person that deserted William to fight for his lawful Sovereign. There were several brothers of the Hamiltons, who have been often mistaken for each other. They were the children of Sir George Hamilton, of Roscrea, fourth son of the Earl of Abercorn, by the Hon. Mary Butler, daughter of Lord Thurles, and third sister of James, first Duke of Ormonde. The eldest of these brothers was James Hamilton, who was a great favourite of Charles II., who made him Groom of his Bedchamber, and Colonel of a Regiment. He was also a friend of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, and, in an engagement with the Dutch, one of his legs was

taken off by a cannon ball, in consequence of which he died on the 6th of June, 1673. His remains were brought to England, and interred with great pomp in Westminster Abbey. He is the elder of the Hamiltons alluded to in the Grammont Memoirs, and not George, as Horace Walpole, Lord Orford, supposed. The mistake, however, was alluded to and corrected by Sir Walter Scott, when he edited that work. The second, but eldest surviving brother, was George, who also enjoyed royal favour. On the restoration of Charles II., he brought with him to England a great number of Catholic officers and soldiers, who had served on the Continent under him and the Duke of York, his brother, and incorporated them with his Guards. Having been obliged by Parliament to dismiss all the Catholics in his service, King Charles permitted George Hamilton to take as many as were willing to accompany him to France. These forces were composed of Irish, English and Scotch; and, on their arrival, Louis XIV. formed them into a company of *gens-d'armes*, and having a high opinion of the valour of the Irish, became himself their captain. His Majesty appointed George Hamilton their Captain-Lieutenant. He was knighted and created a Count of the Kingdom of France, and rose to the rank of Mareschal-de-camp, or Major-General. He took part in the campaigns of 1673-5, under Marshal Turenne, and in the latter year, when this immortal commander was slain by a cannon shot, the whole army of France was saved from destruction by Count Hamilton. In 1676 he served under the Prince de Conde, but on the march to Sauverne he was killed in the neighbourhood of Zebernsteig, and a great portion of three regiments which he commanded were cut to pieces. In 1665 he married the celebrated Frances Jennings, being the successful rival of Richard Talbot, whom she married on Count Hamilton's death, as appears by Note 75. By her first husband, she had issue three daughters, the celebrated three Viscountesses of the Vice-regal Court of Ireland. Their names were Elizabeth, who married Lawrence, Viscount Ross; Frances, who married Viscount Dillon; and Mary, the wife of Nicholas, Viscount Kingsland. These distinguished ladies were interred in the same sepulchre in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, as was many years afterwards their mother, the Duchess of Tyrconnell. Colonel Anthony, Count Hamilton, was another brother of George, Count Hamilton. This officer settled in France, in the time of Cromwell, and on the Restoration of Charles II. returned to Ireland. He was created a Privy Councillor of Ireland, and Governor of Limerick, with a pension of £200 per annum, by King James. He was afterwards appointed Colonel of a Regiment of infantry, and Major-General of the forces, which, under the command of Lord Mountcashel, were intended for the reduction of Enniskillen. At about a mile from Lisnaskea, having unexpectedly fallen into an ambuscade, his forces were assailed both in front and flank by a party of Williamite troops, who were superior in point of number, and, after a sharp encounter, himself was wounded, and the Yellow Dragoons, which he commanded, compelled to fly. He was one of the most accomplished gentlemen of his age, and endowed with great poetical talent.

He is also remarkable as the author of the *Memoirs de Grammont*. Shortly after the publication of these *Memoirs*, Count Hamilton translated Pope's *Essay on Criticism* into French, at which the author was so well pleased that he wrote him a letter of thanks. It is, however, believed that this translation was never published, though Pope was most anxious that it should. After the Count had attained his seventieth year he wrote a poem entitled *Sur l'Usage de la Vie dans la Vieillesse*, which, for style and elegance, was considered one of the best poems in the French language. The Count died at St. Germain in April, 1720, aged about seventy-four years, having survived his gay brother-in-law, the Count de Grammont, who died in 1707. There was also another brother named John, who was an adherent of James II. He was one of those deputed by Tyrconnell, during his absence at the Court of St. Germain, to advise and instruct the youthful Duke of Berwick. He held the rank of a Major-General and Brigadier at the battle of Aughrim, where he was mortally wounded. There were also three sisters—1. Elizabeth Hamilton, who was greatly admired by Charles II., and married Phillibert, Count de Grammont, whom she accompanied to France in 1669, and by whom she had issue two daughters, Claude Charlotte, who married on the 3rd of April, 1694, Henry, Earl of Stafford, and Elizabeth, who became Abbess or Superioress of the Chanonesses in Lorraine. 2. Mary Hamilton, who married Matthew Ford, Esq., of the county of Wexford; and 3. Lucia Hamilton, who married Sir Donough O'Brien, Bart., of Lemenagh Castle and Dromoland, county of Clare, by whom she became ancestress of the present Lord Inchiquin, who is grandson of the late Sir Edward O'Brien, M. P., fourth baronet of the Dromoland line.

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NOTE 82.—PAGE 155.

While the Irish were making their last gallant stand, King James, being advised by the Duke of Tyrconnell and the Duke de Lauzun, fled in haste to Dublin, taking for his guard Sarsfield's Horse.

On arriving at Dublin Castle, he met the Duchess of Tyrconnell, to whom he said while ascending the stairs—"Madam, your husband's countrymen can run well," to which her Ladyship curtly replied—"Not quite so well as you, Sire, for I see your Majesty has won the race." I have read somewhere that the King said to Lady Tyrconnell that her countrymen could run well, and have met many persons who believe that her Ladyship was an Irish woman. This, however, was not the case, for Lady Tyrconnell was English by birth, as is already shown in Note 75. King James slept that night in Dublin Castle, and next morning rode to Waterford; and, though the distance was over 200 miles, he performed the journey within twenty-four hours—rather quick travelling for a King. It is said by tradition that King James, while at Water-



ford, dined at the Castle of Lismore, which is situated on the banks of the Blackwater. One of the windows of the Great Room in which he was entertained afterwards got the name of King James's Window, in consequence of the disheartened and agitated monarch having started back in dismay, on perceiving the vast height at which he stood, and the rapid river flowing beneath him, while looking from this window. When walking along the quays the wind blew off his hat, and an Irish officer named O'Farrell, who accompanied him, and who had served in the Austrian army, offered the King his own. James took it without ceremony, merely observing—"If I have lost a crown by the Irish, I have gained a hat."

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NOTE 83.—PAGE 155.

It appears by many documents in my possession that the bad treatment which William O'Shaughnessy received in France preyed on his father's spirits, who was at the time suffering from illness.—See Cloran Documents in Appendix.

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NOTE 84.—PAGE 157.

Roger O'Shaughnessy, Esq., of Gortinsiguara and Fidane Castles, in the county of Galway, who was a Captain in the Yellow Dragoons, the regiment of his brother-in-law, Lord Clare, died on the 11th of July, 1690, in the Castle of Gortinsiguara. He was not present at the battle of the Boyne, as stated by Hardiman, his regiment having arrived from Limerick too late to take part in it, which is correctly shown in the text. Not a trace of the castle now remains on the Island of Insignuara, and its site is occupied by the present officers' barrack, as is that of the village of Gortinsiguara by the handsome and picturesque town of Gort, which owes its rise to the encouragement given to its inhabitants by the family of Prendergast, who were, deservedly, very popular in the neighbourhood.

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NOTE 85.—PAGE 163.

This lady was Frances Ffrench, of Duras, in the county of Galway, and aunt of James Ffrench, Esq., of Duras. He married Annabella Donnellan, of Ballydonnellan, and was father of Mary Frances Ffrench, who married

Bartholomew de Basterot, member of the Parliament of Bourdeaux, until the year 1792; but, being compelled by the great French Revolution to quit his native country, he settled in Ireland, and was naturalized a British subject in 1793. His grandson, Count de Basterot, J. P., of Duras House, married the Lady Maria Paulina Florimunda de Tay de la Tour-Maubourg. Count de Basterot's nephew, Count Juste, only son of the Marquis de la Tour-Maubourg, Peer of France, was slain in the late sanguinary war between France and Prussia. Annabella Donnellan, the wife of James Ffrench, of Duras, and mother of Madam de Basterot, was daughter of John Donnellan, Esq., of Ballydonnellan, Chief of his Name, by his wife Mary, daughter of Charles Daly, Esq., of Callow, and his wife, Anne D'Arcy, of Kiltolla, niece of the Right Hon. Denis Daly, of Carrownakelly, in the county of Galway, Second Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in Ireland during the reign of King James II., Mary Donnellan, the daughter of Charles Daly, of Callow, was sister of Anthony Daly, who married the daughter and sole heiress of John Burke, Esq., of Lismore, county of Galway, and relict of the Hon. James de Burgh, son of the Earl of Clanricarde, by whom he had issue Charles Daly, Esq., M. P. for the county of Galway, Colonel Anthony Daly, M. P. for the town of Galway, and Major Peter Daly. She was also cousin of Mary Daly, the mother of the first Earl of Altamont. In the O'Donnellan pedigree given in Hy-Maine, Madam de Basterot's mother is called Mabel, but, according to the inscription to her memory on the De Basterot family tomb, her name was Annabella.

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NOTE 86.—PAGE 166.

This derivation of the name would appear to be confirmed by the discovery of several lunettes and crescents of gold in an adjoining bog, which were sold to a Dublin jeweller for £858, by whom they were melted down. Had they been previously examined by a clever antiquary, they would most probably have thrown great light on early Irish history, as I have been informed that some of them bore inscriptions which were unintelligible to the finders

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NOTE 87.—PAGE 166.

During his march from Athlone, Lieutenant-General Douglas disgraced himself, by allowing his men to practise every species of cruelty on the inhabitants, both Protestant and Catholic, as they passed along. They became so outrageous, that he was obliged to issue an order to the effect, that no man should leave the ranks under pain of death; but they at last became so in-

subordinate, that even in their commander's presence five refused to obey orders, who, instead of being all punished, were ordered to play at dice by Douglas, and the loser was immediately shot. The conduct of his brutal army was most shameful, and respected neither age nor sex.

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NOTE 88.—PAGE 169.

Turgesius was a noted Norwegian King. Having visited Norway and Denmark, he returned to Ireland in A. D. 836, with a large army, and a fleet of 120 ships, sixty of which entered the Boyne, and landed their troops near Drogheda, who laid waste the greater part of Meath. The remaining sixty ships sailed up the Liffey, and landed their troops in the city of Dublin. With the aid of those troops, he ravaged the country, plundered the monasteries, and burned the churches. After being several times defeated, they took possession of Dublin, and in 839 burned Armagh. In 840 Turgesius built a Castle in Dublin, on the hill where the Castle now stands. He made this his head quarters, from which he sent out his bands to plunder the country. They burned and destroyed the churches of Clonmacnoise, Clonard, Ardbreaccan, Duleek, Clonfert, Kildare, Glendalough, Ferns, Lismore, Emily, Ardmagh, Downpatrick, Louth, Clones, Devenish, &c. All the colleges of Ireland were also plundered. In 844 Armagh was again plundered by the Northmen. Turgesius expelled the Primate Forannan, and all the ecclesiastics and students, amounting to several thousands. The Primate was afterwards made prisoner, and conveyed to Limerick. Turgesius stationed fleets on all the great lakes throughout the kingdom, and amongst others on Lough Corrib. He also erected a large number of earthen forts, or raths, where he kept his forces encamped. Throughout the country he stationed several chiefs, and quartered many of his soldiers on the unfortunate inhabitants, on whom they exercised the greatest cruelty and oppression. He exacted from every house or head of a family throughout Ireland a yearly tribute of one ounce of gold, which, if not punctually paid on the day appointed, the defaulter's nose was either slit or cut off as a punishment, for which reason this tax was called by the Irish Airgiod-Shrona, or nose money. He slaughtered the priests, monks, and nuns by thousands, and introduced Paganism and the worship of idols into Ireland. At length, after a career of devastation and rapine, he was taken prisoner, and drowned in Loch Uair.

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NOTE 89.—PAGE 170.

Major-General de Boisselieu, who was a Captain in the French Guards, having a good knowledge of engineering, was sent to Ireland by the King of France

to assist James. After the battle of the Boyne he was appointed Governor of Limerick, and after William retired from before that city he returned to France, where he was appointed, in 1693, Governor of Charleroy, and died in five years after. For the officers of his regiment see Appendix.

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NOTE 90.—PAGE 170.

Godert de Ginckell, Baron de Reede, and De Ginckell, D'Amerongen, Middachier, Livendale, Elst Stervelt and Ronenberg, Knight of the Elephant, Grand Commander of the Teutonic Order, General of the Cavalry of the United Provinces of the Dukedom of Guelders and County of Zutphen. His Excellency was a brave and successful General, and Commander-in-chief of the English army in Ireland, during the campaign of 1691. In consequence of the services which he rendered him, William III. elevated Baron de Ginckell to the Peerage of Ireland. In 1692 he was created Baron of Aughrim and Earl of Athlone, and obtained a grant of over 26,000 acres of land, the forfeited possessions of William Dongan, Earl of Limerick, who fell bravely fighting on the side of James II. at the battle of the Boyne, fought on the 1st of July, 1690. But this grant was afterwards reversed by Parliament, and his Lordship, whose life somewhat resembled that of Sarsfield, retired with indignation and disgust to his native land, where he again distinguished himself as a military commander, and won fresh laurels. Parliament also deprived another of William's Dutch favourites, Joost Van Keppel, whom he had created Earl of Albemarle, of all Lord Clare's forfeited estates, amounting to 56,931 acres, which were granted to him in 1698. See Note 183. He died after two days' illness at Utrecht, on the 11th February, 1702, and was succeeded by his eldest son—

Frederick Christian, second Earl of Athlone, who was born in 1668. He continued to reside in Holland, was a member of the Nobles of Utrecht, and Lieutenant-General of the Dutch army. He died on the 15th of August, 1719, and was succeeded by his eldest son—

Godert Adrian, third Earl of Athlone, who, having died without issue male, in October, 1736, all the family titles devolved upon his brother—

Frederick William, fourth Earl of Athlone, who died on the 23rd of April, 1756, and was succeeded by his son—

Frederick Christian Rhynhard, fifth Earl of Athlone. This distinguished nobleman was a member of the Nobles for the province of Utrecht, Ranger of that province, and Chief Magistrate of the city of Utrecht in 1790. In 1795 he was created a Count of the Holy Roman Empire. He was also a Chevalier of several orders of Knighthood. The Earl accompanied the Stadtholder to England at the time of the French invasion of Holland, and took his seat in the Irish House of Lords on the 10th of March, 1795. He was succeeded by his eldest son—

Frederick William, sixth Earl of Athlone, who was the father of nine children, and on his death, which occurred on the 13th of December, 1808, was succeeded by his eldest son—

Frederick Godert, seventh Earl of Athlone. This nobleman married first Miss Munter, and secondly Maria, second daughter of Sir John Eden, Bart., of Windleston; but leaving no issue at his death, which took place on the 5th of December, 1810, the family honours reverted to his brother—

Renaud Deiderick Jacob de Reede, eighth Earl of Athlone. He married in March, 1818, Laura, daughter of John William Hope, Esq., of Amsterdam, and dying on the 31st of October, 1823, left a son and daughter, together with his successor—

George Godert Henry de Reede de Ginckell, Baron of Aughrim and Earl of Athlone in the Peerage of Ireland, Baron de Reede and De Ginckell, Baron Amerongen, Middachier, Livendale, Elst, Stervelt and Ronemberg in the kingdom of the Netherlands, who was born on the 21st November, 1820.

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NOTE 91.—PAGE 170.

This gentleman, who was a Dutch merchant, was Sheriff of Limerick, together with John Lence, in 1664. The Mayor was Sir Ralph Wilson, but in 1666 Mr. Samuel Foxon was elected Mayor. He possessed the lands of Annabeg, where he built a large brick mansion, and was knighted by William III. for services which he had rendered that monarch during the siege of Limerick. On his death, Lady Foxon sold the lands of Annabeg for £400 to James MacDonnell, Esq., of Kilkee, who was a Captain in the regiment of his cousin, Lord Clare, during the war in Ireland.

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NOTE 92.—PAGE 173.

They were Mr. Patrick Bevan and Mr. Manus O'Brien. When they first informed the Williamite officers of Sarsfield's march, the information was ridiculed, and one of the officers sneered at them, saying—"You are so anxious to be rewarded that, when you have no real information to bring, you have come to make a wonderful story out of seeing a few hundred of the Irish running away from the city; and for this valuable news, as you call it, you expect to be paid." The informers were not at all pleased with their reception, for they could perceive that, notwithstanding that they were staunch Protestants, the mere fact of their being Irish was in itself sufficient to make them be disbelieved. However, they positively assured the Prince of Orange that Sarsfield was in command of the men they had seen; and from their knowledge of his character,

that he always carried out his plans, despite the dangers he might have to encounter. William said he would not make a move in the matter, as he did not understand how Sarsfield could injure him by leaving Limerick. Bevan then asked the Prince of Orange if he expected any reinforcements, and said he was sure Sarsfield would not leave Limerick, where he was so much required at present, unless he was certain of succeeding in some great project. At that moment, thoughts of the convoy he expected flashed through William's mind, and he ordered Sir John Lanier to go meet it, lest Sarsfield might fall in with it.

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NOTE 93.—PAGE 173.

Sir John Lanier received orders to march at nine o'clock on Monday evening ; but not believing there was any immediate danger, he took no notice of this until two o'clock next morning, when he departed at the head of his dragoons. This neglect on the part of Sir John caused him to be looked upon with suspicion by several of the officers in William's army.

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NOTE 94.—PAGE 176.

The following are correct lists of the officers killed and wounded in this charge :—Killed : Major Hamilton, Captains Hudson, Lindon, Farlow, Wallace, West (died of his wounds) ; Lieutenants Ennis, Morrison, Collingwood, Latham (died of his wounds), Russell ; Ensigns—Tapp, Pinsent, Mead, Smith, Calton, Ogle, Howard, Coppinger. Wounded : Sir Charles Fielding, Colonel Cutts, Major Allan, Captains Rose (died of his wounds), Rose junior, Grey, Trevor, Wanesborough, Newton, Foxon, Howson (died of his wounds), Mesham, Adair, Holdrech, Hobbert ; Lieutenants—Wylde (died of his wounds), Wybrants, Lacock, Lloyd, Levison, Godwin, Hilton. Ensigns—Godwin, Burke, Hook, Pollock (died of his wounds). Also among the wounded Lieutenants was Monsieur Paul Rapin de Thoyras, the historian, a gentleman of ancient lineage. In the reign of Francis I. four brothers of this name settled in France, renounced the faith of their forefathers, and embraced the Protestant religion. One of them, who was a clergyman, was Almoner to Queen Catharine de Medici, and King's Orator. The eldest, Viscount de Rapin, was Governor of Montauban and Colonel in the army. The other two were Captain Pierre, and Philibert, steward to the Prince de Conde. The latter, for political reasons, became disliked by the Parliament of Toulouse, which caused him to be beheaded when he was about to register the Edict of the Peace of 1568, though he was to do so by the King's authority. He was father of Peter Rapin



Baron de Mauvers, &c., who married the daughter of Major-General de Lupe, Lord de Moravat, Governor of Mannezin, &c., and had, with other issue, James his second son Sieur de Thoyras, Advocate of the Court of the Edict, of Castres, &c., &c. This gentleman married the great granddaughter of the celebrated Chevalier Raymond de Pellison, Master of the Requests; Ambassador, and afterwards President of the Senate of Camberi, and Commander in Savoy, and sister of George and Paul de Pellison. This lady was a Protestant, and on refusing to conform to the Catholic religion, was sent by order of the French King to Geneva, where she died. The youngest son of James Rapin Sieur de Thoyras was Lieutenant Paul Rapin de Thoyras, who was born at Castres on the 15th of March, 1661. At a very early age, in compliance with the wishes of his father, who employed a resident tutor for that purpose, he commenced the study of the Greek and Latin languages under the most favourable auspices. After the lapse of some time he was removed to Puylaureus, and afterwards to Saumur, where he first evinced signs of that strong energy of mind which characterized the pursuits of his after-life. In 1679 he began to study law, to which he applied himself energetically for some time, but, when the Courts of the Edict were suppressed, he and his family were compelled to retire to Toulouse. After spending some time here, the military talent of his family began to develop itself in him, and he requested his father to allow him to choose the profession of arms instead of law. To this his father gave no decided answer, and young Rapin applied himself to reading, which resulted in his becoming a first-class mathematician and musician. However, on the death of his father in 1685, he remained in the country until March in the following year, when he came to England, where after staying for a short time he departed for Holland, and had himself enrolled at Utrecht, in a company of French volunteers commanded by his first cousin, which was raised for the intended invasion of England. In 1689 he received an Ensign's commission in Lord Kingston's regiment, and at the close of the year 1693 returned to England, having been appointed governor to Lord Portland's son, and was in some time after granted a pension of £100 per annum by William III. Having accompanied his pupil to the Hague, he got married there in 1699, but this circumstance did not, however, prevent him from rendering his pupil the necessary attention. After travelling with him through several European countries, Mr. Rapin at length returned to his family. He now devoted himself to study, and while residing at the Hague drew up and arranged several valuable chronological and genealogical tables. In 1707 his family having increased, he returned to Wezel, where he compiled his celebrated history of England, which is said to have occupied seventeen years of his time. Mr. Rapin was highly accomplished, being learned in the Latin, Greek, Spanish, Italian, English, and High and Low Dutch languages. He was seized with a violent fever on the 9th of May, and expired on the 16th of the same month, in the year 1725.

## NOTE 95.—PAGE 177.

On Friday the 29th, which was both wet and boisterous, the Prince of Orange held a council of war. Their present position was debated, and it was resolved to raise the siege, particularly as most of their ammunition was exhausted, and what remained rendered useless by the heavy rain which had fallen. In the council the Prince of Orange expressed his opinion that if the Irish, though they had only six pieces of cannon, had had a thousand such brave and resolute men at the Boyne as the citizens of Limerick, he felt sure the victory would be on James' side. This might have been said by William to annoy his officers, as he was greatly displeased with the conduct of his army.

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## NOTE 96.—PAGE 187.

The devoted fugitives who accompanied the unfortunate Queen Mary Beatrice in her flight on board the Duke de Lauzun's yacht, were the Duke and Duchess of Powis, Anna Vittoria Mantecuculi, Countess of Almonde, who was one of the ladies of the bedchamber, Lord and Lady Clare of Carrigahoult Castle, Signora Pelegrina Turinie, bedchamber woman, and Lady Strickland of Sizeragh, sub-governess of the Prince of Wales, the Marquis Montecuculi, Père Giverlai, her Majesty's confessor, Sir William Walgrave, her physician, a page named Francois, and another named Dusions. This Lord Clare who accompanied her Majesty was the patriotic nobleman introduced in Chapter IX. of this work.

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## NOTE 97.—PAGE 193.

On the marriage of the Princess Anne, in 1683, with Prince George of Denmark, second son of King Frederick III., and brother of King Christian V., Lady Churchill was appointed lady of the bedchamber to that Princess, and possessed such an ascendancy over Anne, that when she became Queen this extraordinary woman laid aside that respectful deference due to a Sovereign by a subject, and familiarly addressed her Majesty as Mrs. Morley, while the Queen on the other hand called her my dear Mrs. Freeman. Anne was a staunch Tory, while her favourite as firmly advocated Whig principles. While William III. reigned, these two ladies professed the same political opinions, as they both feared and disliked, if not hated, that Sovereign, but on his death Anne espoused Toryism, and her principle favourite the opposite, the result of which to herself and her husband is already well known to the readers of English history. She was the elder sister of Frances, Duchess of Tyrconnell, as may be seen by reference to Note 75.

## NOTE 98.—PAGE 196.

Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Grafton, K. G., was the second illegitimate son of Charles II. by Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland, and was born on the 28th of September, 1663. When young he served in the royal navy, under Sir John Berry, Vice-Admiral of England. On the 5th of June, 1671, Charles II. was pleased to grant him by letters patent the prisage and butlerage on all wines imported into England. This grant was, on the 26th of March, 1806, surrendered to the Crown, in consideration of an annuity of £6870, which was to cease on failure of the issue male of Henry, first Duke of Grafton. On the 16th of August, 1672, he was created Baron of Sudbury, Viscount Ipswich, and Earl of Euston, and on the 11th of September, 1675, he was created Duke of Grafton, in the county of Northampton. On the 31st of August, 1680, he was admitted a Knight-Companion of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, and was installed at Windsor on the 30th of September, in the same year, by his proxy Sir Edward Villiers, afterwards Earl of Jersey. In 1681 he was appointed Colonel of the 1st Foot Guards, and on the 2nd of December, 1684, was nominated Vice-Admiral of England. In 1685 he was appointed Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Suffolk. At the coronation of James II. he acted as Lord High Constable of England. He married on the 1st of August, 1689, Lady Isabella, only daughter and heiress of Henry Bennet, Viscount Thetford and Earl of Arlington, and Lady Isabella de Nassau, his wife, daughter of Louis de Nassau, Lord of Beverwaert, illegitimate son of Maurice, Count de Nassau, and Prince of Orange. The Duke of Grafton was a great favourite of James II., and, at the time the Duke of Monmouth invaded England, he commanded a portion of the Royal army. In 1687, in virtue of his office of Vice-Admiral of England, he conducted the Queen of Portugal from Holland to Lisbon, and in 1688 joined the Prince of Orange. However, on reflecting on the many favours conferred on him by James, he began to feel remorse of conscience for having deserted him, and consequently voted for the appointment of a regent while the throne was vacant; but afterwards finding this measure could not be accomplished, he joined in the settling of the succession to the Crown on the Prince and Princess of Orange, and carried the King's orb at the coronation on the 11th of April, 1689.

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 NOTE 99.—PAGE 196.

The Duke de Wirtemberg, being highest in rank, claimed the chief command of the troops, but Lord Marlborough positively refused to allow him to take it, as himself got charge of the forces in England, and would therefore allow no other person to interfere with his authority until his return. The Prince was

equally obstinate, and it is believed he was instigated by the Prince of Orange in order to prevent Marlborough from having the credit of whatever victories might be achieved. After a prolonged dispute, the matter was finally settled by both agreeing to command alternately. The Earl was the first who took the command, and ordered the password to be 'Wirtemberg.' The Prince was gratified at this compliment paid to himself, and when he took the command he ordered the password to be 'Marlborough.' However, despite these reciprocal compliments, a feeling of jealousy existed between them during the campaign.

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NOTE 100.—PAGE 197.

The following are the articles agreed to on the surrender of the city:—

I. That the garrison should be received prisoners of war, and there should be no prejudice done to the officers, soldiers, or inhabitants.

II. That the General would use his endeavour to obtain his Majesty's clemency towards them.

III. That they should deliver up the Old Fort within an hour, and the two gates of the city the next day at eight in the morning.

IV. That all the Protestants that are in prison shall be forthwith released.

V. That all the arms of the garrison and inhabitants should be put into a secure place; and

VI. That an exact account should be given of the magazines, as well provision as ammunition.

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NOTE 101.—PAGE 199.

The morning after his hasty flight from the Boyne, and previous to his departure for Waterford, James thus addressed the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c., of Dublin:—"Gentlemen, I find all things run at present against me in England. I had an army consisting of men stout and brave enough, which would have fought, but they proved false and deserted me; here I had an army which was loyal enough, but they wanted true courage to stand by me at the critical minute. Gentlemen, I am now a second time necessitated to provide for my own safety, and seeing I am no longer able to protect you and the rest of my good subjects, the inhabitants of this city, I advise you to make the best terms you can for yourselves, and likewise for my menial servants, in regard that I shall now have no further occasion to keep such a court as I have done; I desire you all to be kind to the Protestant inhabitants, and not to injure them or the city, for though I at present quit it, yet I do not quit my interest in it."

## NOTE 102.—PAGE 203.

De St. Ruth distinguished himself in the wars of Flanders, Germany, and Holland; and after about twenty years' service, he was in 1688 appointed by Louis XIV. to the rank of Lieutenant-General, and in two years after received the command of the French and Irish (the latter were Mountcashel's brigade) engaged to reduce the Duchy of Savoy. The fact of De St. Ruth being entrusted with the command was one of the great mistakes committed by James during the war, though the King of France said—"Whatever he (De St. Ruth), a captain of great conduct and experience, after arriving in Ireland and informing himself upon the place, shall judge necessary for the work we will not fail in despatching to Ireland." De St. Ruth, who overrated his own abilities, treated the Irish officers with contempt, and whenever they proposed any measure to him he always took care to adopt the opposite. Indeed, the only class in this country to whom he paid attention was the ladies, and he consequently lost much valuable time in attending balls and parties, and therefore became daily less popular with the Irish soldiers, who wished to have Sarsfield placed in command.

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## NOTE 103.—PAGE 218.

It was agreed on to have the bridge of pontoons, one thousand and fifty feet distant from the bridge on the south side, and as the summer was exceedingly fine, and the water low, it occurred to Baron de Ginckell that by sounding the river a place shallow enough to pass might be discovered; but as this could not be accomplished without considerable risk, he sent for three Danish soldiers who were under sentence of death in the camp, and offered them their lives, on condition that they sounded the river. The soldiers were delighted at this, and incasing themselves in armour plunged into the water. The General then ordered a party of his men to fire a volley after them, but desired them take aim so high as that the Danes would not be injured. The Irish were deceived by this stratagem, and, believing the Danes were deserting from the Williamite camp, refrained from firing on them. They continued their course through the water, until they discovered the deepest part, which only reached their waists. They were then about returning when the Irish, discovering the *ruse*, prepared to fire. The Baron, knowing the Irish would do so, gave orders to have the artillery prepared, which then opened on them, and compelled them to throw themselves on their faces, and take refuge under the rubbish. Under cover of this heavy fire, the Danes returned two of them, however, being slightly wounded. It is worthy of notice that from time immemorial, the Shannon was not known to be so shallow at that period of the year.

## NOTE 104.—PAGE 218.

About the year 1863, I met in London a descendant of this gallant officer, who was then a policeman in the Metropolitan force. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

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## NOTE 105.—PAGE 219.

When this attack was made on the Irish Lieutenant-General, d'Usson was at a considerable distance from the garrison, taking refreshment, but hearing the alarm he hastened to the scene of action. However, he was unable to render any assistance, as he was knocked down, and trampled on by the retreating soldiers. When De St. Ruth heard of his absence, he became exasperated, and declared that as soon as possible he would have the Lieutenant-General tried by Court-martial for his negligence, but De St. Ruth's death at Aughrim prevented him from putting this threat into execution, which probably saved D'Usson's life.

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## NOTE 106.—PAGE 219.

It is asserted by some writers on Irish history, that the Sieur de St. Ruth was dressing for a shooting excursion, when he received the intelligence that Athlone was taken by the Baron de Ginckell. How could this have been, as it is well-known that the General was too perfect a sportsman to shoot game after the season was over, which commences for grouse and partridge respectively in August, and September? When Baron de Ginckell entered Athlone, all the garrison except the sentinels were asleep. Some, however, were soon aroused by the noise caused by the attack, and the lives of those who, worn out by fatigue, still slept on, to his credit be it said, were spared by the Baron. In the camp when the courier arrived, matters were nearly the same, as most of the officers were enjoying 'Tired nature's sweet restorer, balmy sleep,' being quite exhausted from the effects of a ball given by St. Ruth on the previous night.

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## NOTE 107.—PAGE 219.

This was another foolish act on the part of the French Commander in Ireland. In the first place, the Sieur de St. Ruth, on hearing that the



English had possession of Athlone, should have sent the whole Irish army to engage de Ginckell, instead of two battalions under Hamilton. Secondly, if D'Usson had removed the western walls and ramparts during the siege, as he was ordered, they could not now be turned against the Irish, when the town was taken, for while the two infantry brigades under Hamilton were wholly exposed to the deadly fire of the English, the Williamite Grenadiers, under Colonel Gustavus Hamilton, took shelter behind them, and fired upon the approaching Irish with great effect.

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NOTE 108.—PAGE 220.

Mostly all, if not all, writers who have written on Athlone, say that Colonel O'Gara was among the slain, but the treaty made by the Baron de Ginckell with the garrison of Galway, on its surrender, clearly proves that O'Gara was in that city during the siege. He was one of those who witnessed the treaty, and was afterwards present at the last siege of Limerick.

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NOTE 109.—PAGE 220.

There is a tradition, that the Earl of Lucan, while on his way to rejoin De St. Ruth, from whom he had separated at Athlone, fell in with one of the O'Kennedys, of Ormonde. Sarsfield saluted O'Kennedy, whom he knew to be a brave man, and an ardent lover of his country, and, after some conversation, asked him whither he was bound. O'Kennedy replied—"I am on my way to Nenagh, my Lord." "Then follow me," said Sarsfield, "the way to Aughrim is the way to Nenagh," meaning, thereby, that unless the English were defeated at Aughrim, O'Kennedy might as well not return to Nenagh, as his lands there would be confiscated, he being a Catholic.

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NOTE 110.—PAGE 221.

The strong and ancient Castle of Aughrim belonged in olden times to a junior branch of the O'Kellys, Chiefs of Hy-Many, descended from William, the ninth son of Macleachlainn (Malachy) O'Kelly, Chief of that territory for twenty-six years, who died in 1401. This William died in 1420, and his death is thus recorded in the Annals of the Four Masters—"William, son

of Malachy, son of William O'Kelly, the intended Lord of Hy-Maine, a man full of prosperity and hospitality, died after the victory of extreme unction and repentance." He had issue—

I. Aodh or Hugh.

II. Malachy.

III. Tadhg or Thadeus, surnamed Caoch.

Hugh, the eldest son, surnamed na Coille, succeeded Hugh, son of Brian O'Kelly, as Chief of Hy-Many, in 1467. He married Catherine, daughter of Meyler Burke, of Shrule, and dying in 1469, left issue—

Daniel O'Kelly, who married Catherine, daughter of Ulick Burke, Lord of Clanricarde, and had issue—

I. Cellach.

II. Finola, who married Daniel O'Kelly, surnamed a Bharca.

Cellach O'Kelly married Julia, daughter of Thadeus O'Kelly, of Gallagher, surnamed Duff, or the black, and had issue—

I. Ferdaragh or Ferdinand.

II. Hugh, Chief of Hy-Many, who died without male issue.

Ferdinand O'Kelly, who was the last of the Aughrim family that became Chief of Hy-Many, married, first, Catherine, daughter of MacHugo, by whom he had issue, four daughters. He married, secondly, Julia, daughter of John MacCoghlan, surnamed na Scuab, and had issue—

Malachy O'Kelly, Esq., of Aughrim Castle, who married Honora, daughter of John Burke, of Cloughrourke, and had issue—

I. Teige.

II. Brian, who married Honora Kennedy.

Teige O'Kelly, of Aughrim Castle, married Honora, daughter of Sir William Burke, and was father of—

Cellach O'Kelly, of Aughrim Castle. This gentleman having espoused the cause of Charles I., was slain in A. D. 1641. Some time previous to his death he sent a deputation to John Kelly, Esq., of Clonllyn, conferring on him, in case himself should die without issue, the honours of his family. John Kelly, of Clonllyn, by his wife Isma, daughter of Sir William Hill, of Ballybeg, county of Carlow, was father of, with other issue—

Colonel Charles Kelly, a staunch adherent of James II., and Author of 'Macariæ Excidium,' or the Destruction of Cyprus, under which title he wrote an account of the Jacobite and Williamite war in Ireland, giving to Sarsfield the name Lysander, and to the Baron de Ginckell that of Oraris. On the death of Cellagh he was succeeded in his property by his first-cousin—

Thadeus (son of Brian O'Kelly, and his wife Honora Kennedy), who married Mary, daughter of William O'Fallon, Esq., and had issue—

Malachy O'Kelly, Esq., of Aughrim Castle, who joined James II., and went to France, after the last siege of Limerick. The last legitimate representative of this ancient family married an Italian nobleman, Count Marcolini,

Prime Minister to the Elector of Saxony. On the death of the Countess Marcolini, the O'Kelly's of Aughrim became extinct.

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NOTE 111.—PAGE 226.

This speech is exactly the same as an ancient M.S., entitled 'The Oration delivered before ye battle of Aughrim, was fought by General de St. Ruth, who had the command of the Irish,' which is still preserved in the writer's family. It is similar in every respect, with the exception of a few unimportant words, to the version given in 'The Impartial History of Ireland,' written by the Williamite Chaplain Story, and printed at the Rose and Crown, in St. Paul's Churchyard MDCXCI. He says in his work, that the speech as given by him, was found after the battle 'amongst the papers of his Secretary,' referring to De St. Ruth, 'who was killed in the field.'

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NOTE 112.—PAGE 229.

In the neighbourhood of Gortinsiguara, this prophecy was known so far back as the year 1680, in that part of Connaught which borders Mayo, in 1687, and gained credence in many parts of Ulster in 1690. It is strange, that all the battles of importance fought in Ireland were prophesied long before they took place, and that whatever side was promised victory surely gained it; but of all the old prophecies which have come under my notice, the one relative to the battle of Aughrim is the most strange. Even the incredulous Story, who was a Protestant clergyman, and Chaplain to the Williamite army, records that he was informed by a gentleman who lived in the neighbourhood of Aughrim, that about a year before the battle was fought, 'several of the *Ulster Creights* driving their cattle that way, some of them ask't this gentleman the name of that castle, who, when he told them that it was called Aughrim, one of them replied, that was the place where a great battle was to be fought, and that the Englishmen should think their coats too heavy in climbing up those hills.' He also adds to the above the testimony of a brave and highly respectable Irish officer, that this prophecy existed among the Irish in these words:—"This was also mentioned by Colonel Gordon O'Neal (found stripped amongst the dead next day, and made a prisoner), and several other of the Irish officers after the battle."

## NOTE 113.—PAGE 234.

The Earl of Portland's regiment of Horse Guards, was one of the best drilled, armed, and clad, under the command of the Baron de Ginckell; and, being composed of six companies, comprised about 570 men. This regiment arrived in Dublin on the 1st of the month, and had only just reached the camp, when it was ordered to engage the enemy.

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## NOTE 114.—PAGE 241.

On Colonel Forster's return from France (see Note 12), Stephen O'Flanagan came to Clooneene, and, being recognised by him on his succession to the family estates, he bestowed on O'Flanagan, as a reward for having saved his life, the lands of Hollywood, near Gort. The last of the O'Flanagans, mentioned in the Blake-Forster documents, was also named Stephen. Lady Blake, mother of Anastatia Blake-Forster, made a lease of a house and salt-stores, in Lombard-street, Galway, to Patrick Lynch, Esq., merchant, bearing date 5th of September, 1774. This document was witnessed by Charles Browne, Thomas Ellis, and Stephen O'Flanagan. The descendants of Mr. Lynch removed from their residence at Lombard-street, on the expiration of this lease in 1827, by the death of the Duke of York, to Renmore, where they still reside. In 1848 the representative of the senior branch of this family of O'Flanagan, who was named Martin, emigrated to America, and, at present, there are none of that branch in this country, except two old females who reside on the lands of Fir Park, near Gort; but there are several of the junior branches residing in Clare and Galway, and particularly at a place called Crusheen, in Clare.

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## NOTE 115.—PAGE 243.

The following short memoir of Brigadier-General Henry Luttrell, of Luttrellstown, in the county of Dublin, is taken from "The Irish Magazine, or Monthly Asylum for Neglected Biography, for July, 1809."

"This man, whose treachery had such an unhappy effect on the liberties and religion of his country, was the son of Thomas Luttrell, of Luttrellstown, by a daughter of William Segrave, of Cabragh, in the county of Dublin, Esq. Luttrell took a very active part in the cause of his Sovereign, James II., under whom he enjoyed many honourable and lucrative employ-

ments; he was, some short time before the invasion of Ireland by the Prince of Orange, Governor of Sligo, and a Brigadier-General. He commanded a considerable body of Horse, raised at his own expense at the battle of Aughrim and at Limerick. The loss of the battle of Aughrim is principally attributed to his treason, though Lodge and Harris, and other writers, deny or conceal the treachery of Luttrell; yet, the odium of his conduct appears so evident to his cotemporaries, that neither time nor artifice has been ever able to remove the infamous stigma from the name of Luttrell—a name that is so detested, from his perfidy, and that of his successors, that it expresses, in the idea of an Irishman, and comprises all the villainy that is to be found in the catalogue of human offences. The writers of the times insist that Luttrell was innocent, but his influence with Ginckle, after the capitulation of Limerick, and the subsequent honours he received from William, whose confidence he possessed until the death of that monarch, are the best evidences of his infamy. Luttrell, in appearance, implicitly adhered to the Catholic faith, a religion which the Dutchman detested, for, by renouncing the religion of his fathers, it might fasten the opprobrious character of a traitor on his name, with more indelible effect. His influence with Ginckle was such, that he had a grant of his brother Thomas's estates, who was then a fugitive, attainted of high treason by William; this grant was not only confirmed by William, but he was made a Major-General in the Dutch army in the year 1702. The account of Brigadier-General Kane, who served in the army under Ginckle, before Limerick, we give in his own words:—‘Our General marched in the greatest haste to Limerick, where we found the enemy had taken up the same ground, on the Thomond side of the river, they had done the preceding year, and for the convenience of being supplied with necessaries, we were obliged to take up the ground on the other side; but our General soon found that Limerick was not to be taken in any reasonable time, unless he could dislodge the enemy, and to invest it round. Now, the difficult matter was, in passing the river upon them at this place, for he could not quit the ground he was on for the above reason; and the enemy being sensible of this, they kept strict guards constantly patrolling by night on the river side, but drew out of reach of our cannon by day. However, our General found means to have a correspondence with Luttrell, who, having a plentiful fortune in the kingdom, and loath to lose it, promised, when he had the guard of the river, to give us an opportunity of laying bridges over it; and, when the night came that he had the guard, he gave us notice, and ordered his patrols to a different way from the place where the bridges were to be laid; so that we laid our bridges, and passed part of our army before day; and the morning proving foggy, we marched up to the enemy's camp, and were the first that carried the news of our passing, which was such a surprise to them, that the foot, most of them naked, without making the least resistance, fled to the town, where, the gates being shut against them, great numbers were killed from the walls, and also a great many of ours killed from the walls by their too eager pursuit of them. The

horse also fled, half naked, most of them without either bridle or saddle, towards the furthest part of the county Clare; and now he invested Limerick, which brought on the capitulation by which they surrendered both town and kingdom, and put an end to the wars in Ireland.' He continued to reside at his seat at Luttrellstown until his death, but, with such apprehensions of falling a victim to popular fury, from the indignation expressed against him, that he was little removed from the condition of a prisoner; notwithstanding all his care, he at length fell by the hands of what Lodge calls assassins, who shot him in his sedan chair in Stafford-street, in the city of Dublin, October, 22nd, 1717, in the sixty-third year of his age. The writer of this article, when a boy, frequently conversed with an old man of the name of Strong, who had been an eminent former cotemporary and tenant of Luttrell's, on the lands of Peeblestown, near Luttrell's Castle. Mr. Strong perfectly remembered the death, and the reports then in circulation of the person who killed him; they stated that the man who committed the fact was a blacksmith of the name of Luttrell, and one of the family living in Bridge-street, in Dublin; that his reasons for shooting the Colonel were, on the hopes of succeeding to the family estate, as he understood Luttrell had never been married to the woman who was mother of the children who were afterwards acknowledged his heirs; one of them, his eldest son, was father of the present well-known Lord Carhampton. Whether private or public spirit influenced the persons who killed Luttrell, we have no doubt that every rational and religious mind will admit this interposition of Divine Providence, in allowing the chastisement of an infamous man, who betrayed his sovereign, from whose hands he received the greatest honour and ample rewards, who betrayed his religion and his country, and by laying both at the feet of an enemy to one, and a stranger to the other, perpetuated those miseries which Ireland feels to the present day. His descendants have invariably been regulated by the conduct of the ancestor, or, as Lodge expresses it, revolutionary opinions, in which they have been carefully brought up by an English education. The years 1797 and 1798 record the practical application of this revolutionary education, and illustrate the hereditary infamy of the house of Luttrell. Our fathers were despoiled of their estates, and expatriated by one man, and ourselves have been tortured and expatriated by the son. We trust that the cup of Irish misery is full at last, and ardently hope, from the horrors we entertain from what we have read, and what we suffer, that our children may never be cursed with the progeny of a Luttrell." And the same writer gives the following note on the name Luttrell:—"In the year 1796, when the Act passed for putting any county in a state of disturbance under martial law, one of Lord Carhampton's informers was employed, prosecuting a man of the name of Butterly for seditious practices, at the Quarter Sessions, Kilmainham. The noble lord, as governor of the county, and a magistrate, sat on the bench with the judge; the unfortunate culprit was so poor, that he was not able to employ any professional assistance higher than an attorney; the attorney who undertook his



defence, was the late George Fletcher, who, on cross-examining the prosecutor, asked why he should be from home at such a late hour, as he swore he observed the prisoner doing the act for which he was then on his trial; the fellow answered, he was authorised to be out, as he had a pass from Lord Carhampton. Fletcher again addressing himself to the prosecutor, Sir, said he, *was it an Aughrim pass, or a Limerick pass?* This last query, though it did not serve the prisoner, highly gratified a crowded court, by the visible embarrassment it caused in the countenance of the peer."

The traitor Luttrell was waylaid between ten and eleven o'clock at night, as he was proceeding from Lucas's Coffee House to his town house in Stafford-street. Lucas's was then the most fashionable resort in Dublin, and occupied the site of the present Royal Exchange. A Proclamation was issued, two days after his assassination, by the Duke of Bolton, Lord Lieutenant, and the Privy Council in Ireland, to this effect:—"Whereas we have received information that on Tuesday the 22nd of this instant October, between the hours of ten and eleven at night, a tall man with long lank hair, in a short light-coloured coat, did, in Stafford-street, in the city of Dublin, in a most barbarous and inhuman manner, murther and assassinate Colonel Henry Lutterell, as he was going in a hackney-chair from a Coffee-House on Cork-hill to his own house in Stafford-street, aforesaid, by firing a pistol or gun loaden with ball into the said chair, and thereby so dangerously wounding the said Henry Lutterell, that he is since dead of his said wounds, and that the said assassin found means to make his escape and the authors and contrivors of such an horrid murther are still undiscovered. . . . We, the Lord Lieutenant and Council, having a just abhorrence of all such barbarous and horrid practices, and thinking it absolutely necessary that all due encouragement should be given for the discovery and apprehension of the said assassin, and the authors and contrivers of the murther of the said Colonel Henry Lutterell, do by this our Proclamation, publish and declare, that we will give the necessary orders for payment of the sum of three hundred pounds to such person or persons as shall discover, take, and apprehend the person who fired the said pistol or gun, or any of the authors or contrivers of the said horrid murther, so as he, they, or any of them, may be convicted thereof; and in case any of the persons concerned therein (other than and except the person who fired the said pistol or gun) shall make a full discovery of his accomplices, so as one or more of them may be apprehended, and therefore, convicted, such discoverer shall, besides the said reward, have and receive his Majesty's most gracious pardon for the same."

He married Elizabeth, daughter of Charles Jones, Esq., of Halkin, in Flintshire, by whom he had two sons, Robert and Simon, who were educated in England according to the principles of the great Williamite Revolution. The eldest having died abroad on his travels, Simon became heir to Luttrellstown. He was, by Privy Seal, on September the 16th, and by patent on October the 12th, 1768, created Baron Irnham, of Luttrellstown, in the county of Dublin. Subsequently he was by Privy Seal, on the 14th of December, 1780, and by patent

on the 9th of January, 1781, made Viscount Carhampton of Castlehaven in the county of Cork, and by Privy Seal on the 6th of May, and by patent on the 23rd of June, 1785, his Lordship was further advanced to the Earldom of Carhampton. This title, and the male posterity of Colonel Henry Luttrell, the traitor, became extinct on the death of the third Earl on the 17th of March, 1829.

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NOTE 116.—PAGE 247.

After his death, the Sieur De St. Ruth's servants threw a cloak over his body, carefully rolled his head in a kerchief, and brought his remains to the rere, where they remained until the able retreat under Sarsfield, when they were conveyed along with the army to Loughrea, and there interred, as recorded in the text. After the funeral ceremony was over, the servants conducted De St. Ruth's splendid white charger, with all its costly and gorgeous trappings, to Limerick. Here it was placed on board a French vessel, and shipped for France. On the 22nd of August, Baron de Ginckell ordered Captain Cole to sail up the Shannon with his fleet, for the purpose of preventing provisions from being thrown into the city from either Clare or Kerry. Captain Cole, having captured the French vessel, took with him several ladies and gentlemen, all De St. Ruth's wardrobe and baggage, four of his servants, and the white steed he had ridden at Aughrim. This noble animal, which De St. Ruth believed would have carried him to victory, thus fell into the hands of his enemies. Captain Cole treated the prisoners most inhumanly, and forced many of the ladies ashore on the barren coast of Kerry, where they had neither friends, relatives, nor protection of any kind. But he was much disappointed at not finding any documents of importance relative to the movements of the Irish on board the French vessel, which he would have discovered, were it not for the presence of mind displayed by De St. Ruth's servants, who destroyed them during the engagement. When the writer last visited the field of Aughrim, a whitethorn bush marked the spot where the gallant De St. Ruth fell.

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NOTE 117.—PAGE 252.

It is strange that no historian, who has written an account of the attack on Aughrim Castle, and of the passage of the English within thirty yards of it, has made any allusion whatsoever as to why or wherefore Lieutenant-Colonel Burke did not make use of his two cannon in sweeping the narrow passage. It is, however, an indisputable historical fact that he received four barrels of

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powder, and as many of cannon ball. All historians admit that on opening the casks which he supposed contained musket bullets, he was surprised to find they contained cannon ball instead, and as muskets could not be loaded with cannon ball, he was obliged to surrender the place. Now it is evident this could not have been his motive for doing so, inasmuch as he had two cannon, a sufficient quantity of cannon-ball, and four barrels of powder, which it would seem he might have used with great effect against the advancing cavalry. It, therefore, occurred to me that the ball must have either been too large for the cannon, or that Colonel Burke betrayed the trust reposed in him, for which reason I have made diligent search to clear up this important point, the result of which is, that I have discovered, through the medium of original manuscripts that my first impression was correct, that is to say, that the balls were too large, and consequently of no avail.

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NOTE 118.—PAGE 257.

Where the bridles were found, is called to the present day Lack na srian, or the rock of the bridles. About the year 1813, one of the ornaments of those bridles, evidently of French workmanship, and a brass coin of the reign of James II., dated 1689, were discovered. Both these curiosities are now in the possession of Captain Blake-Forster, Forster-street House, Galway.

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NOTE 119.—PAGE 259.

The Morgans of Kilcolgan Castle were a respectable family, of ancient Welch origin, deriving their pedigree from Murchudd Ap Cynan, founder of the eighth noble tribe of North Wales and Powys, representative of Caracticus, King of Wales. They were afterwards known as the Morgans of Monksfield, but are now extinct. They were allied by intermarriage with most of the respectable families in the county of Galway.

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NOTE 120.—PAGE 262.

At the raid of the Reidswire, fought on the 7th of June, 1575, between Sir John Forster, Knight Banneret, Lord Warden of the Middle Marches, and Sir John Carmichael the Scottish Warden (ancestor of the Earl of Hynford), the following were the leaders under Sir John Forster—Sir William Fenwick of Wallington, Chief of his Name, High Sheriff of Northumberland, 20th and 21st

of Elizabeth's reign, and son-in-law of Sir John, wounded; Roger Fenwick, Roland Fenwick, James Ogle, Sir Cuthbert Collingwood of Essligton, High Sheriff of Northumberland in the 10th and 20th of Elizabeth's reign; Sir George Heron of Ford and Chipchase Castles, High Sheriff of Northumberland in the 13th of Elizabeth, slain; Sir Francis Lord Russell, Lord Warden of the East Marches and Chamberlain of Berwick, son of the Earl of Bedford, K. G., and son-in-law of Sir John Forster; James Radcliffe, Thomas Haggerston, and William Selby, were wounded; Sir John Carmichael was killed on the 16th of June, 1600, by a party of Borderers at Raesknows, near Lochmaben, where he was going to hold a court. The two principal ringleaders in this murderous attack, Adam Scott, called the *Pecket*, and Thomas Armstrong, called *Ringan's Tam*, were tried at Edinburgh, at the instance of Carmichael of Edrom, condemned to have their right hands struck off, then to be hanged, and their bodies gibbeted on the Borough Moor; which cruel sentence was fully carried out on the 14th of November, 1601.

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NOTE 121.—PAGE 265.

This was then the name of the west suburb of Galway, which was a fashionable resort, in fact, the Salt Hill of those days.

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NOTE 122.—PAGE 265.

This venerable relic of the feudal times was pulled down in 1815, and a lighthouse is now erected where it once stood.

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NOTE 123.—PAGE 267.

This was a large stone cross which stood in the centre of the road, which was then, as it is now, called Bohermore or the Great road. There were many other monuments of this kind in Ireland, no trace of which now remains.

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NOTE 124.—PAGE 271.

The Hon. John de Burgh, second son of William, seventh Earl of Clanricarde, and his wife Lettice, daughter of Sir Henry Shirley of Actwell, county

of Northampton, Bart., was created by James II. on the 2nd of April, 1689, Baron de Burgh of Bophin, in the county of Galway. He was taken prisoner at Aughrim, outlawed and attainted, and his estates forfeited, but was afterwards pardoned, and succeeded his brother Richard in the Earldom of Clanricarde.

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NOTE 125.—PAGE 271.

Baron de Ginckell complained of this treatment as not being in accordance with the accepted rules of warfare, but the Irish positively asserted that they were not aware that any person had been sent to offer terms to the Governor, and that, had they been cognizant of the fact, they would have immediately ceased firing.

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NOTE 126.—PAGE 272.

This fort was erected on the ground which now forms the garden of Forster-street House, and should not be mistaken for the one on Fort Hill erected by the Cromwellians when they besieged the town in 1652.

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NOTE 127.—PAGE 274.

It appears by the Blake-Forster papers and other reliable authorities that—“On the surrender of Galway, 21st July, 1691, William Robinson, Deputy-Paymaster of the English forces, was sent into the town to take an inventory of the provisions contained in the stores, which he found to consist of ninety fat beeves, sixty barrels of fine salt, fifty hogsheads of meal, with other articles of minor importance, and a large quantity of ammunition.” It is evident from the above that Galway could have held out much longer; but as the inhabitants got by the Articles of Surrender all the privileges they could have wished for, it would have been useless to hold out any longer. The Williamite army having entered the town by Great Gate-street, the name was changed, in compliment to the Prince of Orange, to William’s Gate-street. To perpetuate the surrender of the town, a medal was struck, on which was represented a bust of the Prince of Orange, crowned with laurel and inscribed with his usual titles. On the top of the reverse were the arms of Galway, fixed against two palm branches placed on saltire, between a cap and a Bible, the emblems of Liberty and Religion. The lower portion was ornamented with two laurel branches twined together so as to form a semicircle, and the arena of the field filled with the following inscription:—“Galloway rebellium et Gallorum penultimum refugium,

post plurimas strages Gulielmo III., magno restitutori religionis et libertatis cum armamentariis simul ac navibus redditur," or—"Galway, the last refuge but one of the rebels and the French, is after much slaughter surrendered, with all its magazines and ships, to the great William III., the restorer of religion and liberty." The last refuge alluded to was Limerick, better known as the Citie of the Violated Treaty. For a copy of the Articles of Surrender see Appendix.

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NOTE 128.—PAGE 275.

After Baron de Ginckell's forces marched from Galway to besiege the city of Limerick, the Governor of Galway had all the works raised by the Irish demolished, except the fort on the hill, beyond the south-east corner of the wall, which he ordered to be repaired. He also ordered some fortifications to be erected at the east gate of the city which from that forth was to be called William's Gate, in honour of King William III., and also others at the West Bridge. The Governor, Sir Henry Bellasyse, afterwards recommended the Government to repair the old castle on Mutton Island, and erect a fort there. This being considered advisable, £1,000 was granted for carrying out the works. The castle when repaired was strongly fortified, ten pieces of cannon planted on the fort, and a company of soldiers stationed on the island.

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NOTE 129.—PAGE 278.

John Matthews, who possessed Menlough, during the Commonwealth, was a Cromwellian soldier, but originally a weaver. He and John Camel, another canting fanatic, were Sheriffs of Galway in 1655, the Mayor being Lieutenant-Colonel Humphrey Hurd. In the records of the Corporation at this period, it is stated with marked contempt that "Cromwell's followers, who were all cobblers, butchers, bakers, soldiers, and mechanics, were at this period indiscriminately made free of the Corporation, while the former respectable natives and gentry were turned out of the town, and stripped of all their possessions, which were seized upon by those rapacious invaders." On the Restoration, Sir Valentine Blake regained his hereditary property, as stated in the text.

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NOTE 130.—PAGE 298.

The following extract from a chorographical description of West or H-Iar Connaught, written in 1684, by Roderick O'Flaherty, the Historian refers to Dr. O'Lee, who was a contemporary of his—



“From the Isles of Aran, and the west continent, often appears vis enchanted island called O’Brasil, and in Irish Beg-ara, or the Lesser down in cards of navigation. . . . There is now living Morogh O’L imagines he was himself personally in O’Brasil for two days, and saw the Isles of Aran, Golamhead, Irrosbeghill, and other places of the w tinent, he was acquainted with. The manner of it he relates, that Irrosainhagh in the south side of the barony of Balynahinsy, about nine from Galway by sea, in the month of Aprill, Anno Domini, 1668, goin from one village to another in a melancholy humour, upon some disco his wife, he was encountered by two or three strangers, and forcibly by boat into O’Brasil, as such as were within it told him, and th speak both English and Irish. He was ferried out hoodwink’d in a he imagines, till he was left on the sea point by Galway, where he friend’s house for some dayes after being very desperately ill, and kno how he came to Galway then. But by that means about seven or eig after he began to practise both chirurgery and physick, and so contin since to practise though he never studyed, nor practised either all his before, as all we that knew him since he was a boy can aver.”

Among the records connected with the Act of Settlement, app petition of this Morogh O’Lee, dated 1663, and addressed—“To th Hon., His Majesty’s Commissioners for executing His gracious Declar the Settlement of Ireland.” His claim, however, like thousands of oth disregarded, and being deprived of his property, having no other resou probable he then commenced the practice of medicine. The Book of was probably the property of his ancestors, and descended to him from the O’Lees were the hereditary physicians of Iar-Connaught. It is a med on vellum, containing forty-six large 4to folios, very neatly written in t and Irish languages, and probably was compiled in the fifteenth cent contains lists of various diseases, with their cures, mostly arranged in columns headed *Prognostics, Region, Season, Age, Constitution, Causa, Evacuatio, &c. &c.* This very curious and interesting book is s served in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. The f beautiful lines on this imaginary island are from the pen of the gifte Griffin :—

#### O’BRASIL THE ISLE OF THE BLEST.

A SPECTRE ISLAND SAID TO BE SOMETIMES VISIBLE ON THE VERGE OF THE WESTERN  
IN THE ATLANTIC, FROM THE ISLES OF ARRAN.

“On the ocean that hollows the rocks where ye dwell,  
A shadowy land has appeared, as they tell;  
Men thought it a region of sunshine, and rest,  
And they called it O’Brasil the Isle of the Blest.

From year unto year on the Ocean's blue rim,  
The beautiful spectre showed lovely and dim;  
The golden clouds curtained the deep where it lay,  
And it looked like an Eden, away, far away!

"A peasant who heard of the wonderful tale,  
In the breeze of the Orient loosened his sail;  
From Ara, the holy, he turned to the west,  
For though Ara was holy, O'Brasil was blest.  
He heard not the voices that called from the shore—  
He heard not the rising wind's menacing roar:  
Home, kindred, and safety he left on that day,  
And he sped to O'Brasil, away, far away!

"Morn rose on the deep, and that shadowy Isle,  
O'er the faint rim of distance reflected its smile;  
Noon burned on the wave, and that shadowy shore  
Seemed lovelily distant, and faint as before:  
Lone evening came down, on the wanderer's track,  
And to Ara again he looked timidly back;  
Oh! far on the verge of the ocean it lay,  
Yet the Isle of the Blest was away, far away!

"Rash dreamer, return! O ye winds of the main,  
Bear him back to his own peaceful Ara again;  
Rash fool! for a vision of fanciful bliss,  
To barter thy calm life of labour and peace.  
The warning of reason was spoken in vain,  
He never re-visited Ara again;  
Night fell on the deep, amidst tempest and spray,  
And he died on the waters, away, far away!

"To you, gentle friends, need I pause to reveal  
The lessons of prudence my verses conceal;  
How the phantom of pleasure seen distant in youth,  
Oft lures a weak heart from the circle of truth.  
All lovely it seems, like that shadowy Isle,  
And the eye of the wisest is caught by its smile:  
But ah! for the heart it has tempted to stray  
From the sweet home of duty, away, far away!

"Poor friendless adventurer! vainly might he  
Look back to green Ara, along the wild sea;  
But the wandering heart has a guardian above,  
Who though erring remembers the child of his love.  
Oh, who at the proffer of safety would spurn,  
When all that he asks, is the will to return;  
To follow a phantom, from day unto day,  
And die in the tempest, away, far away!"

## NOTE 131.—PAGE 303.

Previous to his death, the Duke of Tyrconnell was very unpopular with the Irish officers, being suspected of privately corresponding with the Prince of Orange. His Grace had to leave Athlone in consequence of Brigadier O'Connell having threatened to cut the cords of his tent if he refused to do so; and since then the Duke resided in Limerick, where it is said by some that he died of grief at the failure of his schemes, while others assert that he was poisoned; but whether it was his intention to betray James II. or not, it is certain that he did not on all occasions treat him with that respect which was due to his sovereign, particularly one who had elevated him from being a landless gentleman to the highest rank in the peerage, and conferred on him the highest office which it was in the power of the Crown to bestow, namely, the Lord Lieutenantcy of Ireland. Even the loyal Sir Toby Butler, who was the personal friend of Tyrconnell, was on one occasion indignant at his presumption, which he witnessed, as appears from the following extract from Lesley and Plowden's History:—"It is a melancholy story (if true), which Sir Theobald Butler, Solicitor-General to King James in Ireland, tells of the Duke of Tyrconnell's sending him to King James with a letter about passing some lands for the said Duke; he, employing Sir Theobald in his business, gave him the letter open to read, which Sir Theobald says he found worded in terms so insolent and imposing, as would be unbecoming for one gentleman to offer to another. Sir Theobald says he could not but represent to the Duke the strange surprise he was in, at his treating the King at such a rate, and desired to be excused from being the messenger to give such a letter into the King's hands. The Duke smiled upon him, and told him he knew how to deal with the King at that time; that he must have his business done; and for Sir Theobald's scruple, he sealed the letter and told him, now the King cannot suppose you know the contents, only carry it to him as from me.' Sir Theobald did so, and says he observed the King narrowly as he read it, and that his Majesty did show great commotion, that he changed colours, and sighed often, yet ordered Tyrconnell's request, or demand rather, to be granted. Thus says Sir Theobald." There is no doubt but many of the mistakes made in Ireland by James II. were owing to the bad advice given by Tyrconnell, De Lauzun, and other incompetent counsellors who took advantage of his distressed position to tyrannise over him. The character of Tyrconnell is so variously represented by different historians, that the writer of this note, lest he might be considered in any way prejudiced, prefers giving the opinions of a few of them, to any remarks of his own.

"His stature was above the ordinary size. He had great experience of the world, having been early introduced into the best company, and possessed of an honourable appointment in the household of the Duke of York, who, upon his accession to the crown, raised him to the dignity of an Earl, and well knowing his zeal and attachment, made him soon after Viceroy of Ireland. He was a man of

very good sense, very obliging, but immoderately vain and full of cunning. Though he had acquired great possessions, it could not be said that he had employed improper means, for he never appeared to have a passion for money. He had not a military genius, but great courage. After the Prince of Orange's invasion his firmness preserved Ireland, and he nobly refused all the offers that were made to induce him to submit."—*Duke of Berwick's Memoirs*.

"Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell, the fiercest and most uncompromising of all those who hated the liberties and religion of England."—*Lord Macaulay's History of England*.

"Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell, was descended from one of the first English settlers in Ireland, had entered at an early age into the service of James, and had merited by his fidelity to his master to be selected by Oates for one of his victims. By timely flight to the Continent he escaped from the fangs of the informer, and on his return was rewarded by the King with rank and office. Tyrconnell was brave and generous, and devoted to the person of his benefactor, but rash, impetuous, and confident."—*Lingard's England*.

"Tyrconnell, a man who from the blindness of his prejudices and fury of his temper was transported with the most immeasurable ardour for the Catholic cause."—*Hume*.

"Clarendon," who was brother-in-law of James II. by that King's first wife, Lady Anne Hyde, "was recalled in February, 1686, and Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell, who already commanded as Lieutenant-General, was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland. The Catholic religion began to be openly professed, the priests and friars appeared in public in the dress of their order, the ancient proprietors took possession of their estates, which had been usurped by the Cromwellian soldiers, and Catholics as well as Protestants were appointed to public offices."—*Mac Geoghegan's Ireland*.

"Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell, was but a child when the war of the confederates broke out. He was in Drogheda when that town was stormed by Cromwell, and the inhuman massacre perpetrated. This event made a deep impression on his youthful mind, and inspired him with a horror of the Puritans, which he took little pains to conceal. When Ireland was subdued by the Cromwellians, he retired to the Continent, entered into the service of Charles, and adhered to him with undeviating fidelity, during the entire period of his adversity. He is said to have proposed the assassination of Cromwell, and at another time to have attempted the life of Ormonde, but these are the calumnies of his enemies. He was fierce and violent, but he was incapable of baseness or treachery. Tyrconnell professed the Roman Catholic religion, but it was only a profession, for he had been infected by the infidelity fashionable in the court of the second Charles. He did not even affect religious zeal, for he was too proud to be a hypocrite, but regarded all religious differences as important only in their connexion with political factions. His temper was violent, his manners coarse, his private conduct rather profligate, and his conversation too

often indecent and profane. He owed his appointment in a great measure to French influence, and on several occasions acted as the lieutenant of Louis rather than of James."—*Taylor's Civil Wars of Ireland*.

He married first Miss Boynton, daughter of Matthew Boynton, Esq., second son of Sir Matthew Boynton, Bart., of Barmston in Yorkshire. This lady's sister, Isabella, became the second wife of the celebrated Wentworth Dillon, fourth Earl of Roscommon, whom she married on the 10th of November, 1674. This accomplished nobleman, who has been immortalised both by Pope and Dryden, first married in April, 1662, Lady Frances Boyle, eldest daughter of Richard Earl of Cork and Burlington, and relict of Colonel Courtney, by whom he had no issue. The Duke of Tyrconnell, who was then a widower, married secondly Frances, widow of Count George Hamilton (see Notes 75 and 81). Tyrconnell left no male issue by either marriage.

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NOTE 132.—PAGE 304.

This fort received its name from General Henry Ireton, son-in-law of Oliver Cromwell. He was the eldest son of German Ireton of Attenton, in Nottinghamshire, and was born in 1610. At the age of sixteen he entered Trinity College, Oxford, where he took the degree of A. B., and afterwards became a student of the Middle Temple. His legal studies, however, were interrupted, like those of many other young men of his time, by the breaking out of the great civil war which originated in the disputes that arose between Charles I. and his Parliament. His sympathies being with the latter, young Ireton entered the Parliamentary army, and soon having made himself conversant with the art of war, he was looked upon as one likely to gain distinction in his new profession, and it has even been alleged that his future father-in-law studied its rudiments under his instruction. In 1646 he married Bridget, the eldest daughter of Oliver Cromwell, by which connexion and his own merit, he received a troop of horse, and soon after Captain Ireton was appointed Colonel. He distinguished himself at the battle of Naseby, fought on the 14th of June, 1645, where he was taken prisoner by the Royal Army, but he afterwards succeeded in making his escape. He was probably the principal cause of the King's death, as he intercepted a letter by which he discovered that it was Charles's intention to put both himself and Cromwell to death. Having become an inveterate opponent of the King, he attended most of the sittings of the Regicide Court, and signed the warrant for the execution of Charles I. After the establishment of the Commonwealth he was sent to Ireland, and was appointed Lord President of Munster. He was afterwards elevated to the dignity of Lord Deputy of Ireland; but while in the zenith of his glory and elated with the victories he had achieved, he was seized with that dreadful malady, the plague, to which he fell a victim before the walls

of 'unconquered Limerick,' on the 15th of November, 1651. His remains were conveyed to England, and having arrived at Bristol were brought to Somerset House, London, where they lay in state. Here, on an escutcheon over the gate was emblazoned the motto—" *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*," which his enemies translated—"It is good for his country that he is dead." General Ireton was interred with the sovereigns of England in Henry VII.'s chapel, Westminster Abbey. After the restoration of Charles II. his body was exhumed, gibbeted, and burned at Tyburn, to the great delight of the ever changeable populace.

When Limerick was besieged by General Ireton in 1651, Thomas Stretch, Esq., was Mayor of the city from the 29th of September, 1650, to the 29th of the same month, 1651, when he was replaced by Alderman Pierce Creagh, ancestor of the Creaghs of Dangan, county Clare. While Stretch was Mayor, Ireton made no progress with the siege, but on the fatal 29th of September, Colonel Fennell had charge of St. John's Gate. This traitor engaged to surrender the city. General Hugh O'Neill, the Governor, gallantly defended the place, knowing that as the bad weather had already set in, if he maintained the city for a short time longer Ireton would have to retire, but being subject to the control of the Corporation, he was slighted by his officers. Consequently when he now gave orders to have St. John's Gate better guarded, Colonel Fennell refused to obey, and having caused cannon to be loaded with powder only, which were sent to him for this purpose by the Mayor, he threatened to fire on O'Neill's soldiers if they attempted to defend their posts. He next opened the gates and allowed the Cromwellians to enter. By the second article of the treaty made between those who surrendered the city and Ireton, a number of persons were exempted from pardon, as appears by the following extract:—"In consideration of which all persons now in the city shall have their lives and properties, except the following, who opposed and restrained the deluded people from accepting the conditions so often offered to them:—Major-General Hugh O'Neill, Governor, Major-General Purcell, Sir Geoffrey Galwey, Lieutenant-Colonel Lacy, Captain George Woulfe, Captain Lieutenant Sexton, Edmond O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick; Terence O'Brien, Bishop of Emly; John Quin, a Dominican Friar; Captain Laurence Welsh, a Priest; Francis Woulfe, a Friar; Philip Dwyer, a Priest; Alderman Dominick Fanning, Alderman Thomas Stretch, Alderman Jordan Roche, Edmond Roche, Burgess; Sir Richard Everard, Doctor Higgins, Maurice Baggot, of Baggots-town, and Jeffry Baron." Alderman Thomas Stretch, who was the late Mayor of the city, met his death with undaunted resolution. The present Lieutenant-General Sir Richard England, G. C. B., K. H., son of the late Lieutenant-General Richard England, of Lifford, county Clare, by Anne his wife, daughter of James O'Brien, Esq., of Ennistymon, and Richard Arthur England, Esq., M. D., of Galway, are both maternally descended from this patriotic Irishman.



## NOTE 133.—PAGE 311.

The exact period at which O'Shaughnessy returned from France cannot now be accurately ascertained; but it is evident, from the Cloran Documents and other interesting manuscripts which have passed through the hands of the writer, that he was in Limerick during this, which was the last siege of that city, and which terminated the struggle for the Crown in Ireland between James II. and William III.

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## NOTE 134.—PAGE 313.

See "London Gazette," 8th of October, 1691. The loyal Sir Toby, who hourly expected assistance from France, evidently wished to delay the capitulation of the city until the wished for fleet would have arrived, but "being a man of peace," did not wish to quarrel with the Earl of Lucan.

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## NOTE 135.—PAGE 315.

The possession of their estates to the whole of the Catholic gentry of Ireland, who had spared no expense in raising troops for King James, strange to say, was not included in this treaty, which is not at all creditable to Sir Toby Butler, Sir Garret Dillon, and John Browne of Westport, who were the lawyers on the part of the Irish, or to the Irish commanders who signed the treaty. They should not have done so unless all King James's adherents in Ireland were included; for when De Ginckell had sent in a hurry for the Lords Justices to Dublin, they were about publishing a proclamation offering terms of as favourable a nature as the Irish could expect, had they driven the enemy from the walls of Limerick. All that was covenanted for the Catholics in general was, that they should enjoy the exercise of their religion as in the reign of Charles II. With regard to their estates nothing was mentioned, for the only persons secured in the possession of their properties were the inhabitants of Limerick, and all those in arms for King James in the counties of Limerick, Clare, Cork, Kerry, and Mayo, and such as were under the protection of the Irish in those places. It will be observed that Browne took care to include Mayo, his own property being in that county. Other articles permitted all officers and soldiers who were unwilling to remain at home to go on the Continent, also the Catholic gentlemen to carry arms, and no oath was to be required of them except that of allegiance. Thus the persons in the above-named places and the townsmen and Corporation of Galway were the only parties in Ireland who could retain their estates. The others were left by Sir Toby Butler and his confreres to

open plunder, and their owners liable to be driven homeless on the world. It may be alleged, that it was of no consequence what nature the treaty was of, as it was soon openly violated, in defiance of all public faith, by the perfidious Parliaments of Ireland and England; but nothing can excuse the omission and marked neglect of the claims of all the Irish. The treaty, when signed, was sent to England, where it was confirmed by William; but in nineteen days after, the English Parliament unblushingly violated it. In the reign of Charles II., Catholics sat in both houses of Parliament, and all the rights they then enjoyed were secured to them in the treaty of Limerick; but the English Parliament had no regard for the national honour pledged in solemn treaty, and they at once passed an Act to the effect that all the Members of the Irish Legislature should take the Oath of Supremacy, although the Treaty of Limerick plainly stated that all required of the Catholics was to take the Oath of Allegiance.

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NOTE 136.—PAGE 319.

Over 19,000 Horse and Foot of the Irish went on the Continent after the fall of Limerick, and it has been calculated that, up to the year 1745, 550,000 Irish died in the French service, besides more in the Austrian, Spanish, Polish, Sardinian, Russian, and other armies. The extirpation of so many of her chivalrous gentry, and brave, but oppressed people, was a great loss to Ireland; and the renown they acquired by their deeds of arms was bought at too dear a price.

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NOTE 137.—PAGE 320.

This was the Hon. Ulick de Burgh, fourth son of William, seventh Earl of Clanricarde, and brother of Lord Bophin, who was the Earl's second son. See Note 124. The Hon. Ulick de Burgh was created, by Privy Seal, dated at Whitehall on the 9th of May, and by patent 2nd June, 1687, Baron of Tyaquin, in the county of Galway, and Viscount of Galway. His Lordship married Frances, only daughter of George Lane Viscount Lanesborough, and by her, who, in 1691, married, secondly, Henry Fox, Esq., of East Horsley, in Surrey, and died in December, 1713, had an only daughter, who died an infant. Lord Galway who was, as Lodge expresses it, 'a nobleman of true courage, and endowed with many good qualities,' having, like the other members of his family, espoused the cause of James II.; he commanded a regiment at the great battle of Aughrim, where he was slain, after quarter had been given to him and Colonel Charles Moore. Lord Galway was not quite in his twenty-second year at the time of his death.

## NOTE 138.—PAGE 320.

Teige Daly, Esq., of Ballyhouse and Killevany, in the barony of Longford, and county of Galway, although dead, was attainted by the Irish Parliament. He was interred with his ancestors at Kilconnell Abbey, where a stone with this simple inscription marks his resting place:—"Teige Daly, killed at Aughrim." At the sale of 1703, by the Commissioners of the Forfeited Estates, Colonel John Eyre, of Eyrecourt, purchased the estate of Teige, or Hugh Daly, attainted. This Hugh was the father of Teige, who was killed at Aughrim, leaving four sons, the three elder of whom having, like their brave father, served King James, went to France after the surrender of Limerick. Loughlin Daly, the fourth son, subsequently, in 1711, endeavoured to recover his family property from the Eyres, by proceedings in the Court of Chancery, alleging that the conveyance from the trustees was for his benefit; but his claim was rejected!

## NOTE 139.—PAGE 322.

On the day of his election as Mayor, the Governor wrote a letter to the Baron de Ginckell, in which he stated, that he "kept a watchful eye over the papists." The reader will easily understand what was meant by this. At another time, while speaking of the Catholics of Galway, he made use of the following words:—"The papists in these parts are the most dangerous fellows in the world."

## NOTE 140.—PAGE 323.

Father Gregory Ffrench, who was of the family of Ffrench of Duras, was Parish Priest of that place. He was a very learned man, and received Holy Orders at Madrid, from Anton. Portacarero, Archbishop of Toledo. He travelled with the Rapparees, for his personal safety, and was, therefore, arrested in their company. The following is an Extract from a Letter from Bellasyse to De Ginckell, descriptive of the arrest of the Rapparees:—

"There was a priest at their meeting, but he was not condemned, because the executing of a priest would have made a mighty noise at the same time. I took this occasion to disarm the papists of this town, and shall do the same to the country, as soon as the commission of array arrives, and that the Justices of the Peace come into the country."

## NOTE 141.—PAGE 323.

During the war between James II. and William III., the Rapparees were most active; and Story in his *Impartial History* calculates the number of “Rapparees killed by the army and militia,” at 1,928; those “hanged by legal process or court-martial,” at 112; and those “killed and hanged by soldiers and others, without any ceremony,” at 600. Galloping O’Hogan was, unquestionably, one of the most daring of the Rapparee leaders; but, thinking it useless to hold out any longer, submitted to Baron de Ginckell after the capitulation of Limerick. On the 14th of October, 1691, twelve days after the memorable treaty was signed, the Williamite Lords Justices and Council published two Proclamations. One forbid all officers or soldiers of the army, or others, to do any harm or injury to any of the Irish, or make any distinction of nation; any one who took the oath was to be esteemed a subject of their Majesties, and equally entitled to the benefit of the laws of the kingdom, as well as their fellow-countrymen. The other Proclamation, which is the one referred to in the Text, recited a former one, dated the 18th of September, promising pardon and protection to all robbers, thieves, and Rapparees, who, within a month, should surrender up their arms to any Justice of the Peace, and take the Oath of Fidelity to their Majesties, mentioned in the Articles of Limerick, requiring the Justices of the Peace to make a return under their hands, of their names, places of abode, their qualities and arms; but forbidding all protected persons, and others, to relieve, conceal, or harbour the said robbers, who would not submit, upon pain of forfeiting their own protections, and being prosecuted with the utmost severity of the law for such offence; and also promising a reward of forty shillings to any one who would bring in the heads of such rogues and Rapparees as would not avail themselves of this opportunity. By this Proclamation the time allowed them for submitting was protracted till the 5th of November. Whatever hesitation he might have previously had, this proclamation decided the fate of O’Hogan, and, on the 19th of October, he, accompanied by “most of his crew,” as Sir James Ware calls his band, submitted at Roscrea. He was allowed the full benefit of the Proclamation, and was afterwards permitted by Baron de Ginckell to retain twenty-four of his band for the purpose of suppressing other Rapparees; but they, despising their leader, shortly after murdered him for turning against his former companions.

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## NOTE 142.—PAGE 330.

During the war in Ireland between James II. and the Prince of Orange, several privateers visited the Irish coast, and continued to smuggle goods after

I say supposed, because Sir John Fenwick of Wallington, Sir John Friend and the other gentlemen who were executed for their alleged connexion with it, were all men of honour and integrity, and at their dying moments, after having received the sacraments of their respective churches, solemnly denied having had any knowledge whatever of such a plot. Sir John Fenwick not only denied it, but also disclaimed having been engaged at the time in King James's service. Still he did not try to conceal that he was a Jacobite, but openly prayed on the scaffold for King James's speedy return from France, and the deliverance of his country from the yoke of the Dutchman. It is left to the reader to judge whether the informers, who were rewarded for their evidence, or those who were executed, told the truth.

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NOTE 147.—PAGE 335.

Colonel, afterwards General, Sir John Fenwick of Wallington and Fenwick Castle in Northumberland, Chief of the Fenwick Clan, was son of Sir William Fenwick, M.P. for Northumberland in the sixth and eighth years of the reign of King Charles II., by his first wife Grace, daughter of Henry Stapleton, Esq., of Wighill in Yorkshire. Sir John Fenwick, in 1666, built the great hall in Christ's Hospital in which the boys dine and sup. He married Lady Mary Howard, eldest daughter of the Right Hon. Charles, Earl of Carlisle, ancestor of the Earl of Carlisle who was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1855-8, re-appointed 1859. This branch of the noble family of Howard is descended from Thomas fourth Duke of Norfolk, eldest son of the celebrated Earl of Surrey, who was beheaded by the tyrant Henry VIII., in 1547, a nobleman who is thus spoken of by Sir Egerton Brydges :—

“Excellent in arts, and in arms; a man of learning, a genius and a hero; of a generous temper, and a refined heart, he united all the gallantry and unbroken spirit of a rude age with all the elegance and grace of a polished era. With a splendour of descent, in possession of the highest honours and abundant wealth, he relaxed not his efforts to deserve distinction by his personal worth. Conspicuous in the rough exercises of tilts and tournaments, and commanding armies with skill and bravery in expeditions against the Scots, under his father, he found time, at a period when our literature was rude and barbarous, to cultivate his mind with all the exquisite spirit of the models of Greece and Rome; to catch the excellences of the revived muses of Italy, and to produce in his own language compositions which, in simplicity, perspicuity, graceful ornaments, and just and natural thoughts, exhibited a shining contrast with the works of his predecessors, and an example which his successors long attempted in vain to follow.”

By Lady Mary Howard, Sir John had issue four children; Jane, the eldest, died young, Charles died aged fifteen, William aged six, and Howard aged one

year and six months. Sir John Fenwick was tried for high treason before the Parliament of Great Britain, in November, 1696. Having been found guilty and sentenced to death, he was offered pardon, on condition that he gave information, but this he refused to do, observing, "A Fenwick would rather meet a thousand deaths than become an informer." He added on the scaffold that he died a staunch Jacobite, and prayed for the speedy return of King James to his hereditary dominions. He said he considered the Prince of Orange an usurper, and emphatically denied being in any way concerned in the Assassination Plot, of the existence of which he was very doubtful, knowing as he did, that King James would have never consented to such a base conspiracy.

The following extract from a letter written by the Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Forcy is confirmatory of Sir John Fenwick's opinions regarding the exiled monarch:—

"There is an Englishman arrived here (the Palace of St. Germain's), who calls himself Vane, without a passport and without recommendation, and there is not one man in the place who knows him. This fellow has had the impudence to propose to me an attempt on the Prince of Orange's life, and, as I rejected the proposal with aversion, the conversation finished. But when I gave an account of it to the King my master, lest the man should make his escape, he spoke to the Count de Druis to secure his person until the King's orders about him should be received. It is for this reason the King of England desires you to inform his Majesty of this adventure immediately, it being his opinion that the said Vane should be closely imprisoned, but in other respects well treated, because we cannot prove whether he has been instigated to this by our enemies, or by an indiscreet zeal."

Sir John, in consequence of his illustrious origin, was granted the privilege of being decapitated, and was accordingly beheaded on Tower Hill, in the eighth year of William III., 28th January, 1696. The evidence against him was very defective, and it was fully acknowledged by Parliament in a subsequent declaratory Act, that Sir John Fenwick's case should not be considered as a precedent.

The following extract is taken from a *Distinct and Impartial History of the Conspiracies, Trials, and Characters, Behaviour and Dying Speeches of all those who have suffered on account of the House of Stuart*: London, M.DCCXLVII.

"The Bill met with great opposition in both Houses, and at the second reading in the House of Commons it was committed, upon a division, 183 against 123; and at the third reading the debate was very long, and passed on a division, 182 against 156. I shall endeavour to give the sum of the arguments on both sides: the principal Members who spoke against the Bill were Sir Godfrey Copley, Sir Charles Carteret, Mr. Manley, Mr. Dolbin, Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Robert Cotton, Lord Norreys, Mr. Hammond, Mr. Bromley, Mr. Harcourt, Sir Richard Temple, Mr. Paget, Mr. Jefferies, Mr. Edward Harley. Those for the Bill were, Mr. Montague, My Lord Cutts, Sir William Strickland, Sir Herbert Crafts, Mr. Vernon, Mr. Smith, Mr. Boscarven, Mr. Cowper, Mr. Sloan, Col. Wharton, Mr. Methuen."



The voting in the House of Lords was as follows:—For the Bill: Lords Spiritual—Canterbury, Litchfield, Sauram, Chester, Ely, Oxon, Norwich, Peterborough, Gloucester, Bristol, Lincoln, Chichester. Lords Temporal—His Highness Prince George of Denmark, husband of the Princess Anne of England, afterwards Queen Anne, Norfolk, Southampton, Richmond, St. Albans, Bolton, Schonberg, Newcastle, Oxford, Derby, Suffolk, Bridgewater, Bolingbroke, Manchester, Rivers, Stamford, Sunderland, Sandwich, Essex, Macclesfield, Radnor, Portland, Monmouth, Montague, Marlborough, Scarborough, Warrington, Bradford, Romney, Tankerville, Abergavenny, Delawar, Berkley, Morley, Ewre, Wharton, Sidney, Lovelace, Howard, Raby, Vaughan, Ward, Culpeper, Lucas, Rockingham, Berkley, Cornwallis, Osborn, Ossulston, Cholmondsley, Ashburnham, Weston, Herbert, Haversham. In all sixty-six.

Against the Bill: Lords Spiritual—London, Durham, Winton, Rochester, Exeter, St. David, Hereford, Bath and Wells. Lords Temporal—Leeds, Pembroke, Somerset, Ormonde, Northumberland, Devonshire, Halifax, Normanby, Lindsay, Dorset, Kent, Huntington, Northampton, Bristol, Winchelsea, Kingston, Carmarthen, Thanet, Scarsdale, Bath, Craven, Burlington, Feversham, Sussex, Berkley, Nottingham, Rochester, Abington, Carlisle, Torrington, Hereford, Weymouth, Lougueville, Willoughby d'Eresby, Ferrers, Fitzwalter, Willoughby of Brook, Chandos, Hunsdon, Brooke, Leigh, Jermyn, Byron, Clifford, Granville, Arundel, Dartmouth, Guilford, Godolphin, Jefferies, Leinster, Pawlet. In all sixty.

The following reference to Sir John is also taken from the work already quoted:—

“He had a liberal education, entered early into the army, and arrived at the degree of a Major in King James's time, and was esteemed a very good officer, inasmuch that he was designed to have commanded, as General, that party which the conspirators were to raise in order to meet King James. He was a man of quick wit and solid judgment, and was esteemed the man of the greatest capacity of all those who were publicly known to be concerned in this plot. He certainly *knew nothing of that part* of the plot which *related to the Assassination.*”

It is necessary, however, to remark that it is incorrectly stated in the work already referred to, most probably by a typographical error, that General Sir John Fenwick “was descended of an honourable family in Staffordshire.” I would not consider it necessary to notice this, were it not that persons unacquainted with the genealogy of the Fenwick family might receive it as correct. His affectionate and devoted widow, Lady Mary Fenwick, who had so heroically offered to share his captivity, as is evident by this passage in a letter written by Sir John to her Ladyship, shortly after his arrest—“I beg of you not to think of being shut up with me, I know it will kill you; and besides, I have no such friend as you to take care of my business, though it would be the comfort of my life, the little time it lasts, to have you with me. . . . My dearest life, grieve not for me, but resign me to God's will”—died, it is believed, of grief for the loss

of her husband, to whom she was much attached, on the 27th of October, 1708, aged fifty, and was interred in York Cathedral. The epitaph on her monument asserts that "her life was a patrimony to the poor and friendless, and her many virtues make her memory precious." With regard to the illegality of Sir John Fenwick's execution, or rather 'legal murder,' it may be remarked that the evidence against him was most defective; so much so, that the Lords Justices of England declined proceeding against him in the ordinary course of law, as they well knew that *one witness* was not sufficient to convict any person, even according to the New Act of Parliament, which required two witnesses in all cases of high treason. Moreover, which is the clearest proof of all, it was publicly acknowledged by Parliament in a future declaratory Act, that Sir John Fenwick's case should *not* be considered a precedent on any future occasion. Poor compensation, indeed, was this for the relatives of that brave soldier, who *twice* saved the life of the hard-hearted William of Orange, who gloated over what he considered his ignominious death. But though it was in the power of William III. to deprive many noble English gentlemen of their lives, he could not deprive them of their honour; and when he is remembered as a successful and selfish tyrant, their memories will be revered as self-sacrificing and disinterested lovers of their country. The following brief sketch of the Fenwick family is condensed from various authentic sources, some of which have been already published.

The ancient and chivalrous family of Fenwick was one of the most illustrious of the Clans of Northumberland. In an ancient Border Song called 'The Raid of the Reidswire,' written to commemorate a battle fought in 1575, between Sir John Forster, Lord Warden of the Middle Marches, and Sir John Carmichael, this sept is thus mentioned—

" We saw, come marching over the knows,  
Five hundred Fenwicks in a flock,—  
With jack and spear and bows all bent  
And warlike weapons at their will."

In ancient times, the Fenwicks resided at Fenwick Tower, but from the reign of Henry IV. their principal residence was Wallington.

Sir Henry de Fenwick, Knt., of Fenwick Tower, Northumberland, accompanied Cœur de Lion to Palestine, where he was admitted into that honourable order of Knighthood, known as the 'Knights of the Blue Thong.' He was wounded at the siege of Acre in 1191, and, on his return to Northumberland, married Mary, eldest daughter of Sir Robert Ogle, Knt., surnamed 'The Strong,' a scion of the House of Ogle, of Ogle Castle, and was father of—

Sir William de Fenwick of Fenwick Tower, who married Eleanor, daughter of Sir Richard de Percy, Knt., nephew of Henry de Percy, eldest son of Joceline de Louvaine, brother of Queen Adelicia, the second wife of King Henry I., son of William the Conqueror and his wife Queen Matilda, daughter of Baldwin V. of Flanders, surnamed Le Debonnaire, and his wife the Princess Adela,

daughter of Robert King of France. Joceline de Louvaine was married to the Lady Agnes, second daughter and coheiress of Sir William de Percy, the third Baron of his family in England. Notwithstanding the great power and influence of Lord Joceline's family, Lady Agnes would not consent to a union with him, except on condition that he should 'adopt and bear' either the surname or arms of the House of Percy. Accordingly, in compliance with the request of Lady Agnes, he assumed the name of Percy, but retained his paternal coat of arms, in order to perpetuate and prove his claim to the principality of his father, in case the elder line of the reigning Duke might at any future time become extinct. This circumstance is thus alluded to, in an ancient pedigree of the second House of Percy:—

“ Lord Percy's heir I was, whose noble name  
By me survives unto his lasting fame ;  
Brabant's Duke's son I wed, and for my sake  
Retain'd his arms, and Percy's name did take.”

Sir William was succeeded by his eldest son—

Sir Thomas de Fenwick, Knt., of Fenwick Tower, living in the reign of Henry III. He was a great benefactor of Hexham Priory. He married Alda, daughter of Sir Robert Radcliffe, Knt., near Bury, Lancashire, and was succeeded by his son—

Sir Robert de Fenwick, Knt., of Fenwick Tower, returned as living in the 33rd year of the reign of Edward I., (1206). He married Emma, daughter of Roger Bertram, fifth Baron of Midford, Northumberland, who was one of the Northern noblemen despatched by Henry III., in the 42nd year of his reign (1258), to rescue King Alexander III. of Scotland (then in his minority, and married to the Princess Margaret, King Henry's eldest daughter) from the power of his rebellious subjects. The Lord of Midford next appeared in arms with the rebels at Northampton, where he was made prisoner, and his Honour and Castle of Midford, with all his other lands, were confiscated. The castle and part of its demesnes, together with two parts of the forest of Felton, were granted by the Queen Dowager to Eleanor Stanover, wife of Robert de Stoteville, who died in 1207. The family of Bertram descended from Sir Richard Bertram, Knt., one of the companions in arms of William the Conqueror, with whom he was a great favourite. On the invasion of England, he married Sibil, only daughter and heiress of Sir John Midford of Midford, Knt., the representative of an ancient Saxon family, who were settled at Midford, previous to the time of Edward the Confessor, and had issue, Sir William, the first Baron of Midford, and Sir Roger. Sir Robert de Fenwick was succeeded by his eldest son—

Sir John Fenwick, Knt., of Fenwick Tower, returned as living in the tenth year of the reign of Edward III. (1337). He married Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Grey of Heton, Knt., Constable of Norham, High Sheriff, and Escheator of Norham and Islandshire, by Margaret his wife, daughter of William de Presson. Lady Margaret Fenwick was sister of Sir Thomas Grey of Heton, Knt., born in 1359, Constable of Norham Castle, Justice of Assize in

Norham and Islandshire in 1390, for which he received a patent for life in 1396. He married Catherine, daughter of John Lord Mowbray of Axholme, father of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and from this marriage descended the Earls of Tankerville. Sir John Fenwick was succeeded by his son—

Sir John Fenwick of Fenwick Tower, High Sheriff of Northumberland, 22nd Richard II. (1399). He married Mary, youngest daughter and co-heiress of William de Strother, living in the reign of Henry IV. and his wife Johanna, only daughter of Sir Robert de Wallington, Lord of the Manor of Wallington. With this lady, as her dower, Sir John received the estate of Wallington, which from that forth continued to be the principal residence of his descendants, down to the reign of William III. He was succeeded by his son—

Sir John Fenwick, Knt., of Fenwick Tower and Wallington; returned as living in the 12th year of the reign of Henry VI. He was succeeded by his eldest son—

Sir Henry Fenwick of Fenwick Tower and Wallington, Knt., one of the conservators of the peace, and 'trewe' between England and Scotland, in the 28th year of the reign of Henry VI. He was succeeded by his son—

Sir John Fenwick of Wallington, Knt., living in the 16th year of the reign of Henry VIII. He was succeeded by his eldest son—

Sir William Fenwick of Wallington, High Sheriff of Northumberland, in the 20th and 31st years of Elizabeth's reign. He married Grace, daughter of Sir John Forster of Bamborough Castle, Knight Banneret, Lord of Blanchland, Lord Warden of the Middle Marches, High Sheriff of Northumberland, Deputy-governor of Berwick-on-Tweed, and Governor and Captain of Bamborough Castle. In the 20th year of Elizabeth's reign (1578), and 31st (1589), it is found by the escheats that Sir William Fenwick was seised of the manor and village of Fenwick, the manors of Wallington, Walker, Camhow Harterton, Harterton Hall, Catcheside, a moiety of Ryhill, Greenlighton, Gunnerton, Hawick, and various lands and tenements in east Matfen, and of and in a village called Eshendon near Bothall, Longwitton, and Hawick. By his wife, Lady Grace, the daughter of Sir John Forster, Sir William had issue—

Sir John Fenwick of Wallington, Knt., High Sheriff of Northumberland, in the 17th year of the reign of King James I.; created a Baronet by Charles I., in the fourth year of his reign (1628). Sir William was a representative in Parliament for the borough of Cockermouth in the 17th year of Charles I., but made his election serve for the county of Northumberland. He was expelled from the House of Commons in 1643 for non-attendance, and serving his Sovereign. He was taken prisoner in 1644, with some other gentlemen, thirty horse and arms, and a sumpter with rich clothes, between Northamptonshire and Banbury, by the Parliamentary forces, then called '*New Noddles*,' from their having established their armies on a new model. In 1649, he was High Sheriff of Northumberland, and in 1646 was re-admitted to his seat in Parliament for Northumberland, by a majority of 124 voices against seventy-three. He married, first, Catherine, daughter of Sir Henry Slingsby, and had issue—

I. John Fenwick, Esq., an officer in the Royal army, who was slain while bravely fighting against Cromwell, at the battle of Marston Moor, fought on the 2nd of July, 1644.

II. Catherine.

III. Elizabeth.

Sir John Fenwick married, secondly, Grace, daughter of Loraine of Kirkharle, and had issue—

IV. Sir William, his successor.

V. Alan.

VI. Grace.

Sir William Fenwick, Bart., of Wallington, the eldest surviving son, was M. P. for Northumberland in the sixth and eighth years of the reign of Charles II. He married Grace, daughter of Henry Stapleton, Esq., of Wighill, in Yorkshire, and had issue—

I. Sir John (the subject of this note).

II. Grace, who married Sir Thomas Loraine, Bart., of Kirkharle.

III. Dorothea.

Sir William Fenwick married, secondly, Margaret, daughter of Sir William Selby, of Newcastle, and sister of Sir George Selby, and had issue—

IV. William, who married Florina, daughter of Cuthbert Radcliffe, Esq., by whom he had issue a son, who is the Cuthbert Fenwick introduced in this work. He married Matilda, daughter of Sir Algernon Percy, slain at the battle of Worcester, fought on the 3rd September, 1651.

V. Roger, who died unmarried.

VI. Elizabeth, known as the Fair, who married Sir Claude Forster, Bart., of Bamborough Castle, Lord of Blanchland, High Sheriff of Northumberland, in the tenth year of James I., and hereditary Governor and Captain of the Castle of Bamborough. Sir Claud Forster, at his death in 1623, was interred with his ancestors in the Church of St. Aidan, at Bamborough, where the following epitaph still records his memory :—

“Claudius Forsterus Eques Aurat et Baronettus antiquâ numerosâ et nobile Forsteroru<sup>9</sup> familiâ in Com. Northumb oriundus; Dño Nicholao Forstero Fortiss. illi Viri Filio Dñi Johañis Forsteri qui 37 Años Mediař Marchair Scotar Vers<sup>9</sup> Dns Guardian<sup>9</sup> Extitit Fili<sup>9</sup> et Hæres; Honoratiss. etiam Dñis Cumbriæ et Bedf [?] Comitbus nec non insigni et illustri Fenwicorũ Progenie totiꝫ Generosorũ Genti inter Tinam et Twedā celeberr: sanguine conjunct; Castri deniq Bamburg Dñs Senescal<sup>9</sup> et Summ<sup>9</sup> Constabulari<sup>9</sup>: Obiit in Manerio suo de Alba-Terra in Coñit: Northumb: Annº: Sal: Nost: 1623.

“Memoriæ sacrum lugens posuit uxor ejus Dna Elizabetha Gulielmi Fenwici de Wallingtonia Equitis Aurati filia”—

VII. Dorothea.

VIII. Anne.

IX. Margaret.

X. Mary.

## NOTE 148.—PAGE 336.

Hardiman, in his *History of Galway*, page 216, gives a note relative to the O'Shaughnessy family, which is almost entirely incorrect; but the corrections will be found in the notes to the O'Shaughnessy Pedigree in this work. It is, however, necessary to state, that he says that the O'Shaughnessy property was granted to 'Gustavus, the first Baron Hamilton.' Now, a reader not well posted in the matter might imagine the text in this work incorrect, where it says that the O'Shaughnessy property was granted to 'Brigadier-General Gustavus Hamilton, afterwards Viscount Boyne.' However, it so happens, that neither are wrong, as the General and the Baron were identical. Sir Frederick Hamilton, the fifth and youngest son of Claud, the first Lord Paisley, was father of Gustavus Hamilton, Esq., who, for a short time, possessed and received the rents of the O'Shaughnessy property. He was successively created Baron Hamilton of Stackallan, and Viscount Boyne. He is thus mentioned in Lodge's *Peerage*:—"Gustavus, the youngest son of Sir Frederick Hamilton, in the reign of Charles II., was a Captain in the army; and attending the Duke of Ormonde, Chancellor of Oxford to that University, had the degree of Doctor of Laws conferred on him, 6th August, 1677. On the accession of King James II., he was sworn of his Privy Council; but being a steady asserter of the laws of his country, he quitted that King's service on his open violation of them, and was attainted by his Parliament. And when the Irish army, under Major-General Hamilton, and Major Dominick Sheldon, had taken Hillsborough, and plundered Lisburn, Belfast, and Antrim, and laid siege to Coleraine, they met with such a warm reception from Major Gustavus Hamilton, who commanded in the town, and spared no charge or pains to make it tenable, that they were forced to draw off with considerable loss, and their designs against Londonderry were for some weeks retarded. On King William's landing in England, he raised four regiments of Foot, and two of Dragoons, in two counties of Ireland, where he was then chosen Governor. He marched to Coleraine, repaired the ruined works of that place, and defended it five weeks against the whole Irish army, who twice attempted to storm the town, by which means he covered the city of Derry, until all the arms, ammunition, and provisions were thrown into it, which enabled them to make so extraordinary a defence; he headed a regiment at the battle of the Boyne, where, having his horse killed under him, he narrowly escaped death. After this victory, he waded the Shannon, at the head of the Grenadiers, and, storming the town of Athlone, he was appointed, upon its surrender, Governor thereof; and was in all the battles fought after by General Ginkle, for the reduction of the kingdom; upon the accomplishment whereof, he was sworn of the Privy Council of King William; made a Brigadier-General of his armies 30th May, 1696, and had his services rewarded with a grant of forfeited lands." In the reign of James II. the Hamiltons were as numerous as at the



present day, and though many of them took part with that King, as many more, amongst whom was the subject of this note, took part with King William. To the last word in the above quotation, Lodge gives the following note:—"Namely, the estate of Roger O'Shaughnessy *in custodiam*; but that being afterwards granted in fee to Thomas Prendergast, Esq., (after Sir Thomas), in recompense for his discovery of the Assassination Plot, he had a grant in lieu thereof," &c., &c. But to return to Brigadier-General Hamilton, Lodge continues: "Q. Anne advanced him to the rank of Major-General 1st January, 1703, in whose first Parliament he represented the county of Donegal, and so continued until he was created a Peer, of which he was also a Custos Rotulorum, and Vice-Admiral of the province of Ulster; he commanded a regiment at the siege of Vigo, and behaved so well, that the Queen presented him with a considerable quantity of Plate. In May 1710, being of distinguished zeal for the Protestant interest, he was sworn of her Majesty's Privy Council, as he was 9th October, 1714, to King George I., who, in consideration of his faithful services and loyalty, advanced him to the dignity of Baron Hamilton, of Stackallan, by Privy Seal, dated at St. James's, 27th September, and by patent at Dublin, 20th October, 1715, and 12th November taking his seat in the House of Peers; he was two days after appointed one of the Lords, to prepare a congratulatory address to his Majesty, on his most happy accession to the throne. The King also granted him a military pension of £182 10s. a year, and was pleased to promote him to the dignity of Viscount Boyne, by Privy Seal, dated at Hampton-Court, 1st August, and by patent, 20th of that month, 1717, with the creation fee of twenty marcs, by which title, on the 27th, he took his seat."

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NOTE 149.—PAGE 336.

The peace with France, in 1697, was chiefly owing to the Duke of Savoy having joined the French. A difficulty having arisen as to where the Ministers should meet, Louis XIV., recommended a country residence belonging to the Prince of Orange, situated near the village of Ryswik or Ryswick, in Holland, a league from the Hague. This peace terminated the war which was commenced in 1688 by France against Holland, England, Germany and Spain, the parties to the League of Augsburg, formed in 1686, and the Grand Alliance in 1689. Four treaties were on this occasion signed here, the first between France and Holland on the 20th of September; the second between France and Spain, which was signed on the same day; the third between France and England, on the 21st; the fourth between France and Germany, on the 30th of October. By the treaty made by France with the United Provinces, which was founded upon the treaties of Westphalia, 1648, and of Nimeguen, 1678, the ambitious Louis XIV. agreed to restore all his conquests from that power; and the Dutch on their part agreed to restore to France

their conquest of Ponticherry, in the East Indies. A separate treaty of commerce between these two great powers was also signed on this occasion. By the treaty made with Spain, King Louis restored Gerona, Rosas, and the other places which he had conquered in Catalonia; also the Duchy of Luxembourg, Charleroi, Mons, and the other places in the Low Countries of which reunions had been made by France since the peace of Nimeguen. By the treaty between France and England, all conquests made during the war were mutually restored; and King Louis acknowledged the Prince of Orange as William III., lawful King of Great Britain and Ireland, and engaged for the future not to furnish any succour to his cousin James II., the deposed and unfortunate King of England. By the treaty made with the Emperor of Germany, Louis XIV. restored Fribourg, Philipsburg, and Brisac. His Majesty also undertook to demolish the fortifications of Huningen, and agreed to re-establish the Duke of Lorraine; and the Emperor ceded to France Strasburg, and its dependencies, which were already in actual possession of that power. The quietude which followed the celebrated peace of Ryswick, lasted until the year 1702.

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NOTE 150.—PAGE 337.

Captain Francis Forster of Clooneene, surnamed Frincheas More an fion, or Great Francis of the Wine, was baptized on the 17th of May, 1621, and was, therefore, at the time of his death, which took place on the 22nd of September, 1698, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. In his youth he received a Captain's commission in a Dragoon regiment from King Charles I., and served in England through the great Civil War, carried on during that reign. It appears by the Records of Ireland, that he was one of the '1649 officers.' The present Captain Blake-Forster, J. P., of Forster-street House, Galway, is the seventh in descent from this veteran and faithful supporter of the last King of the Royal House of Stuart, who sat upon the throne of Great Britain.

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NOTE 151.—PAGE 337.

During the period the Commissioners of the Forfeited Estates held the O'Shaughnessy property, the vast woods were cut down by Theobald Butler, Esq., of Ballygegan, county Galway, which is thus mentioned in the third volume of the Records of Ireland, printed by order of the House of Commons—“Indeed, so hasty have several of the grantees, or their agents, been in the disposition of the forfeited woods, that vast numbers of trees have been cut and sold for not above six pence apiece; the like waste is still continuing in many parts of this kingdom, and particularly on the lands of Feltrim, within six miles of Dublin; and the woods of O'Shaughnessy, in the county of Galway, purchased by Toby Butler, Esq., for about £2,500, which was valued to above £12,000.” Theobald Butler of Ballygegan, was the husband of Helena O'Shaughnessy.

## NOTE 152.—PAGE 337.

Lady Helena O'Shaughnessy had taken this important document from the honest Dermot Oge, who desired to keep it for her son William, who was then an officer in the Irish Brigade in France; but Sir Thomas Prendergast's wiles succeeded in procuring the bond from her Ladyship. The Baronet's object in seeking to obtain possession of this deed was, that he might get its amount out of the proceeds of the sale of her brother Lord Clare's forfeited estates. At the Assizes held in Galway about two years previous to this occurrence, Dermot Oge was summoned to appear, and give up all the bonds he possessed belonging to the O'Shaughnessy family. He at first hesitated to comply when they were demanded from him. "I understand you are a lawyer, Sir," said the judge. "Yes, my Lord," replied Dermot Oge. "Therefore," rejoined the Judge, "you must know the power of the law, and that you will be compelled to give up all the bonds which you have relative to this case." Seeing the Judge so determined, Dermot Oge knew he could not keep the documents of the late Captain O'Shaughnessy, and reluctantly resigned them. Among the bonds in his possession was one from a Protestant Williamite named Walter Taylor. Captain Roger O'Shaughnessy had purchased land called Carubesida from Taylor, who had bought it from a patentee. Taylor gave his bond to execute a conveyance of these lands to O'Shaughnessy; but, however, he did not do so, as Dermot Oge did not attend to the affair at the time, or, afterwards, being in a depressed state of mind on account of the loss of Aughrim, and the fall of Limerick. The Williamites being victorious, Taylor dishonourably took possession of Carubesida. Dermot Oge feared to question his right to do so, lest Taylor might injure him in his endeavours to keep Lissine. Therefore, Taylor got back the bond, and kept the land, without returning to William O'Shaughnessy, of the Irish Brigade, the purchase-money which he had received from his father. This dishonourable transaction on the part of Taylor is fully explained by Dermot Oge, in the notes and memorandums he left at his death, to his son Edmond, for O'Shaughnessy's use.

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NOTE 153.—PAGE 338.

That the services of the Irish soldiers of fortune were highly prized on the Continent is evident, from the following memorandum, which was found among the papers of Francis I., Emperor of Germany, after his death:—"The more Irish officers in the Austrian service the better. Our troops will always be disciplined. An Irish coward is an uncommon character; and what the natives of Ireland dislike, even from principle, they generally perform through a desire of glory." Many regiments composed of Irishmen, who were banished

from their native country, because they would not renounce the religion of their fathers, were embodied in Spain, after the capitulation of Limerick; and these several regiments were called by names dear to the memories of the exiles who filled their ranks. Accordingly, they were the regiments of *Irlandá Ultonia*, &c., while in France were those of Limerick, Athlone, Clare, &c., which, by their matchless valour, caused George II. to exclaim, at the bloody battle of Fontenoy, ‘cursed be the laws that deprived me of such subjects.’ It was a subject of remark on the Continent and at home, that the Irish, ‘banished for the cause of their religion,’ had cost the English Government one hundred thousand times more than the value of all their forfeited estates!

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NOTE 154.—PAGE 338.

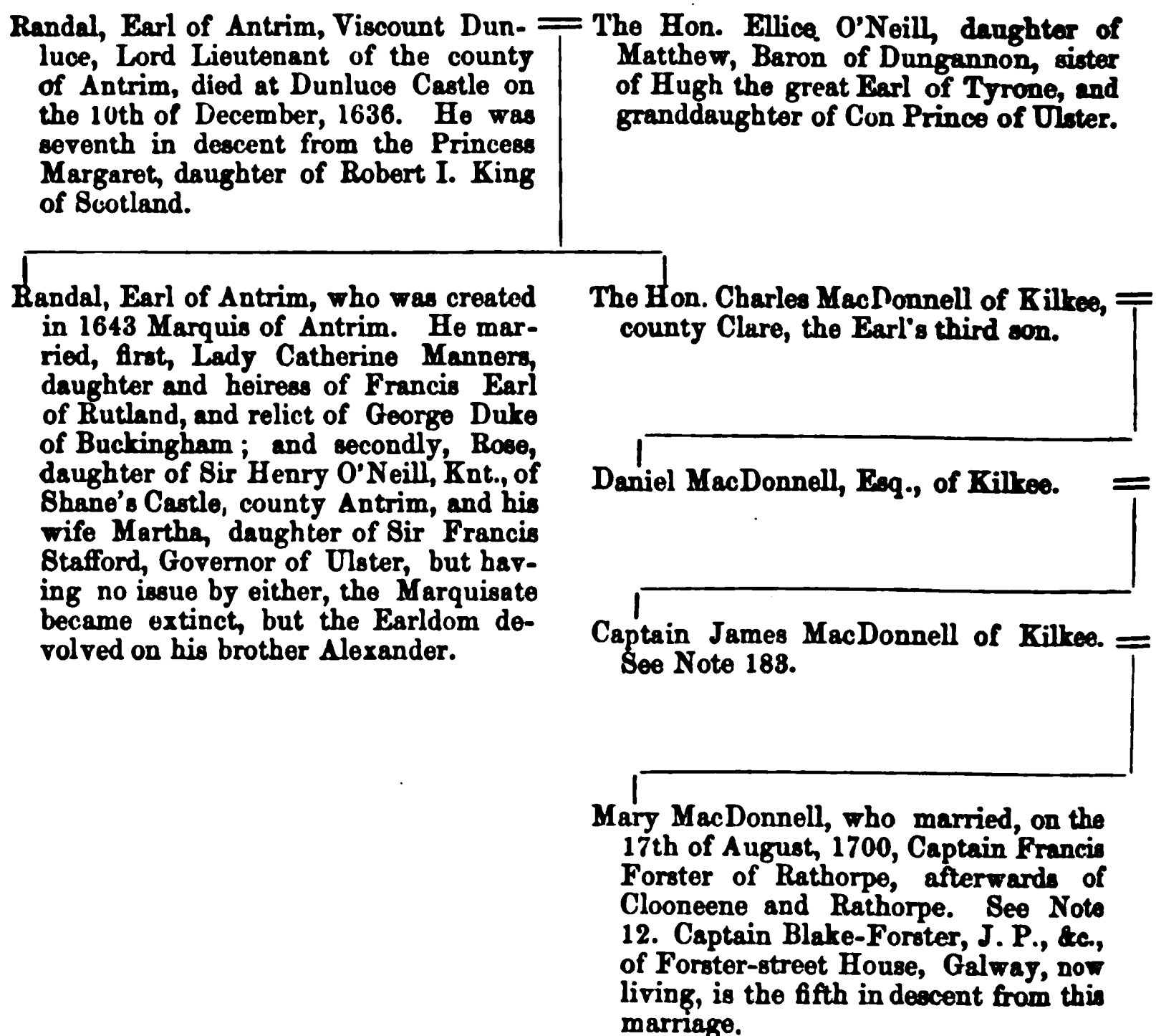
In ‘A collection of Poems written on different occasions by the Clare Bards in honour of the MacDonnells of Kilkee and Killone,’ it is stated in a note to page 40—“Sorley MacDonnell was the last of James MacDonnell’s children. Randall, who lived at Kilbricken, died in 1726. The younger brother, James, who lived at Clouncullin, died 14th June, 1732. His only sister was Mary, who married James Ffoster, of Rathorpe, county Galway.” This is a great mistake, as Mary MacDonnell’s husband was Captain Francis Forster of Rathorpe, which is clearly proved by numerous family deeds in the archives of the Blake-Forster sept, and from the following extract taken from the Principal Registry of Her Majesty’s Court of Prerogative in Ireland:—

“Licentia conceff fuit et est P Rgm prœm Michael, &c., nocnon Iñd, &c., P. Solamnizatoe mrony inter *Franciscum* Forster de Rathorpe infra Parochia de Behagh in Coñ Galviæ Armigem et Marian MacDonnell Parochia Stt Nicholai infra Muros Dubl Sp<sup>r</sup> in parochia St<sup>i</sup> Nicholai infra muros Dubl,” &c. It is not necessary to quote further from this document. This lady is remembered in the traditions of the people by an Irish *soubriquet*, which translated means the handsome Mary, and it would appear from the numerous songs composed in her praise by the bards of Connaught and Munster, that she was a great patron of theirs. She was great-great-granddaughter of the Earl of Antrim, by his wife, the Hon. Ellice O’Neill, sister of Hugh O’Neill, the great Earl of Tyrone, and daughter of Matthew, Baron of Dungannon. Mary MacDonnell, alias Forster, was also great grandniece of Randal, second Earl and first Marquis of Antrim, and was sister of Charles James MacDonnell, Esq., of Kilkee, county of Clare, of which county he was High Sheriff in 1738. From the time the MacDonnells became connected with the Clooneene family by this marriage, the greatest friendship existed between them. Randal MacDonnell of Kilbricken, county of Clare, who died unmarried in 1726, by his last will, made on the 4th of March in that year, bequeathed to his brother-in-law, Colonel Forster, the sum of £100 for mourning, and left his dear sister, Mary Forster, wife of the said Francis

Forster, 'a mourning ring of the value of £10 sterling, to be given her by our said brother Charles, or that sume to buy it with all.' There is also a curious inventory attached to his will, which throws some light on the fashions of the period. In it mention is made of his duelling pistols, a screw bullet gun, the long 'sylver-hilted sword gilt with gold.' The silver-hilted sword alluded to was an heirloom in the MacDonnell family for many generations, and was afterwards bequeathed to Edward Forster of Kilbricken, the noted duellist who on one occasion, accompanied by MacNamara of Moyriesk, who was his cousin, went on a fighting tour to France. Edward Forster was a great favourite with his uncle Lieutenant-Colonel Charles MacDonnell, M.P., High Sheriff for the county of Clare in 1760, son-in-law of Sir Edward O'Brien, Bart., of Dromoland and Lemenagh Castles, great-great-grandfather of the present Lord Inchiquin. Colonel MacDonnell on his death appointed his nephew his executor, left him the sole management of his property during the minority of his children, and entrusted him with all the family deeds belonging to the MacDonnells. He also directed him in his will to complete the family vault in Kilcredane Church, according to a plan which himself had drawn up. In his will he also says—"I recommend that one of my daughters may be matched to my nephew, James Forster's eldest son, and if such match shud be agreed upon, and in case I have no issue male, at the time of my decease, I bequeath unto such daughter so matched, provided he takes upon him the name of MacDonnell, and that it be with the consent of the Lord Chancellor for the time being, ye yearly profits of all the pchases I acquired or made in my lifetime, during her life, and in case she shud dye leaving issue male, by my said nephew's eldest son, I bequeath the same unto such eldest issue during their lives, taking upon them the name of MacDonnell, and after their decease I bequeath the same unto my right heirs." This will bears date 12th of October, 1743. The nephew alluded to by Colonel MacDonnell was Francis Blake-Forster of Clooneene, in the county of Galway and Inchoveagh Castle, in the county of Clare, who married, in 1768, Annastatia, only child and heiress of Sir Ulick Blake, Bart., of Menlough Castle, by his wife Mary, only child and sole heiress of Robert Blake, Esq., of Ardfry, in the county of Galway, the lineal descendant of Sir Richard Blake of Ardfry, M. P. for the county of Galway, Speaker of the Confederate Catholic Council of Kilkenny, in 1648. It is worthy of remark that, a week before she married Francis Blake-Forster, Sir Ulick's heiress rejected Sir Lucius O'Brien, the brother of Colonel MacDonnell's wife, who had proposed for her. There is a large painting, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, of this lady at Forster-street House, the residence of her great grandson, Captain Blake-Forster, J. P. It is justly admired, as is also a copy of it, which is in his possession, by Sir Thomas Lawrence, principal painter to the King, and President of the Royal Academy.

## NOTE 155.—PAGE 338.

The MacDonnells, Earls of Antrim, were one of the noblest families of Ireland or Scotland, and descended from Colla-Uas, who was Monarch of Ireland in A. D. 327. They afterwards settled in Scotland. Lord John MacDonnell, styled 'John of Islay,' who was living in 1388, and who was then head of his sept, married the Princess Margaret Stuart, daughter of Robert II., King of Scotland, who was grandson of Robert I., The Bruce, by his first wife, Lady Isabella, daughter of Donald Earl of Marr, Regent of the Kingdom of Scotland during the minority of David II. The following genealogical table shows the descent of Captain Blake-Forster from Robert I. through this noble family.



## NOTE 156.—PAGE 345.

King James's remains remained unburied in the Church of the Benedictines at Paris, until the year 1824, when they were interred at St. Germain, having escaped the desecration of the *sans-culottes* of the bloody revolution.



## NOTE 157.—PAGE 346.

Gian Francesco Albani was born at Pesaro, in the Duchy of Urbino. Having received holy orders, he was made Secretary of the Briefs by Pope Innocent XI.; Cardinal by Alexander VIII., and, on the death of Innocent XII., he became Pope in November, 1700, as Clement XI., but he, for several days, hesitated before accepting of the Papal dignity. He was one of the most learned men of his time, and had the honour of being one of those men of letters who frequented the society of the accomplished Christina Queen of Sweden during her residence at Rome. He afterwards, to show his respect for her memory, raised to her a monument in St. Peter's. Clement XI. patronised men of letters and science, and was the friend of Guidi, Marsigh, Martelli, Menzini, Sergardi, Zappi, and the learned Bianchini. He always sympathised with James II., and took a lively interest in the unsuccessful expedition of his son, the Chevalier de St. George, whom he recognised as James VIII. of Scotland in 1715. On the failure of General Forster's rebellion, James, being deserted for the present by both France and Spain, went to reside in Urbino, being protected by the Pope, who allowed him a pension, and a few years afterwards negotiated his marriage with the beautiful and wealthy Maria Clementina Sobieski, who was the god-child of his Holiness, and grand-daughter of the great John III., King of Poland, the deliverer of Europe. A full account of how this romantic marriage was accomplished, through the bravery and fidelity of some officers of the Irish Brigade, is given in Chapter LI. of this work. Pope Clement XI. died in March, 1721, in the 72nd year of his age. In his last illness having sent for James III., that exiled Prince repaired to the chamber of the dying Pontiff, who recommended to his Cardinals, that he should be allowed to reside in the palace which he had given him, and that his pension should be continued until his restoration, and that in all things he might be supported against his enemies by the succeeding Popes. Clement XI. greatly beautified Rome during his Pontificate, and established the Calcografia Camerale, which has since given to the world so very many splendid engravings. He also encouraged the art of Mosaic, and introduced at Rome the manufacture of tapestry, on the model of the celebrated Gobelins.

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## NOTE 158.—PAGE 346.

The title Defender of the Faith was first conferred on the sovereigns of England by Pope Leo X. Prince Henry, afterwards Henry VIII., during the life of his eldest brother, Arthur Prince of Wales, was intended for the priesthood by his politic father Henry VII., and, retaining a taste for theological discussion, he opposed Luther, whose opinions were then causing such commo-

tion in Europe, by writing a Latin treatise, in 1521, 'On the Seven Sacraments,' confuting the newly propounded doctrines of the ex-monk of Wittenberg; in consequence of which Leo X. conferred on him, and his successors, the title of Defender of the Faith, which has been borne ever since by the sovereigns of Britain, even when the dreadful penal code existed in Ireland,—laws which justly called forth the indignation of Edmond Burke, one of the greatest of modern statesmen. It might appear strange to a Protestant that the first-born son of the Reformation should be so well-acquainted with theology, as to be able to write a defence of the Sacraments, but we have the authority of Paolo Sarpi, in his History of the Council of Trent, that Henry Duke of York was from the first destined to fill the Archbishopric of Canterbury. And alluding to this subject, Lord Herbert writes—"That prudent King, his father, choosing this as the most cheap and glorious way of disposing of a younger son." One thing is certain, that though Henry turned out such a tyrant, he received a most liberal education; and the noble author already quoted further states that "besides his being an able Latinist, philosopher, and divine, he was (which one might wonder at in a king) a curious musician, as two entire masses composed by himself, and often sung in his chapel, did abundantly witness."

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NOTE 159.—PAGE 350.

In *Redgauntlet*, a tale of the eighteenth century, by Sir Walter Scott, young Redgauntlet thus speaks of his uncle, who was a staunch and firm Jacobite—"I observe that, like other Jacobites, in his inveteracy against the memory of King William, he had adopted the party opinion that the Monarch, on the day he had his fatal accident, rode upon a horse once the property of the unfortunate Sir John Friend, executed for high treason in 1696." It is very strange that such a learned Antiquarian as Sir Walter Scott should have fallen into this error. Sir John Friend was certainly executed this year for his alleged connexion with the Assassination Plot. It has already been shown that Sir John Fenwick was executed about the same time for the same offence; but independently of the traditions of the Blake-Forster, and other families, and contemporary documents preserved in their archives, it is an historical fact that William III. rode the favourite horse which had previously belonged to Sir John Fenwick. Both having been executed for the same offence, having borne the same Christian name, and their surnames commencing with the letter F, probably caused Sir Walter to fall into this mistake with regard to the owner. It would not be necessary to notice this if Sir Walter had given an explanatory note, as was usual with him, whenever he changed history to suit a narrative. After Sir John Fenwick's execution, King William took possession of all his personal effects, among which was a remarkable sorrel pony, on which the King rode when he broke his collar-bone.

## NOTE 160.—PAGE 357.

For a summary of the able arguments used by Sir Toby Butler both before the House of Commons and the House of Lords, see Appendix.

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## NOTE 161.—PAGE 357.

The memorable Act of Parliament, 8th Anne, c. 3, for explaining and amending the Act to prevent the further growth of Popery, after reciting that Oliver Martyn of Tillyra, county Galway, Esq., was during the rebellion a person who behaved himself with great moderation, and was remarkably kind to numbers of Protestants in distress, many of whom he supported in his family, and by his charity and goodness saved their lives, &c., enacted that he the said Oliver Martyn might enjoy his estate to him and his heirs, and settle and dispose of the same on his eldest son and his heirs male, &c.—*sect.* 39. This gentleman was one of the M. P.'s for the borough of Galway in King James's Irish Parliament in 1689.

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## NOTE 162.—PAGE 358.

The person who superintended the scourging of the priest received a letter from the Secretary of State thanking him for his zeal and management therein, and their Excellencies hoped "he would continue his endeavours to banish the priests out of the town, and cause those he had apprehended to be prosecuted at law with the utmost rigour." Another mayor lamented that he could not have Father James Ffrench brought to trial, who had lain in jail for a long time for 'high treason.' This high treason was that he had dared to return to his native town after having been transported, but the following are the Mayor's words:—"Ane Popish Priest, one James Ffrench, returned from beyond the sea after he had been transported, butt nowe yt he coulde nott be tryed for want of a Protestant jurie of ffreholders."

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## NOTE 163.—PAGE 362.

In this great battle the gallant Lord Clare received nine wounds, which were the cause of his death, and besides his Lordship there fell thirty-eight officers and 326 soldiers out of 800 men. The only two colours lost by the allies in this

battle—one Scotch and one English—were taken by the Irish Brigade. Lord Clare was interred in the Church of the Holy Cross at Louvaine, where this inscription was placed to his memory—

D     O     M  
 Hic jacet  
 Illmus DD Carolus O'Brien  
 Ex stirpe Regum Hiberniæ  
 Par, Comes de Clare & Maigh-airty, &c.  
 Campi Marischallus  
 Legionis Hibernicæ Colonellus  
 Qui plurimis heroicis  
 Pro Deo Rege & Patria  
 Peractis Facinoribus  
 In Prælio Ramiliensi  
 XXIII Maij MDCCVI vulneratus  
 Triduo post Bruxellis obiit  
 Ætatis suæ XXXVI  
 R     I     P  
 Posuit pia ejus Conjux  
 Illma Dom Carola Bulkeley.

His Lordship was succeeded by his eldest son, the Hon. Charles O'Brien, as sixth Viscount Clare, who, on the death of the Right Hon. Henry O'Brien the eighth, and in Great Britain the last recognised Earl of Thomond, on the 20th of April, 1741, assumed that title which was acknowledged on the Continent. Lord Clare was therefore known from that forth as the Count de Thomond. The title of count being equivalent to that of our earl, and even in this country earls in their patents of creation are styled by the sovereign *comitas*, the Latin word for earl. The Count de Thomond was a captain in his deceased father's regiment before he had attained the age of five years.

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NOTE 164.—PAGE 367.

This nobleman, who was born in the year 1678, was John Campbell, eldest son of Archibald, tenth Earl and first Duke of Argyle, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Lionel Tollemache, Bart., of Helmingham, in the county of Stafford. He was a military commander of great activity in the reign of Queen Anne—a period which forms a glorious epoch in the history of England with regard to military achievements. In consideration of his many services, the Duke of Argyle was honoured with an English Peerage on the 2nd of December, 1705, being created Baron of Chatham and Earl of Greenwich, and on the 13th

of April, 1719, he was further advanced to the dignity of Duke of Greenwich. In 1735-6 his Grace was constituted a Field-Marshal of England, and is the same Duke of Argyle and Greenwich who figures in the 'Heart of Mid-Lothian,' by Sir Walter Scott, as the friend and patron of the noble-hearted and persevering Jeanie Deans. He married twice, but having no male issue, his English honours became extinct in October, 1743, while those of Scotland devolved upon his only brother Archibald, third Duke of Argyle, who was in 1706 created a Peer of Scotland by the titles of Lord Oransay Dunoon and Arrase, and Viscount and Earl of Isla, but dying without issue on the 15th of April, 1761, the honours conferred upon him became extinct, while those of the family descended to his cousin John, fourth Duke of Argyle, K. T., who was grandson of Archibald, ninth Earl of Argyle. This unfortunate nobleman having been found guilty of high treason on the 19th of December, 1681, was sentenced to death, but succeeded in escaping from the kingdom. He was subsequently taken prisoner in an attempt to invade Scotland, and decapitated at the Market Cross of Edinburgh, on the 30th of June, 1685.

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NOTE 165.—PAGE 372.

This amiable and accomplished gentleman was slain in Ireland while bravely fighting in the cause of James II. He was maternally descended from the noble House of Etherston, being the eldest son of Sir Thomas Haggerston, Bart., of Haggerston in Islandshire, Governor of Berwick-upon-Tweed, by his first wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Francis Howard of Corby Castle, county of Cumberland, as appears from the following genealogy :—

Sir John de Haggerston, Knt., Lord of Haggerston, in Islandshire, married Matilda, daughter of Sir Thomas Forster, Knt., Lord of Etherston, and had issue—

I. Sir Robert de Haggerston, Knt., living in 1292.

II. Sir Hugh.

III. Sir Helias.

Sir Hugh de Haggerston, Knt., Lord of Haggerston (the second son), living in 1296, married Agnes, daughter of Sir Reginald de Bollisdon, and Lady Margaret his wife, daughter of Sir Alfred Forster, Knight Banneret, and had issue—

I. Sir Robert.

II. Sir Philip.

Sir Robert de Haggerston, Knt., Lord of Haggerston, returned as living in 1312, was father of—

Sir Robert de Haggerston, Knt., Lord of Haggerston, living in 1320, father of—

I. Sir Robert.

II. Sir Thomas, who obtained a third part of Cheswick from Sir Robert de Haggerston. He married Alice.

Sir Robert de Haggerston, Knt., Lord of Haggerston (the eldest son), was father of

Sir Henry de Haggerston, Knt., Lord of Haggerston, aged 40, in 1399, who married Mary, daughter of Sir Alexander Selby, of Biddleston, in Northumberland, and was father of

Sir Thomas de Haggerston, Knt., Lord of Haggerston, aged 10, in 1400, who married Catherine, daughter of Miles Stapleton, Esq., of Wighill, in Yorkshire, and had issue—

I. Sir Thomas.

II. Robert, }  
III. Henry, } boarders at Holy Island in 1463-4.

Sir Thomas de Haggerston, Knt., Lord of Haggerston, aged 30, in 1446, married Agnes, daughter of Sir Thomas Umfreville, Knt., and granddaughter of Sir Thomas Umfreville, Knt., of Harbottle Castle, and dying on 1st May, 1470, had issue—

I. Thomas.

II. Margaret, who married John Swinburne, Esq., of Nafferton.

Thomas Haggerston, Esq., of Haggerston, aged 22, in 1470, Justice of Gaol Delivery in Norham and Islandshire in 1477, married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Reginald Haslerigg, of Haslerigg, in Northumberland, and dying on 26th March, 1502, had issue—

I. Thomas.

II. Richard.

III. George.

IV. Ralph, who married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of John Manners, Esq., of Cheswick.

V. Roger.

VI. Rowland.

Thomas Haggerston, Esq., of Haggerston, aged 25, in 1522 married Elizabeth, daughter of George Collingwood, Esq., of Eslington, and dying on 26th January, 1531, had issue—

I. Thomas.

II. Margaret.

III. Eleanor.

IV. Isabella.

Thomas Haggerston, Esq., of Haggerston, a minor in 1531, of age in 1538, married Dorothy, daughter of Sir Cuthbert Ratcliffe, of Dilston Hall, Northumberland, Knt., and sister of Sir George Radcliffe, Lord Warden of the East Marches. He was slain at the battle of Pannierhaugh, in Scotland, in 1545, and his death is thus recorded in an ancient MS.—“ Dec. 1545. Inventarie of all the goods, &c., of Thomas Hagreston, of Hagreston w'in ye



parochyng of Holly Eland, Esquyer, dep'ted unto the m'cy of God in Scotland, in ye King is Ma<sup>ty</sup> s'vice." He left issue—

Henry Haggerston, Esq., of Haggerston, who married Anne, daughter of Robert Beadnell, of Leamington, Esq., in Northumberland, and had issue—

I. William.

II. John.

III. Cuthbert.

IV. Henry of Goswick.

V. Helen.

VI. Mary, who married John Orde, Esq., Berwick-upon-Tweed.

William Haggerston, Esq., of Haggerston and Haslerigg, married Margaret, daughter of Henry Butler, Esq., of Rawcliff, county of Lancaster, and dying in 1606, had issue—

I. Thomas.

II. Luke.

III. Anne.

IV. Mary.

Thomas Haggerston, Esq., of Haggerston, Colonel of a Regiment of Horse and Foot, was created a Baronet by King Charles I. in 1643. He married Alice, daughter and sole heiress of Henry Banaster, of the Bank, county Lancaster, Esq., by Alice, his wife, daughter and sole heiress of John Keurden, Esq., of Keurden, county of Lancaster. Colonel Sir Thomas Haggerston, Bart., was aged 72 on 18th August, 1666, and died in March, 1673, having had issue—

I. John Haggerston, Esq., slain at Omskirk in 1644.

II. Thomas, who succeeded his father.

III. Henry, killed by a fall from his horse in Durham, on 28th October, 1682. He married a Flemish lady, and had a daughter who married abroad.

IV. Elizabeth, who died in December, 1627.

V. Ellen, who married William Selby, Esq., of Biddleston, in Northumberland.

VI. Anne, who married William Blundell, Esq., of Carsby, county of Lancaster.

VII. Margaret, who married first, William Hodgson, Esq., of Hedburne, county of Durham, and second, Lancelot Hodgson, Esq.

VII. Alice.

Sir Thomas Haggerston, of Haggerston, Bart., Governor of Berwick, married first, Margaret, daughter of Sir Francis Howard, of Corby Castle, county of Cumberland; and secondly, Jane, daughter and sole heiress of Sir William Carnaby, of Farnham, county of Northumberland, Knt. By his first wife Sir Thomas had issue—

I. Thomas Haggerston, Esq., who served with distinction in Ireland (in the army of James II.), where he was slain. He had with other issue—

Thomas, living in 1695.

II. William, of whom presently.

III. Edward of Ellingham, who married, first, Mary, daughter of Gerard Salvin, of Croxdale, county of Durham, Esq.; marriage bond dated 21st January, 1693. He married secondly, Mary, daughter of Charles Hitzherbert, Esq.

IV. Henry, in Holy Orders.

V. John, in Holy Orders.

VI. Francis, in Holy Orders.

VII. Francis, buried 7th February, 1652.

VIII. William, buried 19th May, 1655.

IX. Francis, buried 2nd June, 1660.

X. Charles, buried 17th April, 1669.

XI. Franck (a dau.), buried 23rd June, 1673.

XII. Mary, buried 1703.

William Haggerston, Esq., of Haggerston, married Anne, daughter and heiress of Sir Philip Constable, of Everingham, county of York, Bart. His will bears date 21st April, 1708, and was proved in 1709. He died before his father, having had issue—

I. Anne, who married Brian Salvin, Esq., of Croxdale, county of Durham; marriage bond dated 16th July, 1716.

II. Sir Carnaby.

III. Mary, who became a nun at Pontoise, in France.

IV. Elizabeth, Abbess of the English nunnery at Pontoise, died in 1765.

V. Jane.

Sir Carnaby Haggerston, of Haggerston, Bart., married on the 30th November, 1731, Elizabeth, daughter, and at length heiress of Peter Middleton, Esq., of Middleton and Stokeld, Yorkshire. Sir Carnaby's will bears date 20th November, 1753, and was proved in 1715. He was buried on 20th July, 1756, and had issue—

I. Sir Thomas, of whom hereafter.

II. William, of whom presently.

III. Edward of Ellingham, in Northumberland, will dated 18th July, 1802, proved 1804, in which he bequeathed all his estates to Thomas Haggerston, Esq., of Sandoe, his nephew. He married Anne Mary, fourth daughter of William Plowden, Esq., of county Salop, by Frances, his wife, daughter of Charles Lord Dormer. He was buried on 22nd March, 1824.

IV. Elizabeth, who married Thomas Clifford, Esq., of Lytham, county of Lancaster, but died without issue.

V. Elizabeth, a nun at Pontoise, removed in 1786 to Cambray.

VI. Mary, a nun at Graveline, died before 1786.

VII. Frances, buried 14th February, 1732.

William Haggerston-Constable, Esq., of Everingham Park, county of Yorkshire (second son of Sir Carnaby), married Lady Winifred Maxwell, daughter and heiress of John, son of William Earl of Nithsdale, who was attainted for

rebellion. William Haggerston Constable, who took the name and arms of Maxwell, died on 20th June, 1797, having had issue by Lady Winifred, who died on 13th July, 1801—

I. Marmaduke William Haggerston Maxwell, Esq., who married Theresa Appolloninea, daughter of Edmond Wakeman, Esq.

II. William Haggerston-Constable, who assumed the name of Middleton, and succeeded to the estates of Middleton and Stokeld, in Yorkshire, married in 1782, Clare Louisa, only daughter of William Grace, Esq., of Ireland.

III. Catherine, who died on 17th May, 1783, aged twenty-one, and was buried in St. Pancras churchyard, county of Middlesex.

IV. Clementina.

V. Mary, who married John Webb Weston, Esq.

VI. Teresa.

VII. Charles Haggerston-Constable, Esq., married at Marybone on 21st July, 1793, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Rowland, and sister and heiress of Sir William Stanley of Hooton, county of Chester, Bart., and assumed the name and arms of 'Stanley' only. He married, secondly, Miss MacDonald.

To return to Sir Thomas Haggerston, of Haggerston, Bart. (eldest son of Sir Carnaby Haggerston), he was baptized on the 11th of September, 1722, and married at Bywell, in 1754, Mary, daughter of George Silvertop, Esq., of Minster Acres, in Northumberland. He died on the 1st of November, 1777, having had issue by her, who died on the 22nd May, 1773—

I. Sir Carnaby, of whom hereafter.

II. Thomas.

III. Edward, who died young.

I. Mary, who died at Paris on 13th January, 1829.

II. Bridget, buried on 26th September, 1764.

Thomas Haggerston, Esq., of Sandoe, and afterwards of Ellingham, married Winifred, daughter of Edward Charlton, Esq., of Reedsmouth, in Northumberland, and died in 1829, having had issue—

I. Thomas Haggerston, Esq., who married Margaret, only child of William Robertson, Esq. of Lady-Kirk, in Scotland, and had issue—

1. Marianne Sarah, who was born on 11th November, 1815.

2. Margaret Frances, born on 18th March, 1817.

3. Winifred, born on 11th March, 1820.

4. Emma, born on 27th September, 1821.

5. Charlotte, born on 11th August, 1823.

II. Edward Haggerston, Esq., of Hull, living unmarried in 1829.

III. William, died, aged 26, in 1817.

IV. John, an officer in the army, living in 1829.

V. George, living in 1829.

I. Mary, who married at Ellingham, on 23rd November, 1829, Henry S. Stephens, Esq.

II. Frances-Carnaby, who married on 3rd January, 1825, Henry John William Collingwood, Esq., of Lilburn Tower, and Cornhill.

III. Winifred, who died unmarried in 1829.

To return to Sir Carnaby Haggerston, of Haggerston, Bart. (eldest son of Sir Thomas), he was married by special licence on 3rd August, 1785, to Frances, second daughter of Walter Smyth, Esq., of Bambridge, Hants, second son of Sir John Smyth, of Acton Burnell, county of Salop, and of Eshe, county of Durham, Bart., and had issue—

I. Carnaby, born on 4th October, 1788, died young.

II. Mary, who married in January, 1805, Sir Thomas Stanley, of Hooton, county of Chester, Bart., and had issue—

I. William Thomas Stanley, Esq.

II. Maria-Frances.

III. Rowland.

IV. John.

V. Charles.

#### NOTE 166.—PAGE 378.

This was Paudrick Malbrough, Don or Dunne, Patrick Malbrough, the Brown, who was a shepherd employed on the Blake-Forster property, and resided at Rathorpe. The Irish are remarkable for bestowing nicknames on members of families who bear the same name, for the purpose of distinguishing them from each other, as may be observed by some of the characters that figure in this work, and also by reference to the ancient Irish pedigrees. It is not uncommon to have in the same family cousins called Shemus More, James the Great generally applied to heads of families, Shemus Oge, the young, Shemus Beg, the small, Shemus Dunne or Don, the fair, Shemus Buighe, the yellow, &c. The noble house of Inchiquin, and the other ancient families of the name of O'Brien, descended from Torlagh Don, descendant of Bryan Boroighme. This Torlagh, who died in 1528, had issue by his wife Raghnaalt, daughter of John MacNamara, Prince of Clan Cuilean, 1st, Conor, who succeeded his father in the kingdom of Thomond, ancestor of the extinct Earls of Thomond, and the Viscounts Clare; 2nd, Donough, who died in 1531; 3rd, Morrough the Tanist ancestor of the extinct Marquisite of Thomond, and the present Right Hon. Edward Donough, Lord Inchiquin; 4th, Teige, who was killed at the Ford of Camus, on the Suir, in 1523; and 5th, Dermot, who died without issue. I also find that about the year 1430, Roger O'Shaughnessy, who resided near Gortinsiguara, was called Don, as was also his son Dathi; and that his grandson Edmond was surnamed Mac Don. This is the only instance I find of the word 'Don' having descended from father to son, except in the family of O'Conor of Roscommon, every generation of which since the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to whom they submitted and paid allegiance, is said to have

been called Don, independently of the colour of their hair or complexion. It is worthy of remark, that the first of the O'Conors who received from the Irish the *soubriquet* of Dunne, or as the word is now written, 'Don,' was Hugh O'Conor, of Ballintubber, in the county of Roscommon, who, having submitted to Queen Elizabeth in 1585, and acknowledged her as his lawful Sovereign, was knighted on the 4th of July, 1599, by Robert, Earl of Essex, who was one of the favourites of that Queen. Having acknowledged himself an English subject, the newly created Sir Hugh O'Conor Don, or the Brown, considered he was bound to fight against all her Majesty's enemies; and, accordingly, commanded the Horse at the battle of Cor-Slieve, or the Curlew mountains, fought on the 15th of August, 1599. For the purpose of distinguishing him from another Hugh O'Conor of the same family, who remained true to the Irish interest, and, as the kinsmen differed in complexion, as well as politics, Sir Hugh was called Dunne. In a note to the O'Conor pedigree, in Sir J. Bernard Burke's Landed Gentry, fourth Edition, page 1102, printed in 1863, it is stated—"Other statements carry up the period of the adoption of the style Don to the time of the Milesian invasion, under Prince Don, the son of Milesius." It is, however, evident, that the application of the *soubriquet* of Dunne, or Don, as an affix to Irish family surnames, could not possibly have originated with Prince Don, the son of Milesius; for, in his time, no surnames existed in Ireland, nor is this word found as a Christian name in any of the early records of Ireland, except with regard to the said prince. It is also well known to those interested in Irish history, that it was during the reign of Brian of the Tributes, in the eleventh century, surnames were first instituted in Ireland; but I find by various and reliable authorities in my possession, that Don was at a later period a common Christian name among the Irish Chieftains of Milesian origin. Don O'Quinn was slain in 1071; a Don O'Shaughnessy died in 1376; Don MacNamara was slain in 1399; and Don O'Brien died in 1401. Several other chieftains, too numerous to mention, also bore this name.

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NOTE 167.—PAGE 380.

The peasantry who resided in the neighbourhood of Gort and Clooneene on several occasions made many persevering, but vain attempts to recover the concealed treasure alluded to by Donal Bran in his dying moments, according to the text. Although this work is now for the first time published, a tradition had always existed among them that vast treasures were hidden in Bunna-cippaun Wood by Donal Bran's Rapparees. According to tradition, a portion of this wood was dug up in the year 1745, in hope of discovering it, as it was considered by the Jacobites of the neighbourhood that it would be of great service to those who were then in arms in England and Scotland, in effecting

the restoration of James III. The hidden treasure, however, was not discovered, and their sanguine expectations were disappointed. The disastrous result of the so-called Rebellion against the house of Hanover, headed by the courageous Prince Charles Edward, is well-known. During the protracted lawsuit carried on by the O'Shaughnessies against the Prendergasts, the wood was again searched, but in vain. The last endeavour to discover the hidden spoils was made in 1810, the year in which the late Francis Blake-Forster was married to the Hon. Rose Ffrench, daughter of Lord Ffrench, of Castle Ffrench.

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NOTE 168.—PAGE 381.

The streaking meant the washing and laying out of the corpse, which was generally performed by some of the female friends.

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NOTE 169.—PAGE 381.

Salt is used in many ceremonies in the Catholic Church, and was emblematic of mortality amongst most nations.

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NOTE 170.—PAGE 381.

A candle was an Egyptian hieroglyphic for life, and in all probability was used at wakes, to express the desire of the relatives to have the life of the deceased prolonged, or perhaps to indicate that the departed had entered into everlasting life.

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NOTE 171.—PAGE 382.

The mirror was always covered with a white cloth immediately after the person expired, and if a fire was in the room, it was extinguished and all traces of it removed. Also if a cat or dog were in the house, it was immediately killed, as it was believed to be unlucky if either of these animals crossed the threshold of the dead.

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NOTE 172.—PAGE 382.

The word Lykewake, now corruptly written wake, is derived from the two Anglo-Saxon words '*Lic*,' a corpse, and '*Wacce*,' a vigil, meaning the vigil of the corpse.



## NOTE 173.—PAGE 383.

This, which was a very ancient custom among the Irish, is one of those which, despite all innovations, is continued to our own time, and each, while weeping over the corpse, occasionally introduces the name of their own last deceased relative. Many efforts have been made from time to time by the Catholic clergy to suppress wakes, but they are one of the customs of their ancestors which the Irish people evidently have no desire to relinquish.

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## NOTE 174.—PAGE 383.

The nearest friends or relatives of the deceased, who wished to have a respectable funeral, which was considered an important matter, went from house to house, wearing black scarfs, and, from bidding all welcome, they received the name of Bidders.

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## NOTE 175.—PAGE 383.

The vestments and sacred vessels made use of during Mass were often concealed in various ways, to avoid the suspicion of the Priest hunters and base informers, who were too eager to give information against Catholics to the Williamite Government.

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## NOTE 176.—PAGE 383.

While the Penal Laws were enforced, no Catholic Priest could with safety appear in public, and they were therefore obliged to have recourse to hitherto unheard of precautions, to save themselves from the fury of their enemies, not that they individually feared death, but were apprehensive that if their parishioners were deprived of their pastors they might be induced to embrace the doctrines held by their conquerors. Therefore the clergymen of the Catholic Church in Ireland were obliged to submit to many humiliations, as is evident from the following extract, which is only one of many that could be quoted:—

“On the principle that historic monuments are in general worthy of notice and preservation, I take the liberty of mentioning a curious relic of the olden time, and one associated with some very interesting circumstances illustrating

the history of Ireland, which I had recently the opportunity of visiting in the West. No doubt many similar relics exist in different parts of the country, as the state of things of which they are monuments prevailed for a very long and lamentable period; but our local traditions have so generally failed, and are dying out so rapidly every day, that comparatively few spots like that which I am about to mention could now probably be pointed out with sufficient certainty. About three miles from Tuam lies the townland of Sylane, the property of Thomas O'Connor Donelan, Esq., J. P., and in a rich old pasture field on the demesne, situated about a hundred yards in the rere of the dwelling-house, from which it is separated by a plantation, a by-road, and some out-offices, we are conducted to a hollow, which was most probably an old sand-pit, and which from time immemorial has been known by the significant denomination of Clish-an-Afren, or, as it would be more correctly written, Clais-an-Aifrionn—that is, the ‘Pit of the Mass.’ The origin of the name is well understood. The pit was one of the hiding-places in which the sacrifice of the Mass was wont to be offered up stealthily during the penal times, when it was death to be a priest in Ireland, and when the penalties for harbouring a priest or being present at Mass were excessively severe. But some circumstances connected with the Clish-an-Afren of Sylane, besides the sacred character conferred on it, are peculiarly interesting. On a certain day, long ago, while Mr. O'Connor, an ancestor of the present proprietor of Sylane, was standing in his lawn, accompanied by some gentlemen visitors, a poor way-worn man in the garb of a servant came up and presented to him a letter of recommendation. Mr. O'Connor knew the source from which the letter came, it was from a Catholic bishop, and the stranger in the humble costume who presented it was a Catholic priest. Mr. O'Connor engaged him on the spot as a servant, taking care that there should be witnesses of the hiring for his own security, and so the poor wayfarer entered the house, assumed the family livery, and for many years continued to wait at table occasionally, or polish the boots and perform other menial services. It was of vital consequence to preserve his incognito. For himself it was a question of life or death, and for Mr. O'Connor it involved confiscation and the utter ruin of his family. On the mornings of Sundays and festivals the tinkling of the little Mass bell summoned the inmates of the house and the tenants, who gathered quietly from a distance to the brow of the old sand-pit, where the most solemn rites of the Catholic Church were being celebrated by some unknown clergyman, and when all was over the people as quietly retired. It was well understood that no one was to see the priest while going to the Clish-an-Afren or retiring from it. There was to be no idle curiosity. The priest-hunters were abroad, there were dangerous places not very far away, and the people knew with a discreet delicacy of feeling that no one should put it in his own power to be a witness against the priest, or the master, or any of the neighbours. A slab over an altar-tomb in the ruins of Ross Abbey records the death of the poor priest of Clish-an-Afren. It has the following inscription:—‘Pray for the soul of Father Ullick Nally, priest of

Belclare, Parish Tuam, who dyed in the year 1687 ;' and Mr. Burke, the restorer of these venerable ruins, briefly relates these circumstances in the interesting little work in which he has described the abbey and its history. Time, the leveller of all things, has done much towards the obliteration of Clish-an-Afren, levelling the brink and filling the pit with the *debris* ; but Mr. Donelan, the worthy owner of the soil, has taken care that the interesting monument shall be preserved. He has caused the pit to be restored nearly to its original depth, and a stone altar to be raised in the centre, and he has planted the brow with bushes, which will be kept carefully trimmed. As to Father Nally, his fate, hard as it might appear, was infinitely better than that of many of his persecuted brethren, who had not such shelter as that of the hospitable mansion of Sylane." *The National Review of Politics, Literature, Art and Progress*, No. 12, Vol. I., 31st of October, 1868.

It has often been remarked, that it is surprising how the Catholic religion survived the persecutions which were put in force against it in Ireland, but it is evident from the above quotation and from the text, that the aristocracy of this persecuted island, notwithstanding the inhuman laws which were then inscribed in the Statute Book, protected the Catholic priesthood even further than was consistent with their own safety. But despite the various laws which were passed since the time of the tyrant Henry VIII. to the reign of George IV., who as reluctantly signed the bill for Catholic Emancipation as King John conceded to his independent subjects Magna Charta, the foundation of British liberty, the faith—which was first implanted in this, the ' Islands of Saints,' by St. Ailbe, first Bishop of Emly, who was consecrated bishop of that See by Pope Hilarius, and commenced his mission in A. D. 412, and who was the predecessor of St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland—of the Irish people still survives, and like the clear and brilliant Luna, though a while o'ershadowed by a dark and dismal cloud, again triumphantly bursts forth to illuminate the darkness which for a time prevailed. The terrible state to which the Catholics of Ireland were reduced while the Penal Laws were in force may be well imagined, when in order to relieve them the Government could pass no better Act than one entitled thus—"An Act for the relief of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects," by which neither the Jesuits or members of other religious orders, communities, or societies of the Catholic Church, bound by monastic or religious vows, could enter the kingdom under pain of being banished from it for life—10th Geo. IV., c. 7.

Oliver J. Burke, Esq., A. B., in his interesting little book on the Abbey of Ross, refers to this clergyman thus at page 73 :—

"This priest, when it was death to be a priest, and when it was high treason to shelter one, lived in the garb of a menial servant at Sylane, the property of Mr. O'Connor, the ancestor of the present Thomas O'Connor Donelan, Esq., J. P. In this disguise he administered the sacraments to his parishioners, and celebrated the weekly Mass on Sundays in a sand-pit, still called in Irish Clish-an-Afren."

Strictly speaking, *Afren* is not the proper Irish word for Mass. It should be

*Aiffrend*, as the word was spelled in the middle Irish (from the tenth to the fifteenth century), and correctly so with the 'd,' as the word was derived from the Latin *Offerenda*. In modern Irish, however, it is written and pronounced *Aiffrionn*.

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NOTE 177.—PAGE 384.

It was always, and is to the present day, customary among the Irish Catholic peasantry, on getting ill, to send directly for the priest, and these visits are known as 'sick-calls.'

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NOTE 178.—PAGE 384.

The coffin was always left uncovered until immediately before the funeral. As this was the remnant of an ancient Anglo-Saxon custom, which always left the head and shoulders of the corpse uncovered that the relatives might have a last view of their deceased friend, it was probably introduced by some of the Northumbrians who had settled in this part of the country. It was, moreover, believed, that if the lid of the coffin was once removed, after it was first put on, some of the deceased's nearest friends would die in a short time after.

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NOTE 179.—PAGE 384.

This is a very ancient custom, and in some parts of Ireland is continued to the present day.

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NOTE 180.—PAGE 384.

This custom is still continued, and originated in the belief, that if the bier was not broken immediately after the interment, some near relative of the deceased would soon after be borne on it to the grave.

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NOTE 181.—PAGE 385.

This unfortunate young nobleman, whose memory is still affectionately preserved in Northumberland, was the Right Hon. James Radcliffe, ~~third~~ Earl of Derwentwater, of Dilston Hall, and was only in the twenty-third year of his age. He was born in Arlington-street, London, on the 28th of June, 1689, being the eldest son and heir of Edward, Earl of Derwentwater, whom

he succeeded on the 29th of April, 1705, by his wife Lady Mary Tudor, youngest daughter of King Charles II. The young Earl, who was one of the most popular landed proprietors in Northumberland, married a romantic and high spirited young lady, who was warmly attached to the cause of the White Rose, Anna Maria, eldest daughter and coheiress of Sir John Webb, of Canford, county Dorset, Bart., and his wife, the Hon. Barbara Bellasyse, daughter and sole heiress of John, Lord Worlaby in Lincolnshire, by the Lady Anne, his wife, daughter of John Marquis of Winchester. The chivalrous young Earl having been urged by the entreaties of his wife, without reflecting seriously on the matter, joined in the rebellion of his kinsman, General Forster, of Bamborough Castle, who was then in arms in Northumberland, and intended marching on London. General Forster, not being properly seconded in his movements by his colleague, the Earl of Mar, was compelled by treachery and discord, which existed among his army, to capitulate at Preston, in Lancashire, which, however, he did not do until urged by the Earl of Nithsdale, the Earl of Winton, Lord Widdrington, and other generals under his command, and also by his favourite *aide-de-camp*, the Hon. Mr. Widdrington, of Widdrington Hall. The Earl of Derwentwater having been tried for high treason at the bar of the House of Lords, was found guilty, attainted, and sentenced to be executed on Tower Hill, where he was beheaded on Friday, the 24th of February, 1715. Lady Derwentwater died on the 30th of August, 1723, at the early age of thirty, and was interred at Louvaine. She had issue by the Earl of Derwentwater two children—John Viscount Radcliffe and Langley, who died unmarried on the 31st of December, 1731, aged nineteen, and was interred at Louvaine; and the Lady Anna Maria Barbara Radcliffe, born the year of the Rebellion, who married on the 2nd of May, 1732, the Right Hon. Robert James Lord Petre, and died on the 31st of March, 1760. This Lady's fortune consisted of £30,000, a large sum in those days. The present Lord Petre of Thorndon is descended from this marriage. The following verses relative to the fate of the young Earl are still popular in Northumberland:—

#### DERWENTWATER'S FAREWELL.

“ Farewell to pleasant Dilston Hall,  
 My father's ancient seat;  
 A stranger now must call thee his,  
 Which gars my heart to greet.  
 Farewell, each kindly well-known face  
 My heart has held so dear;  
 My tenants now must leave their lands,  
 Or hold their lives in fear.

“ No more along the banks of Tyne  
 I'll rove in autumn gay;  
 No more I'll hear at early dawn  
 The lav'rocks wake the day.

Then fare-thee-well brave Widdrington  
 And Forster ever true,  
 Dear Nithsdale, Shafto, Errington,  
 Receive my last adieu !

“ And fare-thee-well, George Collingwood,  
 Since fate has put us down ;  
 If thou and I have lost our lives,  
 Our King has lost his crown.  
 Farewell, farewell, my lady dear ;  
 Ill, ill thou counselledst me ;  
 I never more may see the babe  
 That smiles upon thy knee !

“ And fare-thee-well, my bonnie gray steed,  
 That carried me aye so free ;  
 I wish I had been asleep in my bed  
 Last time I mounted thee.  
 The warning bell now bids me cease ;  
 My trouble's nearly o'er ;  
 Yon sun that rises from the sea  
 Shall rise on me no more !

“ Albeit that here in London town  
 It is my fate to die —  
 Oh, carry me to Northumberland,  
 In my father's grave to lie.  
 There chant my solemn requiem  
 In Hexham's holy towers ;  
 And let six maids of fair Tynedale  
 Scatter my grave with flowers.

“ And when the head that wears the crown  
 Shall be laid low like mine,  
 Some honest hearts may then lament  
 For Radcliffe's fallen line.  
 Farewell to pleasant Dilston Hall,  
 My father's ancient seat ;  
 A stranger now must call thee his,  
 Which gars my heart to greet.”

There are also other versions of this ballad, but I believe the above is the oldest and most correct. The ‘babe’ so tenderly alluded to, was the Earl's youngest daughter, and afterwards became Lady Petre. I have already commenced a history of General Forster's rebellion, to which I intend devoting my leisure hours from time to time, until it is completed, as I consider such a work very necessary in vindication of the characters of those maligned and injured gentlemen who took part in the chivalrous, but unfortunate rising of 1715.



## NOTE 182.—PAGE 390.

The grave of the patriot Andreas Hofer, and his statue by Scheller, are also in this church. The gifted and brilliant Meagher, of whom all Irishmen should feel justly proud, in a brilliant speech delivered by him in the Music Hall, Dublin, 7th July, 1847, pays this tribute to the memory of Hofer:—

“At Innspruck, in the black isle of the old cathedral, the peasant of the Tyrol kneels before the Statue of Andreas Hofer. In the defiles and valleys of the Tyrol, who forgets the day on which he fell within the walls of Mantua? It is a festive day all through his quiet noble land. In that old cathedral his inspiring memory is recalled amid the pageantries of the Altar. His image appears in every house—his victories and virtues are proclaimed in the songs of the people; and when the sun goes down, a chain of fires in the deep red light of which the eagle spreads his wings, and holds his giddy revelry, proclaims the glory of the Chief whose blood has made his native land a sainted spot in Europe.”

## NOTE 183.—PAGE 395.

Colonel Forster of Cloonecne's father-in-law, Captain MacDonnell of Kilkee, died in December, 1714, and was interred in the family vault at Kilcre-dane. In the year 1702 Captain MacDonnell became joint-purchaser with Francis Burton and Nicholas Westby, of all the extensive estates of his cousin Lord Clare, which had been forfeited on his lordship's attainder. This great property, which had been granted by William III., on the 26th of February, 1698, to Joost Van Keppell, a Dutch follower of his, whom he created Earl of Albemarle, on the decease of Christopher Monk, second Duke of Albemarle, extended over eight baronies in the county of Clare, in the following prop-  
ertions:—

	Profitable.	Unprofitable.
Moyarta, . . .	13,943	13,574.2
Clonderalaw. . .	3,212	3,299
Inchiquin, . . .	3,369	933
Bunratty, . . .	4,265	1,411
Islands, . . .	3,798	6,132
Burren, . . .	147	529.2
Tulla, . . .	1,406	521
Cortomroe. . .	693	283
	<hr/> 29,134	<hr/> 26,772

making a total of 56,931 acres. The patriotic nobleman who sacrificed this great property in the cause of his religion and country, was the third Lord Clare, and brother of Lady Helena O'Shaughnessy, whose husband's fine property of Gortinsiguara, was also confiscated in the same cause.

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NOTE 184.—PAGE 395.

During his life, John Kelly obstinately held possession of the Island and Castle of Loughcutra, and never would consent to acknowledge Sir Thomas Prendergast or his heirs as his landlords. He was often heard to declare, that he would pay rent only to O'Shaughnessy; and on one occasion shot a soldier who attempted to take possession of the island. Kelly lived to an advanced age, and, when extremely old, was prevailed upon to leave the Island of Loughcutra, and reside with his daughter's family at Cregg, where he died at the age of about 100 years, and was interred in the Abbey of Beach. He left an only child named Catherine.

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NOTE 185.—PAGE 398.

Colonel Forster's memory is still fresh in the recollection of the peasantry in the neighbourhood of Gort, as one of the most hospitable, brave, and best of men, and also as one who could not be excelled in the use of the sword, for which reason he was called Frincheas na clive. He left ten children, and appointed as his executors his brother-in-law Charles MacDonnell, of Kilkee, William Stacpoole, and his 'cousin and kinsman' Hyacinth Ffrench, and was succeeded as Chief of Clooneene, by his eldest son James, who was then under age. His second son John, not having finished his education, was recommended by him in his last will to 'study beyond the seas,' which meant in France. He afterwards settled in North America, where he became Solicitor-General, and many of his descendants still reside in the United States. His will, which was dated on the 29th of January, 1720, was witnessed by The O'Rourke, who was then on a visit at Clooneene, the Rev. Dermot Moylan, the then Parish Priest of Beach, or St. Annes, and Michael Costellan, his agent. The two latter are the characters mentioned in this work.

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NOTE 186.—PAGE 399.

Pope's Homer's Iliad, BOOK XXIV.

## NOTE 187.—PAGE 401.

This gentleman was Captain Sir William Forster, Knt., known on the Continent as the Chevalier Guillaume Forster, who afterwards became General the Count de Forestier. He was third son of Colonel Forster of Clooneene and Rathorpe; and when he joined the Irish Brigade, he brought over to France several recruits from the Clooneene and Inchoveagh estates.

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## NOTE 188.—PAGE 402.

This nobleman was John Dalrymple, second Earl of Stair, K. T., eldest son of John, second Viscount, and first Earl of Stair. The latter, who was a faithful supporter of William III., was Lord-Justice-Clerk, and afterwards Lord-Advocate and Secretary of State in Scotland, and was the medium through which William III. carried out the dreadful massacre of Glencoe. King William, says Smollett the historian, "whose chief virtue was not humanity, signed a warrant for the destruction of those unhappy people" the Clan Mac Donald of Glencoe; and "an order for this barbarous execution, signed and countersigned by his Majesty's own hand, being transmitted to the Master of Stair, Secretary for Scotland, this minister sent particular directions to Livingstone, who commanded the troops in that kingdom, to put the inhabitants of Glencoe to the sword, charging him to take no prisoners, that the scene might be more terrible." John, second Earl of Stair, was a participator in the victories of the Duke of Marlborough, and fought as a Brigadier at the battle of Oudenard, in 1708, and was entrusted with the despatches announcing that victory to the Court of England. He afterwards attained the rank of Field-Marshal, and was appointed Commander-in-chief of the forces of the kingdom of Scotland. He married Eleanor, daughter of James, second Earl of Loudon, and relict of James Viscount Primrose; but had no issue, and was succeeded at his death by his nephew James, third Earl of Stair.

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## NOTE 189.—PAGE 404.

Charles O'Shaughnessy of Ardemilevan Castle, the only brother of Captain Roger O'Shaughnessy, of Gortinsiguara and Fidane, the adherent of James II., was uncle of William O'Shaughnessy, who, having joined the regiment of his first-cousin Lord Clare, in the Irish Brigade, became a Major-General in the

service of France. On the death of his father Captain Roger O'Shaughnessy, in July, 1690, William, who was then in France, as will be seen by reference to Chapter XVIII., became Chief of his Sept. He died unmarried on the 2nd of January, 1744, and, consequently, having no issue, the Chieftaincy would have devolved by hereditary right on his uncle Charles, had he been then living. Charles O'Shaughnessy, however, at the time of his death, which occurred in 1721, left three sons, Joseph, Colman, and Robuck; but Joseph, the eldest, having died without male issue in 1732, Colman, the second son, who was in Holy Orders in the Catholic Church (see Note 191), became Chief of his Sept, on the death of his first-cousin Major-General William O'Shaughnessy, in France, being the next of kin to him.

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NOTE 190.—PAGE 420.

The return in the text corresponds with the list made of the loss sustained by the Allies, published in the 'Amsterdam Gazette' of the 25th of May, 1745. In the impetuous charge of the Irish Brigade at Fontenoy, which bore all before it, the brave Count de Thomond, the Commander, was struck by two bullets, which, however, luckily for his Lordship, took no effect, as he was protected by the cuirass which he wore in accordance with the Royal army regulation of the *previous* year! The Earl of Roscommon was slightly wounded in the shoulder, and Colonel the Chevalier Dillon, who was third son of the late Lieutenant-General Count Arthur Dillon, and brother of the two last Viscounts Dillon, in Ireland, was slain at the head of the family regiment of Dillon. In this headlong charge also fell the Hon. William de Burgh, ninth son of the ninth Earl of Clanricarde. He was brother of the Hon. Edward de Burgh, who was the seventh son. The Hon. Edward de Burgh at an early age entered the Spanish service, where he quickly obtained promotion, and ultimately became Colonel of the regiment Irlanda. By his talent and hereditary military genius, he soon rose to the rank of Brigadier-General. In the war which broke out in 1741 in Germany, and soon extended to that beautiful land, like Flanders, so fruitful in battle-fields—Italy, General de Burgh took a very active part; and in the hard contested battle of Campo Santo, fought on the 8th of February, 1743, he bravely led on and encouraged his brigade in the thickest of the conflict. Here Ireland's extirpated chieftains fought beneath the Red Cross, and sustained the well-known valour of the regiment of Irlanda, which was entirely composed of Irish, and might be called the 'Connaught Rangers' of Spain. The gallant De Burgh fell desperately wounded; and, after the battle, was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General, but died from the effects of his wounds at Bologna, on the 8th of March, 1743. "Far, alas! too far," says a manuscript in the writer's

possession, "from the beloved home of his ancestors, he died the death of a heroic exile. His expiring eyes were deprived of the pleasure of beholding the brilliant sun shining brightly on the green fields of Ireland, or on the ancient towers of Portumna Castle. He could not behold the stately oaks of its princely demesne, or the calm waters of the deep and broad Shannon, spreading before his gaze like a sea, or hear from the Clansmen of his noble house that the distant and mournful cry of the *Banshee* of the De Burghs was heard bewailing with plaintive voice the approaching death of a descendant of FitzAdelm. No nor could he have the consolation of knowing that his bones would lie with those of his ancestors in their mausoleum at Athenry, or that his funeral would be attended by the survivors of the race of De Burgh, and their many clansmen and followers. But if he died far from the shores of Erin, his dying eyes were closed by some of the soldiers of his own brigade, exiles like himself, and the Italian land folded him to her breast. The scion of a warlike race, warlike was his life, warlike was his death, warlike was his funeral!" These two brave brothers were nephews of the Lady Honora de Burgh, who was first Countess of Lucan, and afterwards Duchess of Berwick. See Note 76.

The gallant Colonel Lally was also slightly wounded, and was appointed a Brigadier-General on the field of Fontenoy, by the King in person, after the battle. Lieutenant-Colonel O'Hegarty, who was wounded by a bayonet in the eye, and Major Glascock, whose knee was pierced by bullets, were both of Lally's regiment. Of the twenty pieces of cannon lost by the Allies in this great battle, fifteen were captured by the Irish Brigade, and also two colours. The Irish Infantry regiment commanded by Lieutenant-General Count Francis Bulkeley, brother-in-law of the Marshal Duke of Berwick, took a pair of colours, and two horsed guns, from the second or Coldstream regiment of Foot Guards.

The following obituary is taken from the 'Galway Vindicator,' of the 29th November, 1871:—

#### DEATH OF THE HON. MARTIN FFRENCH, D.L.

"With feelings of sincere regret we have to record the death of the Hon. Martin Ffrench, J. P., D. L., of Ballinamore Park, in this county, which melancholy event took place at Leinster-street, Dublin on the 27th inst. The deceased, who was born in April, 1793, was the third son of the Right Hon. Lord Ffrench, of Castle Ffrench, and his wife Margaret, eldest daughter of Thomas Redington, Esq., of Kilcornan, and grandson of Sir Charles Ffrench, Bart., of Castle Ffrench, by his wife the Right Hon. Rose, Lady Ffrench, of Castle Ffrench, county Galway, who was a Peeress in her own right. This lady was a member of the noble family of Dillon, and cousin of Robert, 5th Earl of Roscommon, a Marshal of the gallant army of France, whose memory will ever be

cherished by the Irish people as one of the commanders who, in conjunction with the Marshal Count de Thomond, led on the impetuous charge which made Marshal Saxe the victor on the bloody field of Fontenoy. In this memorable battle, in which the exiled Irish in the service of France almost annihilated the allied armies under the command of the Duke of Cumberland, son of King George II., Lord Roscommon's kinsman, Colonel the Chevalier Dillon, third son of Lieutenant-General Count Arthur Dillon, and brother of the two last Lords Viscount Dillon, was slain while bravely fighting at the head of the Regiment de Dillon, the colonelcy of which was hereditary in his family, while the Irish Brigade existed in the service of France, a brigade of noble-hearted exiles, whose memory will be revered while a history of France is prized. The Hon. Martin Ffrench was brother of the popular and lamented Lord Ffrench, who, as the Hon. Charles Ffrench, previous to his succeeding to the family honours, and afterwards, took such an active part in O'Connell's agitation for Catholic Emancipation, and was author of many ably-written letters in favour of Repeal of the Union. He was also brother of the late Hon. and Rev. Nicholas Ffrench, author of several works which are yet unpublished. The Hon. Martin Ffrench, who declined the honour of knighthood, married, in 1825, Margaret, second daughter of Major Bodkin, of Ragoon, county of Galway, and is now succeeded by his eldest son, Martin Ffrench, Esq., of Ballinamore Park in this county. The death of this lamented gentleman will place the Blake-Forsters, the Fitzgerald-Kenneys, the O'Connor-Blakes, the Bodkins, the Brownes, the Comyns, the Cheevers, the D'Arcys, and, in fact, the leading families in this and the adjoining counties in mourning."

The Earl of Roscommon, on the death of Lieutenant-General Count de Roth, became Colonel of the King's Royal Irish regiment of Foot Guards in the Irish Brigade, for which reason during his Lordship's life it was known as the Regiment of Roscommon.

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NOTE 191.—PAGE 425.

This prelate, who was an ornament to the Irish Church, was the Right Rev. Dr. Thomas Burke, Lord Bishop of Ossory, more generally known as the Learned De Burgo, and was the bosom friend of the Right Rev. Dr. Colman O'Shaughnessy, head of his sept and hereditary Chief of Cineal Aodh, and his successor in the see of Ossory: For an extract from his *Hibernia Dominicana* relative to the O'Shaughnessy sept, see the genealogy of that family in this work. Thomas Burke was born in 1705, and at an early age showed a predilection for a monastic life as a Dominican. He was a learned and an accomplished prelate, pious and charitable, and was also the able author of many interesting and highly instructive works connected with Ireland and the Dominican Order. He was on friendly terms and held intercourse with his Holiness Pope Benedict



**XIII.** who esteemed him for his many virtues, and admired him for his profound learning. He was promoted to the see of Ossory by Clement XIII., and took part at the coronation of Clement XIV., with whom he was also a favourite. By this latter Pontiff he was appointed to conduct a negotiation at the Court of Lisbon relative to some differences concerning the Jesuit Order. Dr. Burke proved successful in this mission, and, returning to his native country, died at Kilkenny, in 1776, universally and most deservedly regretted, but by none was his death more sincerely lamented than by the Chieftain-prelate Colman O'Shaughnessy. Another intimate friend of his was John Burke, Esq., of Lisnalea, county of Tipperary, who resided within four miles of his residence, and whose great-grandson is William Burke Ryan, Esq., M. D., of Bayswater, London. Both in the past and present, the Burkes gave, and still give, priests to the Catholic Church, distinguished for their virtues, their learning, and their eloquence. Many of them in the days of persecution were educated at Alcala, Salamanca, Valladolid, and at Rome. Banished from their paternal homes, which were, to use the words of Scripture, 'returned to aliens,' their only consolation was that the higher and transcendental office was theirs, that of ministering at the altar of their God. But if the Dominicans of Ireland have reason to feel proud of Thomas Burke, the distinguished prelate who is the subject of this note, they have no less reason to feel proud of the illustrious Thomas Burke of the present day, who is also a disciple of St. Dominick, a fluent orator and a gifted scholar. This distinguished Irishman is not more proud of being a Galway man than Galway is of claiming him as one of her sons; and the cordial welcome which he has received in the great Republic of the West proves that those who are descended from Irish parents are ever willing to appreciate and acknowledge the genius and talent which usually characterise the natives of the Emerald Isle.

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NOTE 192.—PAGE 426.

Tidings of the hilarity at Gortinsiguara soon spread through the country, and the people being under a mistaken idea that O'Shaughnessy had won the lawsuit, erected several bonfires and gave many other demonstrations expressive of their delight. The church bells of Galway, Athenry, and Tuam, were tolled by order of the respective corporations, and many of the gentry throughout the county had their residences illuminated. Several addresses were also presented to O'Shaughnessy, and laudatory ballads composed in his favour; among the most curious of which was one written by James O'Shaughnessy, who was one of the clan, in Irish, the first quatrain of which is as follows:—

“ Mayest thou meet neither peril nor danger, O hero without fault;  
 As thou hast won the goal, the tribe that is poor will be the better of it.  
 The poets shall spread thy fame and the ollaves shall speak of thee,  
 And from the nobles of Inisfail thou wilt receive at Gort the palm for hospitality.”

## NOTE 193.—PAGE 426.

Those who nominally changed their religion privately received the rites of the Catholic Church at their death. If this could be proved, their acts would be nullified. Several lawsuits took place on this subject. They were styled 'Relapsed Papists,' and their wills, &c., were not recognised by the law. Sir Thomas Blake, Bart., of Menlough Castle, was attended in his last illness by Father Bonaventure Burke, a Friar, which was admitted by his daughter Anne Blake, after his death. The Dominican Friars of Galway were celebrated for the number of persons they attended, and in a song written at this period it is satirically said of the Relapsed—

“ Ye went to church to save your lands,  
But dying ye can't withstand the Dominicans.”

Yet the bigots considered that these mock conversions were 'strengthening the Protestant interest in Ireland.' At this time Blake of Oranmore Castle, fearing he would lose his property, went with reluctance to be received into the Protestant religion according to law. When the parson saw such a respectable gentleman about joining the Church of England he was much delighted, and before putting him through the 'necessary forms' complimented him on his good sense in renouncing the 'errors of popery,' and remarked that it was "very favourable to Protestantism to see a gentleman of his respectability joining their communion." He said "he had no doubt that Mr. Blake had convincing reasons for doing so, one of which perhaps was for the edification of the public," and he requested Mr. Blake to make them known. The latter said he had no objection, and that his reason for becoming a Protestant was "To save Oranmore." On hearing this the parson was confounded, but recovering said "he should give some better reason for his conversion," but to all his questions Blake only answered "Oranmore! Oranmore!!" A Mr. Burke, who had an estate at Barnadearg, near Tuam, hearing privately that a cousin of his was about conforming, in order to get his estates, not wishing to become a Protestant, rode off to Dublin, and sold his lands to a banker in that city, and thus baffled his false kinsman.

## NOTE 194.—PAGE 426.

Laurence Fahy was father of Patrick Fahy, who was born in the old chapel of Shanaglish, on the Blake-Forster property. He was a well educated man, and one of the best Irish historians in the neighbourhood at the time. During his life he was known as 'Sopper Fahy,' by which name he is still well remembered. He was, like his forefathers, a follower of the Blake-Forster family, and

was much attached to the O'Shaughnessys, of whom he used often relate many interesting anecdotes. On the occasion when Joseph O'Shaughnessy, the last Chief of Cineal Aodh rode, accompanied by his relatives and friends, from Ardemilevan Castle, where they had spent the night, as recorded in the text, to take possession of the mansion of Gortinsiguara, afterwards known as the Old Garrison, he met young Patrick Fahy, between the gate of Clooneene and that of Crushnahawn or Crossford, now called Rose Hill, who in after years thus related the circumstance :—

“ I remember O'Shaughnessy, the last Chief of Cineal Aodh, who resided in this county, where his family were once so powerful. His hereditary property was most unjustly confiscated by William III. on account of his sept having adhered to King James II. Some English soldiers were then stationed in the garrison at Gort, as the Government were determined to place Sir Thomas Prendergast in possession of the O'Shaughnessy property, which was granted to him as a reward for having discovered the Assassination Plot, which I believe never existed. Some of O'Shaughnessy's friends advised that unfortunate Chieftain to attack the soldiers and take forcible possession of the property of his family. The young Chieftain accordingly collected all the old followers of his sept, and they, together with the numerous gentlemen who espoused his cause, many of whom were his connexions by blood, and in a rash moment had concurred in the project he was about to undertake, numbered, I often heard my father say, from 500 to 600 men. I happened at the time of their march to be playing on the Shanaglish road near the gate of Rose Hill, the day O'Shaughnessy with his supporters passed by, and seeing such a number of horsemen approaching in martial array, I screamed with fear, for I was not more than eight or nine years old at the time. When the Chief of Cineal Aodh observed me, he ordered those who accompanied him to halt, got off his horse, carried me into an adjacent house, and gave a poor woman who was there some money, at the same telling her to bring me home, and caution my mother not to allow me in future to ramble unprotected about the roads. I imagine the whole scene at present before my eyes, and never can forget it—the fine bold-looking young Chieftain, who smiled so graciously and kindly upon me—a smile too which made a lasting impression on my youthful mind—and the warlike appearance of his devoted and enthusiastic little army, with their glittering swords and rich banners. I often and often heard my father say, many years afterwards, that when the English soldiers saw O'Shaughnessy's determined and resolute band steadily approaching to attack them, they wisely ran away, and deserted the Old Garrison, and fled precipitately towards Loughrea, leaving it in the peaceable possession of O'Shaughnessy, who was its rightful Chieftain. My father also told me that the English Government, bigotted and anti-Catholic as it then undoubtedly was, had made an offer, a few days previous to the wronged O'Shaughnessy's attack on the military, to reinstate that Chieftain in his family possessions, on condition that he become a Protestant ; but when King George heard that O'Shaughnessy had ‘ the presumption,’ as I have heard it

called, of 'taking the law into his own hands,' he countermanded the order, and sent a large military force to Gort, who at once placed Smyth, the heir of the second Sir Thomas Prendergast, in possession of the Gortinsiguara property. Therefore O'Shaughnessy, who was the rightful owner by birth and hereditary descent, had to fly from this country as an 'outlaw, a conspirator, and traitor.' Thus was banished from the land of his birth this promising young chieftain, the scion of an old and regal line, to pine in obscurity and fill a nameless grave, one in whose veins flowed the blood of Ireland's proudest kings."

The O'Shaughnessys had two residences in Gortinsiguara, the castle and the mansion, as may be seen by Chapter V. of this work. There is not a vestige of the Castle of Gortinsiguara now remaining, which was once a very strong building, and on its site is erected the smaller or officers' barrack. The mansion of Gortinsiguara was at the time of its erection considered one of the finest houses in the county of Galway. It was formerly surrounded by a very strong and high loop-holed wall, which has long since been removed. After the estate of Gortinsiguara was granted to Sir Thomas Prendergast, soldiers were stationed here to suppress any demonstrations that might be made by the people in favour of the O'Shaughnessys, and from this circumstance the mansion received the name of the Old Garrison. The large banqueting hall has been removed, but the front portion of the building which faces Market Place, and has been converted into shops, was newly roofed some years ago, on which occasion the parapet was destroyed.

Patrick Fahy afterwards resided at Creggboy, and died at Newtown near Rathorpe, on the property of the Blake-Forster family.

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NOTE 195.—PAGE 427.

The counsellors employed by Joseph O'Shaughnessy were two of the ablest lawyers of their time, Sir William Blackstone and Sir William de Grey. Sir William Blackstone, so well known as the author of 'Commentaries on the Laws of England,' was born in London on the 10th of July, 1723, a few months after the death of his father, and at a very early age he also lost his mother, but his education was carefully attended to by his uncle. At about the age of seven he was sent to the Charter-house, and at the end of five years he was placed on the foundation. At the early age of fifteen he was at the head of the school, and the next year he entered Pembroke College, Oxford, and having chosen the profession of law, afterwards entered the Middle Temple, on which occasion he wrote some verses entitled 'The Lawyer's farewell to his Muse,' and which were printed in Dodsley's Miscellany. He had previous to this, however, shown, his ability as a writer of small pieces of considerable merit, and had obtained a gold medal for verses he wrote on the poet Milton. He was

elected Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, in 1743, and in three years afterwards was called to the English bar. He practised for seven years in the courts at Westminster, but not getting much business he withdrew to his fellowship at Oxford, with the intention of leading a quiet academic life, but in 1749 was appointed Recorder of Wallingford, Berks, on the resignation of his uncle. In 1758 he was appointed first Vinerian Professor. He was returned as representative in Parliament for Hindon in 1761, and in 1762 was granted a patent of precedence to rank as King's Counsel, and the next year was appointed, by the Ministry of Lord Bute, Solicitor-General to the Queen Charlotte Sophia, consort of George III. Previous to those honours being conferred on him, he was offered and refused the office of Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in Ireland. It was about this time that he married Sarah, eldest daughter of James Clitheroe, Esq., of Boston House, Middlesex; and as he lost his fellowship by so doing, the Earl of Westmoreland, who was then Chancellor of the University of Oxford, appointed him Principal of New Inn Hall, but the year following he resigned this appointment, and also the Vinerian professorship. In 1770, the year in which the great O'Shaughnessy case was dismissed by the House of Lords, he was offered the situation of Solicitor-General, which he refused to accept. He was soon after, however, appointed one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas; but previous to his patent being passed, Mr. Justice Yates having expressed his desire to retire from the Court of King's Bench into the Court of Common Pleas, Sir William consented to the arrangement, through friendship. In four months after, on the death of Justice Yates he removed to the Court of Common Pleas—a change which was very agreeable to him, as, according to Jeremy Bentham, he found his position as puisne Judge on the same Bench with his 'scorning and overpowering chief,' Lord Mansfield, extremely uncomfortable. It is a remarkable fact Lord Mansfield, who it appears was no friend of Sir William Blackstone, was the same Lord Chancellor who gave his decision against O'Shaughnessy. Sir William died on the 14th of February, 1780, the same month the O'Shaughnessy case was dismissed ten years before. Sir William Blackstone had nine children by his wife, seven of whom survived him.

Sir William de Grey, Knt., of Merton, was grandson and heir of William de Grey, Esq., of Merton, M. P. for Thetford, in Norfolk, in 1685, and his wife Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Bedingfeld, Esq., of Darsham, in the county of Suffolk, representative of an ancient and highly respectable family, being lineally descended from William de Grey of Cavendish, in the county of Suffolk, third son of Henry de Grey, by Isolda, sister (some say niece), and co-heiress of Robert Bardolph. This William de Grey who was a younger son of the noble family of Grey, Earls of Stamford, had a second son Sir Thomas de Grey, Knt., who married, in or about the year 1306, Alice, daughter and sole heiress of Sir Richard de Cornerth, by whom he acquired the estate of Cornerth in Suffolk, and died in 1321, leaving a son and successor, Sir Thomas de Grey, who married Isabel, daughter and co-heiress of Fulk Baynard, Esq., of Merton,

in the county of Norfolk, and obtaining by her that ancient seat of the Baynards, settled there, and became founder of the distinguished family of De Grey of Merton, now Lords Walsingham. William, having been bred to the bar, was nominated Solicitor-General by Queen Anne, in 1761, and re-nominated to the said office by George I., in 1764. He was appointed Attorney-General in 1766, and elevated to the Bench on the 26th of January, 1771, as Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas; and also received the honour of Knighthood. Sir William De Grey resigned his judicial office on the 8th of June, 1780, and was advanced to the peerage on the 17th of October following, by the title of Baron Walsingham, of Walsingham, in the county of Norfolk. He married, in 1743, Mary, daughter of William Cowper, Esq., of the Park, in the county of Hertford, from which marriage descends the present Lord Walsingham, who succeeded his father as sixth Baron, on the 31st of December, 1870. The first Lord, who had issue one son and a daughter, died in 1781.

The above were O'Shaughnessy's counsel. Those employed by the respondents John Smyth, otherwise Prendergast, Esq., and Charles Smyth, Esq., were J. Dunning, Al. Wedderburn, J. Skynner, and John Hett, as appears by the cases of the appellant and respondents before named, printed in 1770.

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NOTE 196.—PAGE 427.

On this occasion the Lord Chancellor of England, the Earl of Mansfield, lent John Prendergast Smyth, Esq., afterwards created Baron of Kiltarton, and Viscount Gort, £8,000 to enable him to carry on the lawsuit against Joseph O'Shaughnessy, who was nobly sustained by his friends, particularly the Clooneene family, and the Butlers of Cregg. This sum was charged on the Gort estate; and it is said that it was for the purpose of paying this mortgage to the heirs of Lord Mansfield, that the estate passed from the maternal descendants of Sir Thomas Prendergast, who had received the grant of this property from William III. as a reward for the services he rendered the Crown in giving information relative to the Assassination Plot.

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NOTE 197.—PAGE 427.

The Clorans were, from the time of their first settlement in the territory of Cincal Aodh, faithful adherents of the Sept of O'Shaughnessy, to the time of Jerome Cloran, of Lissine, who was grandson of Dermot Oge. This Jerome, with whom the senior line of the Clorans ended, was the first of his family



that joined the Prendergast party. According to tradition, and the Cloran Papers, a garrulous old lady of the O'Shaughnessys, on a certain occasion, told Jerome Cloran that the Prendergasts would surely succeed in gaining the estate, 'and yours too,' she added with a sneer. This taunt was the cause of his changing sides. He was Master Extraordinary, Notary Public, and Attorney-at-law. For the purpose of serving the Prendergast case, he procured a certain old fellow in his neighbourhood, who unhesitatingly made affidavit of some circumstances relative to the continuous possession of the Old Garrison at Gort by the Prendergasts. Jerome Cloran signed this affidavit, when no other man dare do so, and thus foiled the claim of the unfortunate O'Shaughnessy. Dermot Oge did not think that a descendant of his would ever desert a sept to which himself and his family were so much attached—but such is life!

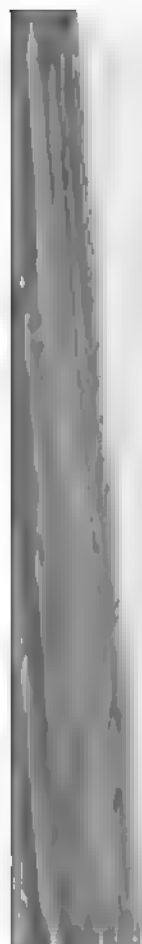
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NOTE 198.—PAGE 427.

Having made diligent search among the documents of the Blake-Forster Sept, I find that the last of the male line of O'Shaughnessy, of Gortinsiguara and Fidane, died of grief in France in the year 1783. He died without issue, and a good Catholic. There are no persons of this name, now living, who can connect themselves with this ancient sept, though several have unsuccessfully attempted to do so. Bryan Loughnan, of Shanaglish, John Corcoran, of Fir Park, and Patrick Fahy, of Creggboy, better known as Sopper Fahy, who had often conversed with and well remembered the last Chief of Cineal Aodh, described him as being, at the time he was at law with John Prendergast Smyth, a tall, handsome young man of fair complexion, wearing a blue cloth coat, which, like his three-cornered cocked hat of black velvet, was fringed with gold lace. He always carried a long silver-hilted sword, and was extremely affable and popular with all classes during his residence in the Old Garrison. Consequently, his defeat in the lawsuit, and departure from his native land, were a source of deep regret to all who were acquainted with the sad story of the downfall of his family.



# APPENDIX.



# APPENDIX.

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## THE CLORAN PAPERS.

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### DERMOT OGE'S WILL.

I. H. S.

JUNE, 1693.

I DERMOT OGE CLORAN of Lissine, in the county of Galway, Gent., doe, in the name of God, intend to write somthings in this paper booke that may be useful for myselfe and instructive to my son after my death, and alsoe to O'Shagh-nussie, when God is pleased to restore him to his rights. I will not write any thing in it but truth, as if I had made it as my last will and testament, and if I should die without making a will, I desire that notice may be taken of what I will write in this booke touching my will, so far as to the contrary, a statement doe not or will not appear unless I write som lynes in the blanks rather than blott anything, upon further consideration, and for this reason that som after my death may blott som of my writeing, to conceale my declaration and will giveing, as an example that I made many other blotts, which danger I intend to prevent. I say that I am now in as good health as I was any time this ten years past; but considering my age, which I suppose to be 55 years, or thereabouts, doe alsoe consider it most conuenient to write something, that may direct my son and heire, Edmond Cloran, who is now but ten years of age next 14th August, 1693, and write somthings touching my will, and to leade O'Shagh-nussie, who is now a student or souldier in Ffrance.

As to my will, I declare it onely to my son, and the rest of my children's use, not hindering my wife, Margaret Lynch, of anything she ought to have eyther by law, or by the contract of her intermariage, for she is worthy of more than I can give or leave her. If it bee God's will that I provide for my eldest daughter before I die, and that my eldest son, whoever he may be, inioy\* my interest at Lissine, and my mortgage at Cloan, my second son and daughter are to get two partes of my cattle, and corne, and the other, with the houshold stuff, I leave to my eldest son, that is to say, this division to be made after my wife's division aforesaid.

\* Inioy is the old way of spelling enjoy.

I desire Captain Francis Forster, of Rathorpe, to divide between my children as he will think most just and concionable, calling to his assistance my brother-in-law James Lynch, my brother, Mathew Cloran, Mr. Pyers Butler of Ballygegin, my brother-in-law Mr. Ulick, Mr. Henry Burke, of Kilcarurane, and Mr. Connor Hogan, of Kilkeedy, alsoe my brother-in-law, and the husband of my eldest daughter, or such of them as will joyne with the said Francis Forster. And if O'Shaghnessie come to the country, or be in this country at any time, when this occasion may serve, I pray him to be the first and chieftest person to divide and agree all matters between my wife and children, and between seven children, and to stand their prop friend, as his forefathers were to me and my forefathers.

Memorandum, that still my meaning is that my debts and legacies shall be first paid before any division, the particulars of which I hope to mention hereafter, as well as I can order and remember, and that my meaning is that the aforesaid Gentleman shall and may decide all differences between as well my wife and children as above between my children (if any should happen), and that on any difference between them, they are to desire O'Shaghnessie, Captain Forster, and the rest of the aforesaid gent<sup>n</sup>, to send with their letter of summoning both plaintiff and defendant to appear before them on a certain day, and in case of refusing to appear then, and that they could without excuse appeare, then, upon such neglect, the said gentlemen's order I declare to be binding, and that it doth agree with my will and testament, as much as if I were deciding the matter, I say that in case all the said gentlemen cannot appear to decide such difference, that three of them may doe after the rest be summoned (if in the country), provided O'Shaughnessie, Captain Forster, or my brother Mathew be of the three or their heires), I ioyn with the aforesaid gent<sup>n</sup>, my nephew Hobart M'Coog and his brother Myles.

[The nephew alluded to by Dermot Oge was Hubert M'Hugo, Esq., who was a member of an old and respectable family in the county of Galway. The M'Hugos of Grouse Hill, near Gort, were a junior branch of the De Burgh Sept, and derived their patronymic from a chieftain of that warlike race. They possessed large property in the neighbourhood of Grouse Hill, and in the good old days when duelling was in fashion, were remarkable for the number of Fire-eaters and Blazers amongst them; but, like many other county Galway families, they lost their broad acres by paying more attention to the turf and the billiard table than to their rentrolls. They were intermarried with the leading families in the county, and one of the last of them, Walter M'Hugo, of Grouse Hill, was father of Joan, who married Edward Forster, of Jockey Hall.]

#### DERMOT OGE'S ADVICE TO HIS SON.

My advice to my son, w<sup>h</sup> I pray him to take and observe:—

Son,—The first thing you are to obserue is, that if y<sup>n</sup> have true loue and feare of God, y<sup>n</sup> can prosper, and without the same y<sup>n</sup> cannot prosper. If y<sup>n</sup> love and feare God, y<sup>n</sup> will have a settled mind euen in aduersitie—of small



effects y<sup>a</sup> can haue enough—y<sup>a</sup> will not be troubled with the gnawing worme of troubled consience, euen at y<sup>r</sup> death time—indeavour to follow all rules of vertue, imitat those y<sup>a</sup> finde of good behaveour, follow ye straight rule of honestie by w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>a</sup> cannot but doe well ; by following the same y<sup>a</sup> will satisfie God y<sup>r</sup>self, and y<sup>r</sup> nibours the fame thereof will yet y<sup>a</sup> an employment in all y<sup>r</sup> dealings, y<sup>a</sup> will be trusted, y<sup>r</sup> if you will be respected, and in fine, God will bless y<sup>a</sup>, and y<sup>r</sup> conscience and minde will be quite and easie. And to obtaine this felicitie, y<sup>a</sup> must euen hate as well as shun all euill company, which is the mother (directly) of all euill. I haue taken notice in my time of sortes of people, that come by the way of ciuill [civil,] care from very little effects to haue exceeded in wealth, great ones that by following honestie theire credid was great. I saw people very well decended of good patrimony, and of good learning and breeding com to little or nothing by means, they did not follow God's rules, but rather kept bad company, thinking they had enogh to spend, and did think it ye best way for courtship's sake to keepe a lude way without thinking of God or his law. It is a good old proverb, "How can he fall if he falls, not from prayers?" In breefe, I tell y<sup>a</sup> that none can be in any good way to serue God, or himselfe, or in any way to prosper, but by keeping his minde and his deedes to please God. Y<sup>a</sup> will finde by all good reading that ye Roman religion is ye first, and onely true religion, and y<sup>a</sup> will finde by y<sup>r</sup> reading how these kingdoms, by the schemes of England, and the laws of the K. of England, and other good bookes, that that religion was trodden on by Acts of Parliament since K. H. 8., his time, and som in his time which confused seuerall coustous folish ungodly inclined persons of our country. I adinse y<sup>a</sup> follow the old path of godly people, yallue not ye pomps and glorie of those that feede theire body, and not onely starues, but destroye theire soule. Loue praying euery day, miss not an ench of honestie, keepe lent in good comanie, haue a charitable minde, respect respectable persons, trust not flatterers or such as profess y<sup>a</sup> kindness without reason. Be uerie loueing to y<sup>r</sup> friends, but have a care y<sup>a</sup> doe not trust y<sup>m</sup> too much ; comon uoge [vogue], and dealings will let y<sup>a</sup> know what disposition people are of ; fawne not on any, for it would proue y<sup>r</sup> weakness.

Imitat still those of good repute—learne as well as y<sup>a</sup> can which of ye people of ye country proved true to their nibours, and kinde to y<sup>r</sup> predecessors ; loue and serue such people, for it is like they may serue y<sup>a</sup> soe if you prove soe to y<sup>m</sup>.

What land or houlding y<sup>a</sup> will haue, haue it in divisions and parkes ; ouer stocke not y<sup>r</sup> land ; let not y<sup>r</sup> tenants in comon with y<sup>a</sup> ; giue them their share aparte ; be civill to y<sup>m</sup> ; be not ouer or rigid with y<sup>m</sup>, but let them not be y<sup>r</sup> fellowes ; keepe due civill distance, which y<sup>m</sup> minde alwayes to keepe up y<sup>r</sup> mearings, which will make y<sup>a</sup> and y<sup>r</sup> nibours liue in amitie and good nibourhood ; quarell not if y<sup>a</sup> be not ouer much put on, but if y<sup>a</sup> be wronged aduise w<sup>th</sup> good choice people ; but I doe not aduise y<sup>a</sup> to be dominierd, where y<sup>a</sup> can lawfully preuent ; be sure y<sup>a</sup> doe not be scene in bad companie, drinking or con-

uersing in which y<sup>a</sup> cannot learne but bad manners; when y<sup>a</sup> happen to fancie keeping companie, let y<sup>t</sup> be with the good, in which company y<sup>a</sup> will learne distance and maners, and y<sup>a</sup> will make y<sup>m</sup> y<sup>r</sup> friendes on all occasions that may hapen; be not ouer free to spend, for y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>d</sup> render y<sup>a</sup> unworthy of getting thankes, for y<sup>r</sup> spending it w<sup>d</sup> be attributed to y<sup>r</sup> follie and drinking disposition; when you hapen in good companie doe and pay as they doe, or keepe noe company in case y<sup>r</sup> money be wanting; be not ouer silent or any ways over talkative; study y<sup>r</sup> words before y<sup>a</sup> speake, if y<sup>a</sup> finde y<sup>r</sup> companie pinious, and ouermuch inclined to stay and drink; after paying y<sup>r</sup> share, take leave, or steale y<sup>r</sup> way home, w<sup>ch</sup> is a jentile and prudent way. Now, son, after this I aduise y<sup>a</sup> not to be any way profuse in y<sup>r</sup> house, nor any way a nigard; consider w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>a</sup> have to spend what of y<sup>t</sup> after paying y<sup>r</sup> due y<sup>a</sup> can have to spare; doe not go according to y<sup>r</sup> own reason, or give the same any libertie, but rather observe y<sup>r</sup> way & rule the happy and wise will & doe follow; spare & spend according to y<sup>r</sup> substance; prove not base or penurious, doe all in a gentile maner, & doe y<sup>t</sup> wisely as God will enable you.

If som poor friendes will leane on y<sup>a</sup>, give what money, corne, or clothes y<sup>a</sup> can to such, & give noe way to make a hospitall of y<sup>r</sup> house for them, which is a greate ease & adauntage to y<sup>a</sup> & to ye other, he will improue what y<sup>a</sup> will give him, & y<sup>a</sup> will be at the less trouble and charges, keepe no seruants, but such as y<sup>a</sup> will pay a certainty; if y<sup>a</sup> keepe them, y<sup>a</sup> will repent it; be sure to haue a care & a greate care to serue the verie (very) poore in spirit. I had little care of lustie people y<sup>t</sup> make a trade of beging, & be sure to have a care of sharpers, and of those y<sup>t</sup> may promise to be much y<sup>r</sup> friends, they are dangerous. I found out many of them y<sup>a</sup> must not ouermuch trust any; the disposition of many people is dangerous, let not theire fayre words deceive y<sup>a</sup>, specially if they can get by y<sup>a</sup> any way the advantage, they expect to get by wronging your suplies & fills up, and stops the way of honestie in y<sup>m</sup>; this is theire bad rule, but in great use with spiring people.

This warning I give y<sup>a</sup> that y<sup>a</sup> may haue a care, but without friendes y<sup>a</sup> cannot doe well; y<sup>a</sup> will studie and know who y<sup>a</sup> can trust; make known y<sup>r</sup> enemie, & fawne not ouermuch; be verie civill to all & complesant, but be not a slaue or vassall, but as little as y<sup>a</sup> can; give due respects; be not capacious or sharp be of affable smileing countenance; discretely make fine iokes [jokes], and laudable pranks; read good bookes; be formal in y<sup>r</sup> prayers, remember noe good is but from God, & that he neuer fayles such as pue [prove] true to him; there is nothing bad but from the deuill [devil]; serue God, & y<sup>a</sup> will not want any; he promised it, and be sure he will perform it; let noe coruptions lodge in y<sup>a</sup>; keepe a cleere way & conscience, & y<sup>r</sup> mind will be still.

DERMOT OGE CLORAN, 1694.

DERMOT OGE'S NOTES FOR O'SHAUGHNESSY, MAY, 1698.

My notes, memorandums, and advise to W<sup>m</sup>. O'Shaughnussye, *alias* O'Shaughnussye of Gortinsigory, who is now under the command of the K. of France.

Y<sup>r</sup>. have heard how y<sup>r</sup>. mother disposed of herselfe in marriage, soe that I will write nothing of y<sup>r</sup>. subiect [subject]; y<sup>m</sup>. will easilie understand how y<sup>r</sup>. Estate was disposed, to whome and by whome destroyed. I am sorry y<sup>r</sup>. father did not stay under y<sup>r</sup>. command of the Cheefe of Conoght, as his parents did in all war times; if he had, his estate w<sup>d</sup>. be saved as well as theires. Y<sup>r</sup>. ancestors continued in poperitie as long as any of Irish blood, as old books ean testifie—the ill management of y<sup>r</sup>. parents or bad fortune destroyed all—your God can mende it when he pleaseth.

Your patent is recorded in Dublin, by which y<sup>n</sup>. can understand y<sup>r</sup>. right in K. Charles, his time. There is som more lands belonging to y<sup>n</sup>. that is not in y<sup>r</sup>. patent, which are fractions that I placed deficincies on, viz., Loghcutra, one att as more at large y<sup>n</sup>. will finde in ye quit-rent booke in y<sup>r</sup>. father's name; those fractions are in som other man's patent to y<sup>r</sup>. father's use, and saued [saved] to him, which may be knowen by ye papers and instrttson left in Mr. Donovan's custody.

I think them fractions are in Brine Killkellye's patent; all that is in y<sup>r</sup>. pattent belongs to y<sup>n</sup>. as heir to y<sup>r</sup>. father onely, y<sup>r</sup>. Unchle Charles, his lands y<sup>r</sup>. y<sup>r</sup>. Grandfather gave him, in mortgage of three hundred, seventy-five pounds; the lands he hath is Killaglis, Cappamore, and three quarters of Behagh; the mill and garden is excepted, as his deedes more at large declares; the 24<sup>th</sup>. at Scssee, belongs really to Connor Reagh O'Shaghnessie—the 38<sup>th</sup>. in Clonine belongs to Mathew Geagin, by will of his Grandfather Anthony, in jointure of Clonine; both Connor and Mathew puayled [prevailed] with y<sup>r</sup>. father to put y<sup>m</sup>. too parcells in his patent, which he did; they paid him their pportion of charges and costs of pattent; they haue som notes from y<sup>r</sup>. father, declaring y<sup>m</sup>. parcells to be theires, and that the paid the s<sup>d</sup>. costs of Court; and the s<sup>d</sup>. pattent, the two quarters and halfe of Lissine, parte of Ballynamond belongs to me, my heires males, according to my deedes from y<sup>r</sup>. grandfather and father, paying five pounds per annum, and other dueties mensoned in my said deedes, it was the ancient estate of my forefathers before y<sup>e</sup>. yeare 1628. Sir Roger sued all the old pprietors of Kinalca [the tribe of Hugh] to take away all their lands they withstood him—they in y<sup>r</sup>. time were to pay him a mark [13<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>.] a year cheefrey; my grandfather to auoyde [avoid] law, agreed to pay forty shillings a year to Sir Roger, and Sir Dermot gaue my father a bond, that when Sir Roger would dye, my father and his heires should pay but a mark a year, which bond I haue amongst my old papers; yet I made a new agreement with Sir Dermott and y<sup>r</sup>. father, to pay forty shillings a year, with other duties mensoned in my deede; from them there is a saucing to Charles in y<sup>r</sup>. patent; there is another sauing in the patent for all those y<sup>r</sup>. derieus their title from y<sup>r</sup>. father, which is put purposely to saue as well my interest at Lissine, as alsoe Connor Reagh's and Mathew Gegin's interest in the aforsaid parcels; y<sup>r</sup>. mother haue [have] a joynture of twelve quarters of land mensoned [mentioned] in the deede of intermarriage, which I will name hereafter. She sayes y<sup>r</sup>. deede allows her to dispose of y<sup>m</sup>. to whom she

pleases soeuer [soever]; if such a thing be in the deede, it is by a mistake, and for want of taking care to examen y<sup>e</sup>. deede by a good layer [lawyer] Marcus Lynch was y<sup>e</sup>. layer intrusted by Sir Dermott and my Lord of Clare to draw y<sup>e</sup>. deede. I stood by y<sup>e</sup>. drawing of y<sup>e</sup>. same, but could not take notice of y<sup>e</sup>. disadvantage, and I am sure there was no intenson [intention] to doe or giue [give] y<sup>e</sup>. mother any more y<sup>a</sup>. [than] a ioynture [jointure] dureing [during] her life, as was usuale for y<sup>e</sup>. like of her. I will not believe that Marcus Lynch would play such knavery, but rather believe, if such words be in the deede, y<sup>e</sup>. it is through his mistake. Sir Dermott was soe confident of himself, he would not believe he w<sup>d</sup>. put any such disadvantage willingly in y<sup>e</sup>. deede; he was knowen to be a uery [very] good layer, and there was noe intenson on any one to make any more for y<sup>e</sup>. mother then [than] a bare ioynture, as other women usually haue; the porson [portion] promised y<sup>e</sup>. father was eight hundred pounds; he got but three hundred of that in cattle, double ualued [valued] for the rest, interest and all amounting to a thousand pound, besides cost of court; there's Statute staples recording in Lim<sup>b</sup>. the lands of Carighoulta, &c., in y<sup>e</sup>. same; y<sup>e</sup>. father sued for y<sup>e</sup>. possession of y<sup>a</sup>. but did not follow it as reel [real] as he ought so; y<sup>e</sup>. after all his orders were not taken out for want of money; all this M<sup>r</sup>. Jeremiah Donouan [Donovan] knowes, and it may be found on recorde in Dublin.

If occasion may serve y<sup>e</sup>. y<sup>a</sup>. would willingly know what estate Sir Roger had in the year 1641, you may finde it in the clayme of Sir Dermott hath intered in the Court in Athlone (1652), and in the Court in Dublin after the King's restoration, year 1662 or 1663.

There be a copie of them y<sup>e</sup>. mother's hands, if they be kept for you; there are severall notes and coppies of the kinde in my chest, which I hope y<sup>a</sup>. will see; I would wish I could show y<sup>a</sup>. to y<sup>a</sup>. myselfe, and instruct y<sup>a</sup>. in y<sup>a</sup>., as your grandfather instructed me; besides, I am sure there is not one living y<sup>e</sup>. knowes y<sup>e</sup>. concerne better y<sup>a</sup>. I doe, being y<sup>e</sup>. onely one that had y<sup>e</sup>. management of it since King Charles, his restoration, till your father dyed the 11th of July, 1690, after the breach of the Boyne; he was not in y<sup>e</sup>. fight, but som myles from it; he never recouered his health since he received your letter of som misussage you got in France.

Your father's will was not in any right forme drawen by him—it was not proued in any Ecclesiasticall Court. Your father had seuerall mortgages on lands hereafter mensoned, that is to say on—

The 47 acres of land belonging to Edmond Oge Burke at Ballynakilty, the sum of £——; on the 66 acres of Bryan O'Bryan, in Ballinakelly, the sum of £——; on Gortogan and Maghony, the sum of £——; on the 47 acres belonging to Dermott Tully, at Ravillydoon and Goortooher, the sum of £15.

Walter Taylor, Esq., bought from Frederick Trench, Esq., the forty acres of Killofine, and the 22 acres of Carubreeda, and sould y<sup>a</sup>. to y<sup>e</sup>. father for twenty shillings per acre, which I paid Mr. Taylor; he gave onely a bond

obligeing himselfe to pass a conveyance at y<sup>r</sup>. father's request of y<sup>m</sup>. lands, in which bond he ownes to have received y<sup>e</sup>. money for y<sup>e</sup>. said land; but he entered on the same in King William, his time, known opposeing him; the bond y<sup>r</sup>. father had of that I haue.

William M'Shane's 20 acres is past to your father by mortgage for the sum of £——.

There is a bond due to y<sup>r</sup>. father on Mathew Geagin, for the payment of £—— sterling. The design was to admo<sup>r</sup>. to that, and have it as mortgage on the said Mathew's land; it was not to covet his land, but to secure it, the possessors being disposing of it to others.

These mortgages I was by command of y<sup>e</sup>. Judge of Assize, in the year 1696, forced to diliver y<sup>e</sup>. Judge, onely the bond that your father had from Walter Taylor for Killafine aforesaid; and y<sup>e</sup>. 22 acres at Caubiseda, which I, at the request of Mr. Taylor, kept, the rather that he w<sup>d</sup>. doe me prejudice if I had not complied with him; he has nothing to doe with it, and that bond aforesaid is in my chest; he was never in possession of it till by the aforesaid way he intered on it in K. William's time.

It was after the Court of Claims in K. Charles, his time, granted with other lands to Sir Arthur Upton—he gave it to Paul Brasier. Paul set it for twenty-one years to Dono. M'Namara, which was in trust for y<sup>r</sup>. Grandfather; before the twenty-one years was expired, Walter Taylor bought it from the assignee of Brazier (ffrederick Trench), at which buying y<sup>r</sup>. father was in possession of it by virtue of the lease from Upton.

Y<sup>r</sup>. father bought the said two parcells from Mr. Taylor for 20s. per acre, being 62 acres for £62. I paid the money to him at Bally M'Crath, tooke onely his bond to sign, and pass a deede of it at your father's will and plesaure, in which bond he acknowledges to have rec<sup>d</sup>. the said £62 for the consideration aforesaid.

Mr. Taylor bought other lands from Trench along with the s<sup>d</sup>. 62 acres; that is, Carecarra 104 acres, and Ensy 44 acres; before he bought, he promised O'Shaghnessy Killafine, Carubessidy, at the rates aforesaid; and promised Ensy to Mr. Martin, and did perform it to each. Mr. Martin was wise to get his deede—O'Shaughnessy did not matter it, he thought the bond was enogh—he ordered me to draw y<sup>e</sup>. deede, which I neglected. Mr. Taylor, taking advantage of the time, and believing it easie for him, inters on Killofine. I contested with him, because I w<sup>d</sup>. not have him inter on O'Shaghnessy's land that I paid him for it, and y<sup>t</sup>. I expected would be restored some time to O'S. Mr. Walter Taylor tould me that he never passed deede for it to O'S.; that he would have the land; that the worst w<sup>d</sup>. be to sue him the s<sup>d</sup>. Walter Taylor for the contents of the bond—dispayre [despair] made me hould my tongue, and so lies y<sup>t</sup>. case.

You may understand that y<sup>r</sup>. father's porson was onely £800—y<sup>t</sup>. of y<sup>t</sup>. £300 was p<sup>d</sup>. in cattle, soe that £500 was resting due, which £500 was unpaid or som time, getting noe interest out of the same; y<sup>r</sup>. father sued both

for the s<sup>d</sup>. £500 and the interest; my Lord of Clare prevayled with y<sup>r</sup>. father in March, 1673, to give him time for som years for the payment of that money and interest, which, if he had not paid y<sup>a</sup>. [then], he promised not onely the said sums, but interest for the time of y<sup>t</sup>. forbearance, and for all the time it w<sup>d</sup>. be unpaid—on this account my Lord of Clare gave a Statute staple of £1,000 to y<sup>r</sup>. father, recorded in Limerick by the Mayor of the staple there by which Statute and the deedes y<sup>a</sup>. [then] signed, my Lord Clare assigned and named severall lands about Carigholta to y<sup>r</sup>. father.

Now the case is, as I understand, that all your father's right and interest is granted Sir Thomas Prendergast, for his good service in discovering the haynous, murthering plot against K. W<sup>m</sup>., that the s<sup>d</sup>. Sir Thomas discovered that my Lord of Clare owed as aforesaid, £1,000 to your father; he prevayled with your mother to let him have the said deedes, for which he paid your mother and her husband — pounds.

DERMOTT OGE CLORAN.

[The Jeremiah O'Donevan referred to twice by the painstaking Dermot Oge was M. P. for the borough of Doneraile, in the county of Cork, in King James's Irish Parliament, assembled at Dublin in 1689, which, by the way, was the subject of the Litany of Doneraile, by Patrick O'Kelly, Esq., but is more commonly known as the Curse of Doneraile.]

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## THE TREATY OF GALWAY IN 1691.

*The Articles of Galloway as they were confirmed afterwards by their Majesties.*

Gulielmus et Maria Dei Gratia Angliæ Scotiæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ Rex et Regina Fidei Defensores, &c., Omnibus ad quos præsentis Litera Nostræ pervenirint salutem: Inspeximus Irrotulamentum quarandum Literarum patentium de confirmatione gerenda et apud Westmonalterium decimo septimo die Februarii ultimo præterito in Curia Cancellaria Nostra Irrotulata ac ibidem Recordo Remanente in hæc verba:—

William and Mary by the grace of God, &c. To all to whom these presents shall come greeting. Whereas certain Articles bearing date the one and twentieth day of July last past were made and agreed upon by our trusty and well-beloved Godert Baron de Ginckell, Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of Our Forces in Our kingdom of Ireland, and the Constable and Governor of our Town of Galway in our said Kingdom, Whereby our said General promises that we should ratify these Capitulations within the space of three months from the date thereof or sooner, The Tenor of which said Articles is as followeth, viz. :—



Articles granted to the Town and Garison of Galloway by Lieutenant-General De Ginckell, Commander-in-Chief of Their Majesties Forces, the 21st of July, 1691.

I. That the Town and Fort of Galloway shall be given up to his Excellency or such Officer as he shall appoint on Sunday Morning next, by six of the Clock, together with all the Stores of Ammunition and Provision and Magazines of all sorts without Embezzlement, and that immediately upon the signing these Articles such Persons as the General shall appoint have leave to inspect them.

II. That all Deserters that are in the Town shall be given up.

III. That immediately after the signing these Articles all the Outworks of the Town shall be delivered to such Officers as the General shall appoint to take Possession of the same, and that the General shall withdraw all the cannon from the wall.

IV. That till the Town is surrendered as aforesaid, the General may order such Works and Batteries to be made as he shall judge convenient, provided he doth not bring them within three yards of the Wall, nor the Guns within ten yards of the Batteries, and that in the Town they shall not proceed to work to fortifie the same any further.

V. In consideration of the said Rendition, his Excellency gives leave to Lieutenant-General d'Ussone, Monsieur Metlet, Commissary of War, and the rest of the French Officers and Souldiers, and others of that nation now in Gallway, to go Limerick with their Arms, Bag and Bagage, whether they shall be safely conducted the nearest way, and in case that the said Lieutent-General d'Ussone shall want Horses to his Equipage thither, the General will furnish him with them.

VI. That such of the garison as desire it, may remain in Town, or go to their respective homes, and enjoy the benefit of this Capitulation, and the rest shall march to Limerick with their arms six pieces of cannon, drums beating, Colours flying, Match lighted, Bullet in mouth, and as much Ammunition and Provisions, as each officer and souldier can carry with them, and that they shall be furnished with Draught Horses and Harnesses for their guns if they want them, which said guns they shall have liberty to choose, provided they take none above twelve Pounders.

VII. That the wounded and sick Officers may stay in Town till they are cured, and that then they shall be sent to Limerick with a safe conduct, and in the meantime shall be provided in Town with necessaries for their cure and subsistence.

VIII. That the Governor, Constable, Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, Burgesses, Freemen, and Natives of Gallway, and the Inhabitants thereof, or the reputed ones, by any former Charter of King James the II. granted before his Abdication, or any of his Ancestors, shall have a General Pardon of all Attainders, Outlawries, Treasons, Fellonies, Premunires, and all manner of Offences committed since the beginning of the said King James's Reign to the date hereof.

IX. That all and every of the Garison Officers, Governor, Constable, Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, Burgesses, Freemen, and Inhabitants aforesaid, shall enjoy and possess their estates, real and personal, and all other Liberties and Immunities, as they held or ought to have held under the Acts of Settlement, and explanation or other-ways by the laws of this Kingdom freely discharged from all Crown rents, quit rents, and all other Charges to the date hereof.

X. That the Names of the Roman Catholic Clergy of the Town of Gallway be given to the General on or before Tuesday next, and that they as well as the Laity of the said Town shall have the private Exercise of their Religion without being prosecuted on any Penal Laws for the same, and that the said Clergy shall be protected in their Persons and Goods.

XI. That the Gentlemen of Estates now belonging to the Town and Garison of Gallway, shall have liberty to keep a Gun in their Houses for the defence of the same, and wear a Sword and Case of Pistols if they think fit.

XII. That all the Roman Catholick Lawyers of the said Town shall have the free liberty of Practice that they had in King Charles the Second's time.

XIII. That such of the Officers belonging to any of the Regiments that are now in Gallway, and not present at the signing of these Capitulations, shall have the benefit of the same, provided they shall submit within three weeks, to the Governor of Gallway for the time being, who shall be appointed by the General, or that they shall have a safe conduct to go to Limerick in the same manner as the said Garison has.

XIV. That such other Persons now in Town as desire to go out with the Garrison, or such part thereof as goes to Limerick, shall have liberty to do so, and carry their Families, and Goods along with them, and that such Officers' Wives belonging to the said Garison as are there, or in any other part of Conaught, may at the same time depart with their Goods, or at any other convenient time afterwards, particularly Colonel Edmund Reily's Wife, Mother, and Family, the Lady Ivaugh and her daughter, and Lieutenant-Colonel Luke Reilly, his brother Philip Reilly, their Wives and Families.

XV. That immediately all Acts of Hospitality\* [hostility] shall cease on both sides, and that if it shall happen that any provoking Language shall pass between the Souldiers, they shall be punished by their respective Officers for the same, and not permitted to fire on one another.

XVI. That for the due performance of these Articles, the Governor shall immediately given the Persons undernamed for Hostages :—

Earl of Clanrickard.

Colonel Dominick Brown.

Lord of Iniskillin.

Major Dillon.

Lieutenant-Colonel Bodkin.

\* It is evident that this word is owing to a typographical error, but from the persecutions of the Catholics it would seem correct.

Lastly, the General promises to have these Capitulations ratified by Their Majesties within the space of three Months from the Date hereof, or sooner if possible.

Signed and sealed the day above-mentioned by The Commander-in-chief of their Majesties' Forces, and the Constable and Governor of the said Town interchangeably.

DILLON.

CLANRICKARD.

INISKILLIN.

Signed and sealed in the presence of

Dominick Brown.

John Bodkin.

Thomas Dillon.

James Skelton.

James O'Brian.

Hugh Dogherty.

John Stephenson.

Oliver O'Gara.

William Bourke.

Anthony O'Dogherty.

Robert Linch.

Bryan O'Neile.

Hugh O'Neile.

John Dogherty.

AND WHEREAS the said Town of Gallway hath been since, in pursuance of the said Articles surrendered to us: KNOW YE that we, having considered of the said Articles, are graciously pleased hereby to declare that we do as far as in us lies ratifie and confirm the same, and every Clause, Matter, and Thing therein contained. And as to such part thereof, for which an Act of Parliament shall be found to be necessary, we shall recommend the same to be made good by Parliament. And shall give our Royal Assent to any Bill or Bills that shall be passed by our two Houses of Parliament for that purpose.

PROVIDED ALWAYS, AND OUR WILL AND PLEASURE IS, that these our Letters Pattents shall be enrolled in our Court of Chancery in our said Kingdom of Ireland within one year next ensuing. In witness, &c. Witness Ourselves at Westminster, the Seventeenth day of February.

Anno Regni Regis et Regina Guillielmi et Mariæ, quarto per bene de privato sigillo nos autem tenorem præmissorum prædict ac requisitionem attur-nati, Generalis Domini Regis et Domine Reginæ pro Regno Hyberie duximus exemplificandum per præsentis. In cujus rei Te Stimonium has litteras nostras fieri facimus patentes testibus nobis ipsis apud West-monasterium, quinto die Aprilis Anno Regni eorum quarto.

BRIDGES.

Examinat. per nos,

S. Keck,  
Lacon, W. Child,

}

In Cancell Magistros.

## THE TREATY MADE WITH SIR THOMAS SOUTHWELL.

*Articles agreed to between James Power, Esq., High Sheriff of the County of Galway and Sir Thomas Southwell, Bart., and others.*

Whereas James Power, Esq., High Sheriff of the county of Galway, Captain Thomas Bourk, Commander-in-chief of his Majestie's forces, quarter'd in the town of Loughrea, having intelligence that several gentlemen and others, on the 1st day of March instant, travelled the road leading from Irres in the county of Clare, towards the town of Loughreagh, being the road they intended to go, met them there, and demanded their horses and arms for his Majestie's use, which upon capitulations made between the said James Power, Esq., and Captain Thomas Bourk of the one part, and Sir Thomas Southwell, Bart., Bartholemew Purdon, Esquire, and Thomas Miller, Esquire, on the other part, in behalf of themselves and of all as well gentlemen and others that were with them and of their company, were freely and peaceably delivered, and given up by them to us for his Majestie's service, on these following conditions :—The Capitulation which we the said James Power, Esq., and Captain Thomas Bourk, promised them in behalf of the Government should be honourably and punctually performed and kept.

Inprimis, That they and every of them should have their lives preserved, and that whatsoever they had acted in that affair (the affirming that their coming in that posture was for preservation of their lives) should be forgiven and forgotten, and passes given them or any of them to go where they pleased (provided they did not go to the North or Sligo), without being rifled or anything taken from them, except such horses and arms as were fit for his Majestie's service.

Secondly. That every gentleman of them should have their own pistols and swords, and one Nagg or horse given them to ride on in case his own (being musterable) should be taken from him.

Thirdly. That if they desired it, they should have a party of horse or foot to protect them for their greater safety in travelling, where they or any of them had a desire to go, except to the North or Sligo, as aforesaid. Given under our hands and seals the first day of March, 1688, and in the first year of his Majestie's reign, James the Second, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, &c.

NOTE. That it happened near night when they met, so that the agreement before mentioned could not be reduced into writing in the field, but several times since being tendered to the said High Sheriff and Captain to sign, they still declined it, but nevertheless acknowledged the truth thereof before the Lord Galway, Father Dolpin the Friar, and others in Loughrea. And about eight or nine days after the said Captain Bourk signed a certificate in presence of Captain

Arthur Ffrench,\* and the said High Sheriff write a letter to the Lord Deputy, containing the principal parts of the said articles, as by the following copy may appear :—

Captain Bourk's certificate deliver'd by Captain Robert Forster to Captain Ffrench on Good-Friday, 1688.

Whereas on the first day of this instant March, Sir Thomas Southwell, with a considerable party of horse, were travelling from the county of Clare through the county of Galway, near Loughreagh, an account whereof being brought to Captain Thomas Bourk whose troop, quartered at Loughreagh, and on notice immediately with his troop repaired to meet the said Sir Thomas Southwell and his party, and having drawing up within shot of each other, the said Thomas sent one to give an account of his and his friend's design to ride without offence through the country, and prayed not to be molested: Whereupn the said Captain Thomas Bourk, made answer, that without the Government's pass so considerable a party should not ride where he had power to hinder them. Then the said Sir Thomas desired to be permitted to return whence he came. To which he was answered, that by late order from the Government Captain Bourk was to seize all arms and horse fit for his Majesty's service in the county of Galway, and that he would not permit them to go on nor return till he had their horse and arms, and persisting firm therein, the said Sir Thomas and his party submitted, and declared their obedience to the Government's order; he the said Captain Thomas Bourk assuring them that he would secure them their lives, and offer'd them such small naggs as he thought fit to carry the said Sir Thomas and chief gentlemen back to their respective homes. This I, the said Captain Thomas Bourk having promised on my word, do now certifie for truth, as Witness my hand this 9th day of March, 1688-9.

THO. BOURK.

The following is a true copy of the High Sheriff's letter delivered by Captain Jourdon to Captain Ffrench on Good-Friday, 1688 :—

LOUGHREAGH, *March 9th*, 1688-9.

**MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,**

It happened on Friday last the first day of this instant, I had intelligence that a party of horse, with Sir Thomas Southwell and others, were making their way through this country to Sligo or the North, being routed out of Munster, whereupon the horse and foot in this town being commanded by Captain Thomas Bourk and Captain Charles Dawly, made ready to intercept the said Sir Thomas and his party, who met upon a pass and faced one another, but a treaty being proposed they came to a capitulation, wherein it was agreed that the said Thomas and his party should lay down such horse and arms as was fit for the King's service, and after so doing that they and every of their lives should be

\*This was Arthur Ffrench, of Tyrone, afterwards Mayor of Galway.

secured them, and dismissed with such passes and convoys as may bring them safe to their several habitations without any harm to their persons or goods. All which, with submission at their requests, I humbly offer to your Excellency, and subscribe your Excellency's

Most humble and

Most obedient Servant,

JAMES POWER.

### THE TREATY OF LIMERICK.

*Articles agreed upon the Third Day of October, 1691, between the Right Hon. Sir Charles Porter, Knt., and Thomas Conyngesby, Esq., Lords Justices of Ireland, and his Excellency the Baron De Ginkell, Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of the English Army on the one part, and the Right Hon. Patrick Earl of Lucan, Percy Viscount Galmoy,\* Colonel Nicholas Purcell, Colonel Dillon, and Colonel John Browne, on the other side, on the behalf of the Irish Inhabitants in the City and County of Lymerick, the Counties of Clare, Cork, Kerry, Sligo, and Mayo, in consideration of the surrender of the City of Lymerick, and other Agreements made between the said Lieutenant-General De Ginkell, the Governor of the City of Lymerick, and the Generals of the Irish Army, bearing Date with these Presents for the surrender of the said City and Submission of the said Army.*

I. That the Roman Catholicks of this Kingdom shall enjoy such Privileges in the Exercise of their religion as are consistent with the Laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the Reign of King Charles the Second, and Their Majesties (so soon as their Affairs will permit them to summon a Parliament in this Kingdom) will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholicks such further Security in that Particular as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said Religion.

II. All the Inhabitants or Residents of Lymerick, or any other Garrison now in the possession of the Irish, and all Officers and Souldiers now in arms under any Commission of K. James, or those authorized by him, to grant the same in the several Counties of Lymerick, Cork, Kerry, Clare, Sligo, and Mayo, or any of them, and all the Commission'd Officers in their Majesties' Quarters that belong to the Irish Regiments now in being that are treated with, and who are not Prisoners of War, or have taken Protection who shall return, and submit to Their Majesties' Obedience, their and every of their Heirs shall hold, possess, and enjoy all and every their Estates of Free-hold, and Inheritance, and all the Right, Title, and Interest, Privileges, and Immunities, which they and every or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully entitled to in the Reign of K. Charles the Second, or at any time since, by the Laws and Statutes, that were in force in the said Reign of King Charles the Second,

\* Pierce Butler, third Lord Viscount Galmoy.



and shall be put in possession by order of the Government of such of them as are in the King's Hands, or the Hands of his Tenants without being put to any Suit or Trouble therein; and all such estates shall be freed and discharged from all Arrears of Crown-Rents, Quit-Rents, and other publick Charges incurred, and become due since Michaelmas, 1688, to the Day of the Date hereof; and all Persons comprehended in this Article shall have, hold, and enjoy, all their Goods and Chattles, real and personal to them, or any of them belonging and remaining either in their own Hands, or in the Hands of any Persons whatsoever in Trust for, or for the Use of them or any of them: And all and every the said Persons of what Profession, Trade, or Calling soever they be, shall and may use, exercise, and practise their several and respective Professions, Trades, and Callings, as freely as they did use, exercise, and enjoy the same in the Reign of K. James the Second; provided that nothing in this Article contained be construed to extend to or restore any forfeiting Person, now out of the Kingdom, except what are hereafter comprised: Provided also, That no Person whatsoever shall have or enjoy the Benefit of this Article that shall neglect, or refuse to take the Oath of Allegiance, made by Act of Parliament in England, in the first year of the Reign of their present Majesties, when thereunto required.

III. All Merchants or reputed Merchants of the City of Lymerick, or any other Garrison now possessed by the Irish, or any Town or Place in the Counties of Clare or Kerry, who are absent beyond the Seas, that have not bore Arms since Their Majesties' Declaration in February, 1688, shall have the benefit of the Second Article in the same manner as if they were present, provided such Merchants and reputed Merchants do repair into this Kingdom within the space of eight Months from the date hereof.

IV. The following Officers, viz., Col. Simon Lutterill, Col. Rowland White, Maurice Eustace, of Gearmanstown, Cheviars of Maystown, commonly called Mount-Leinster, now belonging to the Regiments of the aforesaid Garrisons and Quarters of the Irish army, who are beyond the Seas, and sent thither upon Affairs of their respective Regiments, or the Army in General, shall have the benefit and Advantage of the second Article, provided they return hither within the space of eight Months from the Date of these presents, and submit to their Majesties' Government, and take the above mentioned Oath.

V. That all and singular the said Persons comprised in the Second and Third Articles shall have a general Pardon of all Attainders, Outlawries, Treasons, Misprisons of Treasons, Premuneries, Felonies, Trespasses, and other Crimes and Misdemeanors whatsoever by them or any of them committed since the beginning of the Reign of K. James the Second; and if any of them are attainted by Parliament, the Lords Justices and the General will use their best endeavours to get the same Repealed by Parliament, and the Outlawries to be Reversed gratis, all but Writing-Clerks' Fees.

VI. Whereas these present Wars have drawn great violences upon both Parties, and if leave were given to the bringing of all sorts of Private Actions

the Animosities would probably continue that have been so long on foot, and the public Disturbances, last for the quieting and settling therefore of the Kingdom, and the avoiding those Inconveniences, which would be the necessary consequence of the contrary, no Person or Persons whatsoever comprised in the foregoing Articles shall be sued, molested, or impleaded at the Suit of any Party or Parties whatsoever, for any Trespasses by them committed, or for any Arms, Horses, Moneys, Goods, Chattels, Merchandizes, or Provisions, whatsoever by them seized, or taken during the Time of the War, or no Person or Persons whatsoever in the Second or Third Articles comprised shall be sued or made accountable for the Rents or Rates of any Lands, Tenements of Houses by him or them reserved or enjoyed in this Kingdom, since the beginning of the present War to the Day of the Date hereof, nor for any Waste or Trespass by him or them committed in any such Lands, Tenements, or Houses: And it is also agreed that this Article shall be mutual and reciprocal on both sides.

VII. Every Nobleman and Gentleman comprised in the Second and Third Article shall have Liberty to ride with a Sword and Case of Pistols, if they think fit, and keep a Gun in their Houses for the Defence of the same or Fowling.

VIII. The Inhabitants and Residents of the City of Lymerick and other Garrisons shall be permitted to remove their Goods, Chattels, and Provisions out of the same without being Viewed or Searched, or paying any manner of Duties, and shall not be compelled to leave their Houses or Lodgings they now have therein for the space of six Weeks next ensuing the Date hereof.

IX. The Oath to be administered to such Roman Catholicks as submit to Their Majesties' Government shall be the Oath aforesaid and no other.

X. No Person or Persons who shall at any time hereafter break these Articles, or any of them, shall thereby make or cause any other Person or Persons to forfeit or lose the Benefit of the same.

XI. The Lords Justices and General do promise to use their utmost Endeavours that all Persons comprehended in the above-mentioned Articles shall be protected and defended from all Arrests, and Executions for Debt or Damage, for the space of eight Months next ensuing the date hereof.

XII. Lastly, the Lords Justices and the General do undertake That Their Majesties will ratifie these Articles within the space of three Months or sooner, and use their utmost endeavours that the same shall be ratified and confirmed in the Parliament.

XIII. And, whereas Colonel John Browne stood indebted unto several Protestants by Judgments of Record, which appearing to the late Government the Lords Tyrconnel and Lucan took away the Effects, the said John Browne had to answer the said Debts, which Effects were taken for the public use of the Irish and their Army, for freeing the said Lord Lucan of his said Engagement, passed upon their public Account, for payment of the said Protestants for preventing the Ruine of the said John Browne, and for satisfaction of his said creditors, at the instance of the said Lord Lucan and the rest of the persons

aforesaid, it is agreed that the said Lords Justices and Lieutenant-General De Ginckell shall interpose with the King and Parliament to have the Estates secured to Roman Catholicks by Articles and Capitulations in this Kingdom, charged with and equally liable to the payment of so much of the said Debts as the said Lord Lucan, upon stating accounts with the said John Browne, shall certifie under his hand that the Effects taken from the said John Browne amount unto : Account is to be stated and the Balance certified by the said Lord Lucan, in 21 Days after the Date hereof, For the true performance whereof we have hereunto set our Hands.

Present.

Scravemore.

H. Mackay.

T. Talmash.

Charles Porter.

Tho. Conyngesby.

Baron De Ginckell.

And whereas the said City of Lymerick hath been since in pursuance of the said Articles surrendered unto us. Now, KNOW YE, That we, having considered of the said Articles are graciously pleased hereby to declare that We do for Us our Heirs and successors as far as in us lies ratifie and confirm the same and every Clause, Matter and Thing therein contained. And as to such parts thereof for which an Act of Parliament shall be found to be necessary. We shall recommend the same to be made good by Parliament, and shall give Our Royal Assent to any Bill or Bills that shall be passed by Our Two Houses of Parliament to that purpose. And Whereas it appears unto Us that it was agreed between the Parties to the said Articles that after the Words Lymerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, or any of them in the second of the said Articles, the Words following, viz. :—AND ALL SUCH AS ARE UNDER THEIR PROTECTION IN THE SAID COUNTIES should be inserted and be part of the said Articles; which Words having been casually omitted by the Writer, the omission was not discovered till after the said Articles were signed, but was taken notice of before the second Town was surrendered. And that Our said Justices and General, or one of them, did promise that the said Clause shall be made good, it being within the Intention of the Capitulation and inserted in the foul Draught thereof. Our further Will and pleasure is, and We do hereby ratifie and confirm the said Words, viz. :—AND ALL SUCH AS ARE UNDER THEIR PROTECTION IN THE SAID COUNTIES, hereby for Us, our Heirs and successors, ordaining and declaring that all and every Person and Persons therein concerned shall and may have, receive and enjoy the Benefit thereof in such and the same manner as if the Words had been inserted in their proper place in the said second Article, any omission defect or mistake in the said second Article in any ways notwithstanding : Provided always, and Our Will and Pleasure is, that these our Letters-Patents shall be enrolled in our Court of Chancery in our said Kingdom of Ireland, within the space of one Year next ensuing. In witness, &c. Witness Ourself at Westminster, the Twenty-fourth Day of February, Anno Regni Regis et Reginae Gulielmi et Mariae quarto per breve de privato

sigillo. Nos Autem tenorem præmissor prædict ad requisitionem Attornat-General Domini Regis et Dominæ Reginae pro Regno Hiberniæ duximus exemplificandum per præsentēs. In Cujus rei Testimonium has Literas nostras fieri fecimus Patentes. Testibus nobis ipsis apud Westmon. quinto die Aprilis Annoque Regni eorum quarto,

Examinat per Nos { S. Keck. } Bridges  
                                   { Lacon W. Child. } In Cancel Magistros.

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### THE CIVIL ARTICLES OF LIMERICK.

Gulielmus et Maria Dei Gratia Angliæ Scotiæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ Rex et Regina, Fidei Defensores, &c., Omnibus ad quos præsentēs literæ nostræ pervenirint salutem Inspeximus Irritulament. quorund. Literarum patentium de Confirmatione geren. dat. apud Westmonasterium vicesimo quarto die Februarii ultimi præteriti in Cancellar. nostr. Irrotulat ac ibidem de Record. remanen in hæc verba.

William and Mary, by the grace of God, &c. To all to whom These Presents shall come greeting. Whereas, certain Articles bearing Date the third Day of October last past, made and agreed upon between our Justices of our Kingdom of Ireland and our General of our Forces there on the one Part and several Officers there commanding within the City of Limerick in our said Kingdom on the other part, Whereby our said Justices and General did undertake that we should ratify those Articles within the space of eight Months or sooner and use their utmost Indeavours that the same should be ratified and confirmed in Parliament, The Tenor of which said Articles is as follows, viz. :—

*Articles agreed upon between Lieutenant-General De Ginkell, Commander-in-chief of the English Army on one Side and the Lieutenant-Generals D'Usson and De Tesse, Commanders-in-chief of the Irish Army on the other side, and the General Officers hereunto subscribing.*

I. That all Persons without any Exception of what Quality or Condition soever that are willing to leave the kingdom of Ireland shall have free liberty to go to any Country beyond the Seas (England and Scotland excepted), where they think fit with their Families, Household Stuff, Plate and Jewels.

II. That all General Officers, Colonels and generally all other Officers of Horse Dragoons and Foot-Guards, Troopers, Dragoons Souldiers of all kinds that are in any Garrison, Place, or Port, now in the Hands of the Irish or encamp'd in the Counties of Cork, Clare and Kerry, as also those called Rap-parees or Volunteers that are Willing to go beyond the seas as aforesaid, shall have free leave to embarque themselves wherever the ships are that are appointed to transport them, and to come in whole Bodies as they are now composed or in Partics, Companics, or otherwise, without having any Impediment directly or indirectly.

III. That all Persons above-mentioned which are willing to leave Ireland and go into France shall have leave to declare at the Times and Places hereafter mentioned, viz. :—The Troops in Limerick on Tuesday next, at Limerick ; the Horse at their Camp on Wednesday, and the other Forces that are dispersed in the Counties of Clare, Kerry and Cork on the 8th Instant, and on none other, before Monsieur Zameron the French Intendant, and Colonel Withers: and after such Declaration is made, the Troops that will go to France must remain under the Command and Discipline of their Officers that are to conduct them thither; and Deserters on each Side shall be given up and punished accordingly.

IV. That all English and Scotch Officers that serve now in Ireland shall be included in this Capitulation, as well for the security of their Estates and Goods in England, Scotland and Ireland (if they are willing to remain here), as for passing freely into France or any other Country to serve.

V. That all the Generals, French Officers, the Intendant, the Engineers, the Commissaries of War and of the Artillery, the Treasurer and other French Officers, Strangers, and all others whatsoever that are in Limerick, Sligo, Ross, Clare, or in the Army, or shall do Trade or Commerce, or are otherways employed in any kind of Station or Condition, shall have free leave to pass into France or any other Country, and shall have leave to Ship themselves, with all their Horses, Equipage, Plate, Papers and all their Effects whatever, and that General De Ginckell will order Passports for them, Convoys and Carriages by Land and by Water to carry them safe from Limerick to the ships, where they shall be Embarqued without paying anything for the said Carriages, or to those that are employed therein, with their Horses, Carts, Boats and Shallops.

VI. That if any of the aforesaid Equipages, Merchandize, Horses, Money, Plate, or other Moveables or Household stuff belonging to the said Irish Troops, or to the French Officers or other particular Persons whatsoever, be Robbed, destroyed, or taken away by the Troops of the said General, the said General will order it to be restored or payment made, according to the Value that is given in upon Oath by the Person so robbed or plundered, and the said Irish Troops to be Transported as above said, and all Persons belonging to them are to observe good Orders in their March and Quarters, and shall restore whatever they shall take from the Country, or make restitution for the same.

VII. That to Facilitate the Transporting the said Troops, the General will Furnish fifty ships, each Ship Burthen 200 tuns, for which the Persons to be Transported shall not be obliged to pay, and twenty more if there shall be occasion, without their paying for them; and if any of the said Ships shall be lesser Burthen he will furnish more in Number to countervail, and also give two Men-of-War to Embarque the Principal Officers, and serve for a convoy to the Vessels of Burthen.

VIII. That a Commissary shall be sent forthwith to Cork to Visit the Transport Ships, and see what Condition they are in for Sailing, and that as soon as they are ready the Troops to be Transported shall March with all

convenient speed, the nearest way in order to Embarque there ; and if there shall be any more Men to be Transported, that can be carryed off in the said fifty Ships, the rest shall quit the English Town of Limerick, and March to such Quarters as shall be appointed for them, convenient for their Transportation, where they shall remain till the other twenty Ships are ready, which they are to be in a Month, and may Embarque on any French Ships that may come in the meanwhile.

IX. That the said Ships shall be furnished with Forage for Horse, and all necessary Provisions to subsist the Officers, Troopers, Dragoons, and Souldiers; and all other persons that are shipt, to be Transported into France, which Provision shall be paid for as soon as all are disembarked at Brest or Nantz, upon the Coast of Brittany, or any other part of France they can make.

X. And to secure the return of the said Ships (the danger of the seas excepted), and the payment for the said Provisions, sufficient Hostages shall be given.

XI. That the Garrison of Clare Castle, Ross, and all other Foot that are in Garrison in the counties of Clare, Cork, and Kerry, shall have the advantage of this present Capitulation ; and such part of those Garrisons as design to go beyond Sea shall march out with their Arms, Baggage, Drums beating, Ball in Mouth, Match lighted at both ends, Colours flying, with all Provisions, and half the Ammunition that is in the said Garrisons, and join the Horse that marches to be transported ; or if then there is not Shipping enough for the body of Foot that is to be next transported after the Horse, General De Ginckell will order that they may be furnished with Carriages for that purpose ; and what Provisions they shall want in their march, they paying for the said Provision, or else that they may take it out of their own Magazines.

XII. That all the Troops of Horse and Dragoons that are in the Counties of Cork, Kerry, and Clare, shall also have the benefit of this Capitulation ; and that such as will pass into France shall have quarters given them in the Counties of Clare and Kerry, apart from the Troops that are commanded by General De Ginckell, until they be shipp'd, and within their Quarters they shall pay for everything except Forrage and Pasture for their Horses, which shall be furnished gratis.

XIII. Those of the Garrison of Sligo that are to join the Irish Army shall have the Benefit of this Capitulation, and Orders shall be sent unto them that are to convoy them up, to bring them hither to Limerick the shortest way.

XIV. The Irish may have liberty to transport 900 Horses, including Horses for the Officers, which shall be transported gratis ; and as for the Troopers that stay behind, they shall dispose of themselves as they shall think fit, giving up their Arms and Horses to such Persons as the General shall appoint.

XV. It shall be permitted for those that are appointed to take care for the Subsistence of the Horse, that are willing to go into France, to buy Hay and Corn



at the King's rates, wherever they can find it in the Quarters that are assigned for them, without any lett or molestation, and to carry all necessary Provision out of the city of Lymerick ; and for this purpose the General will furnish convenient Carriages for them to the place where they shall be embarked.

XVI. It shall be further lawful to make use of the Hay preserved in store in the county of Kerry, for the horses that shall be embarked ; and if there be not enough, it shall be lawful to buy Hay and Oats wherever they can be found, at the King's rates.

XVII. That all Prisoners of War that were in Ireland the 28th of September shall be set at liberty on both sides ; and the General promises to use his Endeavours, that those that are in England or Flanders shall be set at liberty also.

XVIII. The General will cause Provisions and Medicines to be furnished to the sick and wounded Officers, Troopers, Dragooners, and Soldiers of the Irish Army that cannot pass into France at the first embarkment ; and, after they are cured, will order them Ships to pass into France, if they are willing to go.

XIX. That at the Signing hereof, the General will send a Ship express to France, and that, besides, he will furnish two small Ships of those that are now in the river of Lymerick, to transport two persons into France, that are to be sent to give notice of this Treaty, and that the Commanders of the said ships shall have orders to put ashore at the next Port in France they shall make.

XX. That all those of the said Troops, Officers, or Soldiers, of what Character soever, that will pass into France, shall not be stopped on the account of Debt or other Pretext.

XXI. If after the Signing this present Treaty, and before the Arrival of the Fleet, a French Packet-Boat, or other Transport-Ship shall arrive from France in any part of Ireland, the General will order a Pass-port, not only for such as must go on board the said Ships, but to the Ships to come to the nearest Port or Place where the Troops to be transported shall be quartered.

XXII. That after the arrival of the Fleet there shall be free Communication and passage between it and the Quarters of the above said Troops, and especially for all those that have passes from the Chief Commanders of the said Fleet, or from Monsieur Tameron the Intendant.

XXIII. In Consideration of the present Capitulation, the two Towns of Lymerick shall be delivered and put into the hands of the General, or any other Person that he shall appoint, at the Times and Days hereafter specified, viz., the Irish Town, except Magazines and Hospital on the day of the signing these present Articles ; and as for the English Town, it shall remain together with the Island and free Passage of Thomond Bridge, in the hands of those of the Irish Army that are now in the Garrison, or that shall hereafter come from the Counties of Cork, Clare, Kerry, Sligo, and other Places above-

mentioned, until there shall be Conveniency found for their Transportation.

XXIV. And to prevent all Disorders that may happen between the Garrison that the General shall place in the Irish Town, which shall be delivered to him, and the Irish Troops that shall remain in the English Town and the Island, which they may do until the Troops to be embarked on the first Fifty Ships shall be gone for France, and no longer, they shall intrench themselves on both sides to hinder the Communication of the said Garrisons; and it shall be prohibited on both sides to offer anything that is offensive; and the parties offending shall be punished on either side.

XXV. That it shall be lawful for the said Garrison to march out at once, or at different times, as they can be embarked with Arms, Baggage, Drums beating, Match lighted at both ends, Bullet in mouth, Colours flying, Six Brass-Guns, such as the Besieged shall chuse, two Mortar-Pieces, and half the Ammunition that is now in the Magazines of the said Place; and for this purpose an inventory of all the ammunition in the Garrison shall be made in the presence of any Person that the General shall appoint the next Day after the present Articles be signed.

XXVI. All the Magazines of Provisions shall remain in the hands of those that are now employed to take care of the same, for the Subsistence of those of the Irish Army that will pass into France; and that if there shall not be sufficient in the Stores for the support of the said Troops while they stay in this Kingdom, and are crossing the Seas, that upon giving an account of their numbers, the General will furnish them with sufficient Provisions at the King's rates; and that there shall be a free Market in Lymerick and other Quarters where the said Troops shall be. And in Case any Provisions shall remain in the Magazines of Lymerick when the Town shall be given up, it shall be valued, and the price deducted out of what is to be paid for the Provisions to be furnished to the Troops on Ship-Board.

XXVII. That there shall be a Cessation of Arms at Land, as also at Sea, with respect to the Ships, whether English, Dutch, or French, designed for the Transportation of the said Troops, until they shall be returned to their respective harbours; and that on both sides they shall be furnished with sufficient Pass-Ports both for Ships and men; and if any Sea-Commander or Captain of a Ship, any Officer, Trooper, Dragoon or Soldier, or any other Person shall act contrary to this Cessation, the Persons so acting shall be punished on either side, and satisfaction shall be made for the wrong that is done; and Officers shall be sent to the Mouth of the River of Lymerick to give notice to the Commanders of the English and French Fleets of the present Conjuncture, that they may observe the Cessation of Arms accordingly.

XXVIII. That for Surety of the Execution of this present Capitulation, and of each Article therein contained, the Besieged shall give the following hostages.

XXIX. If before this Capitulation is fully executed, there happens any change in the Government or Command of the Army, which is now commanded by General De Ginckell, all those that shall be appointed to command the same shall be obliged to observe and execute what is specified in these Articles, or cause it to be executed punctually, and shall not act contrary on any account.

D'USSON.

LE CHEVALIER DE TESSE.

LATOUR MONFORT.

MARK TALBOT.\*

LUCAN.

JO. WAUCHOP.

GALMOY.

M. PURCELL.

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#### SIR THEOBALD BUTLER'S SPEECH.

*The several Arguments of Sir Theobald Butler, Counsellor Malone, and Sir Stephen Rice, at the Bar of the House of Commons, of Ireland, February 22nd ; and at the Bar of the House of Lords, February 28th, 1703, against passing the Bill, entitled An Act to Prevent the further Growth of Popery.*

Sir Theobald Butler, Knt., Counsellor Malone, and Sir Stephen Rice (the two first in their gowns as counsel for the petitioners in general, and the last without a gown, only as a petitioner in his private capacity), together with many others, upon Tuesday, the 22nd of February, 1703, appeared at the bar of the House of Commons, where Sir Theobald Butler first moved and acquainted the House, that (by the permission of that House) he was come thither on behalf of himself and the rest of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, comprised in the Articles of Limerick and Galway, to offer some reasons, which he and the rest of the petitioners judged very material against passing the Bill, intituled 'An Act to Prevent the Further Growth of Popery'; that by leave of the House, he had taken a copy of the said Bill, (which he had there in his hand), and, with submission, looked upon it to tend to the destroying of the said Articles, granted upon the most valuable considerations of surrendering the said Garrisons, at a time when they had the sword in their hands: and, for any thing that appeared to the contrary, might have been in a condition to hold out much longer; and, when it was in their power to demand and make for themselves such terms as might be for their then future liberty, safety, and security, and that too, when the allowing such terms were highly ad-

\* This person was the illegitimate son of the Duke of Tyrconnell.

vantageous to the Government to which they submitted, as well for uniting the people that were then divided, quieting and settling the distractions and disorders of this then miserable kingdom; as for the other advantages, the Government would thereby reap in its own affairs both at home and abroad, when its enemies were so powerful, both by sea and land, as to give doubt of interruption to its peace and settlement.

That by such their power, those of Limerick did, for themselves and others therein comprised, obtain and make such Articles as by which all the Irish inhabitants in the city and county of Limerick, and in the counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo, and Mayo, had full and free pardon of and for all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprision of treasons, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes whatever, which at any time from the beginning of King James II., to the 3rd of October, 1691, had been acted, committed, or done by them, or any of them, and by which they and their heirs were to be forthwith put in possession of, and for ever possess and enjoy all and every of their freeholds and inheritance, and all their rights, titles, and interests, privileges and immunities which they and every of them held and enjoyed; and by the laws in force were intituled unto, in the reign of King Charles II., or at any time since by the laws and statutes that were in force in that reign; and thereupon read so much of the second Article of Limerick as tended to that purpose.

That in the reign of King Charles II. the petitioners, and all that were intituled to the benefit of those Articles, were in such full and free possession of their estates, and had the same power to sell or otherwise to dispose or convey them, or any other thing they enjoyed, and were as rightfully intituled to all the privileges, immunities, and other advantages whatever, according to the laws then in force, as any other subjects whatsoever, and which, therefore, without the highest injustice, could not be taken from them, unless they had forfeited them themselves.

That if they had made any such forfeiture, it was either before or after the making of the said Articles; if before, they had a full and free pardon, for that, by the said Articles, &c., and, therefore, are not accountable by any law now in force for the same; and for that reason not now to be charged with it; and since they cannot be charged with any general forfeiture of those Articles, since they at the same time remained as absolutely entitled to all the privileges, advantages and benefits of the laws both already made, and hereafter to be made, as any other of her Majesty's subjects whatsoever.

That among all societies there were some ill people, but that by the 10th Article of Limerick the whole community is not to be charged with, nor forfeit by the crimes of particular persons.

That there were already wholesome laws in force, sufficient, and if not such as were wanting, might be made, to punish every offender, according to the nature of the crime; and, in the name of God, let the guilty suffer for their own faults; but the innocent ought not to suffer for the guilty, nor the whole for any particular; that surely they would not, now they had tamely

got the sword out of their hands; robbed them of what was in their power to have kept, for that would be unjust, and not according to that golden rule, to do so as they would be done by, was the case reversed, and the contrary side their own.

That the said Articles were first granted them by the General of the English Army, upon the most important consideration of getting the city of Limerick into his hands, when it was in a condition to have held out till it might have been relieved by the succours then coming to it from France, and for preventing the further effusion of blood, and the other ill-consequences which, by reason of the then divisions and disorders the nation then laboured under, and for adducing those in arms against the English Government to its obedience.

That the said Articles were signed and perfected by the said General, and the then Lords Justices of this kingdom, and afterwards ratified by their late Majesties, for themselves, their heirs and successors; and have been since confirmed by An Act of Parliament in this kingdom, viz., Stat. 9 Guil. 3, Ses. 4, Chap. 27 (which he there produced and pleaded); and said could not be avoided without breaking the said Articles, and the public faith, thereby plighted to all those comprised under the said Articles, in the most solemn and engaging manner 'tis possible for any people to lay themselves under; and than which nothing could be more sacred and binding. That, therefore, to violate or break those Articles would, on the contrary, be the greatest injustice possible, for any one people of the whole world to inflict upon an other, and which is contrary to both the laws of God and man.

That pursuant to these Articles, all those Irish then in arms against the Government, did submit thereunto, and surrendered the said city of Limerick, and all other Garrisons then remaining in their possession, and did take such oaths of fidelity to the King and Queen, &c., as by the said Articles they were obliged to, and were put into possession of their estates, &c.

That such their submission was upon such terms as ought now and at all times to be made good to them; but that if the Bill then before the House, intituled, 'An Act to prevent the further Growth of Popery' to pass into a law, (which, said he, God forbid!) it would be not only a violation of those Articles, but also a manifest breach of the public faith, of which the English had always been most tender in many instances, some of which he there quoted; and that, in particular, in the preamble of the Act before mentioned, made for confirmation of these Articles, wherein there is a particular regard and respect had to the public faith.

That, since the said Articles were thus, under the most solemn ties, and for such valuable considerations, granted the petitioners by nothing less than the General of the Army, the Lords Justices of the kingdom, the King, Queen, and Parliament, the public faith of the nation was therein concerned, obliged, bound, and engaged as fully and firmly as was possible for one people to pledge faith to another; that, therefore, this Parliament could not pass such

a Bill as that intituled 'An Act to Prevent the Further Growth of Popery' then before the House, into a law, without infringing those articles, and a manifest breach of the public faith, of which he hoped that House would be no less regardful and tender than their predecessors, who made the Act for confirming those Articles, had been.

That the case of the Gibeonites, 2 Sam. xxi., was a fearful example of breaking of public faith, which, above 100 years after, brought nothing less than a three years' famine upon the land, and staid not till the lives of all Saul's family atoned for it.

That even among the heathens and most barbarous of nations, all the world over, the public faith had always been held most sacred and binding, that surely it would find no less a regard in that august assembly.

That if he proved that the passing that Act was such a manifest breach of those Articles, and consequently of the public faith, he hoped that Honorable House would be very tender how they passed the said Bill before them into law, to the apparent prejudice of the petitioners, and the hazard of bringing upon themselves and posterity such evils, reproach, and infamy, as the doing the like had brought upon other nations and people.

Now, that the passing such a Bill as that then before the House, to prevent the further growth of Popery, will be a breach of those Articles, and consequently of the public faith, I prove, said he, by the following argument:—

The argument then is (said he) whatever shall be enacted to the prejudice or destroying of any obligation, covenant, or contract in the most solemn manner and for the most valuable consideration entered into, is a manifest violation and destruction of every such obligation, covenant and contract. But the passing that Bill into law will evidently and absolutely destroy the Articles of Limerick and Galway, to all intents and purposes; and therefore the passing that Bill into a law will be such a breach of those Articles, and consequently of the public faith, plighted for performing those Articles, which remained to be proved.

The major is proved, said he, for that whatever destroys or violates any contract or obligation upon the most valuable considerations most solemnly made and entered into, destroys and violates the end of every such contract or obligation; but the end and design of those Articles was that all those therein comprised and every of their heirs, should hold, possess, and enjoy all and every of their estates of freehold and inheritance, and all the rights, titles and interests, privileges and immunities, which they and every of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully entitled to in the reign of King Charles II., or at any time since, by the laws and statutes that were in force in the said reign in this realm: but that the design of this Bill was to take away every such right, title, interest, &c., from every father being a Papist, and to make the Popish father, who, by the Articles and laws aforesaid, had an undoubted right either to sell or otherwise at pleasure to dispose of his estate at any time of his life, as he thought fit, only tenant for life, and consequently disabled from selling or otherwise disposing thereof, after his son or other heir should become Protestant, though otherwise never so disobedient, pro-



fligate or extravagant. Ergo, this Act tends to the destroying the end for which those Articles were made, and consequently the breaking of the public faith, plighted for their performance.

The minor is proved by the 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 15th, 16th, and 17th clauses of the said Bill, all which, said he, I shall consider and speak to in the order as they are placed in the Bill.

By the first of these clauses, which is the 3rd of the Bill, I, that am the Popish father, without committing any crime against the State or the laws of the land, by which only I ought to be governed, or any other fault, but merely for being of the religion of my forefathers, and that which till of late years was the ancient religion of these kingdoms, contrary to the express words of the 2nd Article of Limerick and the public faith plighted as aforesaid, for their performance, and deprived of my inheritance, freehold, &c., and of all other advantages which by those Articles and the laws of the land I am entitled to enjoy equally with every other of my fellow-subjects, whether Protestant or Popish. And though such my estate be even the purchase of my own hard labour and industry, yet I shall not, though my occasions be never so pressing, have liberty, after my eldest son or other heir becomes a Protestant, to sell, mortgage, or otherwise dispose of, or charge it for payment of my debts, or have leave out of my own estate to order portions for my other children; or leave a legacy, though never so small, to my poor father or mother, or other poor relations, but during my own life my estate shall be given to my son, or other heir, being a Protestant, though never so undutiful, profligate, extravagant, or otherwise undeserving; and I, that am the purchasing father, shall become tenant for life only to my own purchase, inheritance and freehold, which I purchased with my own money; and such my son, or other heir, by this Act shall be at liberty to sell or otherwise at pleasure to dispose of my estate, the sweat of my brows before my face, and I, that am the purchaser, shall not have liberty to raise one farthing upon the estate of my own purchase, either to pay my debts or portion my daughters (if any I have), or make provisions for my other male children, though never so deserving and dutiful, but my estate, and the issues and profits of it shall, before my face, be at the disposal of another who cannot possibly know how to distinguish between the dutiful and undutiful, deserving or undeserving. Is not this, gentlemen, said he, a hard case? I beseech you, gentlemen, to consider whether you would not think it so if the scale was changed and the case your own, as it is like to be ours if this Bill pass into a law.

It is natural for the father to love the child, but we all know (says he) that children are but too apt and subject, without any such liberty as this Bill gives, to slight and neglect their duty to their parents; and surely such an Act as this will not be an instrument of restraint, but rather encourage them more to it.

It is but too common with the son who has a prospect of an estate, when once he arrives at the age of one-and-twenty, to think the old father too long in the way between him and it, and how much more will he be subject to it when by this Act he shall have liberty, before he comes to that age, to compel and force

my estate from me, without asking my leave or being liable to account with me for it, or out of his share thereof to a moiety of the debts, portions, or other incumbrances with which the estate might have been charged before the passing this Act?

Is not this against the laws of God and man? against the rules of reason and justice by which all men ought to be governed? is not this the only way in the world to make children become undutiful? and to bring the grey head of the parent to the grave with grief and tears?

It would be hard from any man; but from a son, a child, the fruit of my body, whom I have nursed in my bosom and tendered more dearly than my own life, to become my plunderer, to rob me of my estate, to cut my throat, and to take away my bread, is much more grievous than from any other, and enough to make the most flinty of hearts to bleed to think on't. And yet this will be the case if this Bill pass into a law; which I hope this Honourable assembly will not think of when they shall more seriously consider and have weighed these matters.

For God's sake, gentlemen, will you consider whether this is according to the golden rule, to do as you would be done unto; and if not, surely you will not, nay you cannot, without being liable to be charged with the most manifest injustice imaginable, take from us our birth-rights and invest them in others before our faces.

By the 4th clause of the Bill, the Popish father is, under the penalty of £500, debarred from being guardian to, or having the tuition or custody of, his own child or children; but if the child pretends to be a Protestant, though never so young or incapable of judging of the principles of any religion, it shall be taken from its own father and put into the hands or care of a Protestant relation, if any there be, qualified as this Act directs, for tuition, though never so great an enemy to the Popish parent; and for want of relations so qualified, into the hands and tuition of such Protestant stranger as the Court of Chancery shall think fit to appoint, who perhaps may likewise be my enemy, and out of prejudice to me, who am the Popish father, shall infuse into my child not only such principles of religion as are wholly inconsistent with my liking, but also against the duty, which by the laws both of God and nature is due from every child to its parents. And it shall not be in my power to remedy or question him for it, and yet I shall be obliged to pay for such education, how pernicious soever. Nay, if a legacy or estate fall to any of my children, being minors, I, that am the Popish father, shall not have the liberty to take care of it, but it shall be put into the hands of a stranger, and though I see it confounded before my face it shall not be in my power to help it. Is not this a hard case, gentlemen? I am sure you cannot but allow it to be a very hard case.

The 5th clause provides that no Protestant, of Protestants having any estate real or personal within this kingdom, shall at any time after the 24th of March, 1703, intermarry with any Papist, either in or out of this kingdom, under the penalties in an Act made in the 9th of King William, intituled 'An

Act to Prevent Protestants from Intermarrying with Papists,'—which penalties see in the 5th clause of the Act itself.

Surely, gentlemen, this is such a law as was never heard of before, and against the law of right and the law of nations, and therefore a law which is not in the power of mankind to make without breaking through the laws which our wise ancestors prudently provided for the security of posterity, and which you cannot infringe without hazarding the undermining the whole Legislature and encroaching upon the privileges of your neighbouring nations, which it is not reasonable to believe they will allow.

It has indeed been known that there hath been laws made in England that have been binding in Ireland, but surely it never was known that any law made in Ireland could affect England or any other country. But by this Act a person committing matrimony (an ordinance of the Almighty) in England, or any other part beyond the seas where it is lawful both by the laws of God and man so to do, if ever they come to live in Ireland, and have an inheritance or title to any interest to the value of £500, they shall be punished for a fact consonant with the laws of the land where it was committed. But, gentlemen, by your favour, this is what, with submission, is not in your power to do; for no law that either now is or that hereafter shall be in force in this kingdom, shall be able to take cognizance of any fact committed in another nation, nor can any one nation make laws for any other nation, but what is subordinate to it, as Ireland is to England; but no other nation is subordinate to Ireland, and therefore any laws made in Ireland cannot punish me for any fact committed in any other nation, but more especially England, to whom Ireland is subordinate, and the reason is, every free nation, such as all our neighbouring nations are by the great law of nature, and the universal privileges of all nations have an undoubted right to make and be ruled and governed by laws of their own making. For that to submit to any other would be to give away their own birth-right and native freedom and become subordinate to their neighbours, as we of this kingdom, since the making of Poyning's Act, have been and are to England—a right which England would never so much as endure to hear of, much less to submit to.

We see how careful our forefathers have been to provide that no man should be punished in one county (even of the same nation) for crimes committed in another county; and surely it would be highly unreasonable, and contrary to the laws of all nations in the whole world, to punish me in this kingdom for a fact committed in England, or any other nation, which was not against, but consistent with the laws of the nation where it was committed. I am sure there is not any law in any other nation of the world that would do it.

The 6th clause of this Bill is likewise a manifest breach of the second of Limerick Articles, for by that Article all persons comprised under those Articles were to enjoy and have the full benefit of all the rights, titles, privileges and immunities whatsoever, which they enjoyed, or by the laws of the land then in

force were intituled to enjoy in the reign of King Charles II. And by the laws then in force, all the Papists of Ireland had the same liberty that any of their fellow-subjects had, to purchase any manors, lands, tenements, hereditaments, leases of lives or for years, rents, or any other thing of profit whatsoever: but by this clause of this Bill every Papist or person professing the Popish religion, after the 24th of March, 1703, is made incapable of purchasing any manors, lands, tenements, hereditaments, or any rents or profits out of the same, or holding any lease of lives or any other lease whatsoever, for any term exceeding thirty-one years, wherein a rent not less than two-thirds of the improved yearly value shall be reserved and made payable during the whole term; and therefore this clause of this Bill if made into a law, will be a manifest breach of those Articles.

The 7th clause is yet of much more general consequence, and not only a like breach of those Articles, but also a manifest robbing of all the Roman Catholics of the kingdom of their right, for by those Articles all those therein comprised were, said he, pardoned all misdemeanours whatsoever of which they had in any manner of way been guilty, and restored to all the rights, liberties, privileges and immunities whatever, which by the laws of the land and customs, constitutions and native birth-right, they, any and every of them were equally with every other of their fellow-subjects intituled unto. And by the laws of nature and nations, as well as by the laws of the land, every native of any country has an undoubted right and just title to all the privileges and advantages which such their native country affords: and surely no man but will allow that by such a native right every one born in any country hath an undoubted right to the inheritance of his father, or any other to whom he or they may be heir at law; but if this Bill pass into a law, every native of this kingdom, that is and shall remain a Papist, is *ipso facto* during life, or his, or their continuing a Papist, deprived of such inheritance, devise, gift, remainder or trust of any lands, tenements, or hereditaments of which any Protestant now is, or hereafter shall be seised in fee simple absolute, or fee tail, which by the death of such Protestant, or his wife, ought to descend immediately to his son or sons, or other issue in tail, being such Papists, and 18 years age, or, if under that age, within six months after coming to that age shall not conform to the Church of Ireland, as by law established, and every such devise, gift, remainder or trust which, according to the laws of the land, and such native right, ought to descend to such Papist, shall, during the life of such Papist (unless he forsake his religion), descend to the nearest relation that is a Protestant, and his heirs, being and continuing Protestants, as though the said Popish heir and all other Popish relations were dead, without being accountable for the same—which is nothing less than robbing such Popish heir of such his birth-right, for no other reason but his being and continuing of that religion, which, by the first of Limerick Articles, the Roman Catholics of this kingdom were to enjoy as they did in the reign of King Charles II.; and then there was no law

in force that deprived any Roman Catholic of this kingdom of any such their native birth-right, or any other thing which by the laws of the land then in force any other fellow-subjects were intituled unto.

The 8th clause of this Bill is to erect in this kingdom a law of gavel-kind, a law in itself so monstrous and strange that I dare say this is the first time it was ever heard of in the world ; a law so pernicious and destructive to the well-being of families and societies, that in an age or two there will hardly be any remembrance of any of the ancient Roman Catholic families known in the kingdom ; a law which therefore I may again venture to say was never before known or heard of in the universe.

There is indeed, in Kent, a custom called the custom of gavel-kind, but I never heard of any law for it till now, and that custom is far different from what by this Bill is intended to be made a law ; for there, and by that custom, the father, or other person dying possessed of any estate of his own acquisition, or not entailed, (let him be of what persuasion he will), may, by will, bequeath it at pleasure ; or if he dies without will, the estate shall not be divided if there be any male heir to inherit it, but for want of male heir then it shall descend in gavel-kind among the daughters, and not otherwise. But by this Act, for want of a Protestant heir, enrolled as such within three months after the death of such Papist, to be divided share and share alike among all his sons, for want of sons among his daughters, for want of such among the collateral kindred of his father, and in want of such among those of his mother, and this is to take place of any grant, settlement, &c., other than sale for valuable consideration of money really, *bonâ fide* paid. And shall I not call this a strange law ? surely it is a strange law which, contrary to the laws of all nations, thus confounds all settlements, how ancient soever, or otherwise warrantable by all the laws heretofore in force, in this or any other kingdom.

The 9th clause of this Act is another manifest breach of the Articles of Limerick ; for, by the 9th of those Articles, no oath is to be administered to, nor imposed upon such Roman Catholics as should submit to the Government, but the oath of allegiance appointed by an Act of Parliament made in England in the first year of the reign of their late Majesties King William and Queen Mary, which is the same with the first of those appointed by the 10th clause of this Act ; but, by this clause, none shall have the benefit of this Act, that shall not conform to the Church of Ireland, subscribe the declaration, and take and subscribe the oath of abjuration appointed by the 9th clause of this Act, and therefore this Act is a manifest breach of those Articles, &c., and a force upon all the Roman Catholics therein comprised, either to abjure their religion, or part with their birth-rights, which by those Articles they were and are as fully and as rightfully intituled unto as any other subjects whatever.

The 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th clauses of this bill, said he, relate to offices and employments which the Papists of Ireland cannot hope for the enjoyment of otherwise than by grace and favour extraordinary, and therefore, do not so much affect them, as it does the Protestant Dissenters, who, if this Bill



pass into a law are equally with the Papists deprived of bearing any office, civil or military, under the Government, to which by right of birth, and the laws of the land, they are as indisputably entituled as any other, their Protestant brethren: and if what the Irish did in the late disorders of this kingdom made them rebels (which the presence of a King they had before been obliged to own and swear obedience to, gave them a reasonable colour of concluding it did not), yet surely the Dissenters did not do anything to make them so, or to deserve worse at the hands of the Government, than other Protestants; but on the contrary it is more than probable, that if they, I mean the dissenters, had not put a stop to the career of the Irish army at Enniskillen, and Londonderry, the settlement of the Government both in England and Scotland might not have proved so easy as it thereby did; for if that army had got to Scotland, as there was nothing at that time to have hindered them, but the bravery of those people who were mostly Dissenters, and chargeable with no other crimes since, unless their close adhering to and early appearing for the then Government, and their many faithful services, they did their country, were crimes I say (said he), if they had got to Scotland, when they had boats, barks, and all things else ready for their transportation, and a great many friends there in arms, waiting only their coming to join them, it is easy to think what the consequence would have been to both these kingdoms; and these Dissenters then were thought fit for command both civil and military, and were no less instrumental in contributing to the reducing the kingdom than any other Protestants; and to pass a Bill now to deprive them of their birth-rights for those their good services would surely be a most unkind return, and the worst reward ever granted to a people so deserving. Whatever the Papists may be supposed to have deserved, the Dissenters certainly stand as clean in the face of the present Government, as any other people whatsoever; and if this is all the return they are like to get, it will be but a slender encouragement, if ever occasion should require, for others to pursue their examples.

By the 15th, 16th, and 17th clauses of this Bill, all Papists, after the 24th March, 1703, are prohibited from purchasing any houses or tenements, or coming to dwell in any in Limerick, or Galway, or the suburbs of either; and even such as were under the Articles, and by virtue thereof have ever since lived there from staying there without giving such security, as neither those Articles, nor any law heretofore in force do require except seamen, fishermen and day labourers who pay not above forty shillings a year rent, and from voting for the election of Members of Parliament, unless they take the oath of abjuration which to oblige them to is contrary to the 9th of Limerick Articles, which as aforesaid says the oath of allegiance, and no other shall be imposed upon them, and unless they abjure their religion, takes away their advowsons and right of presentation, contrary to the privilege of right, the laws of nations, and the great charter of Magna Charta, which provides that no man shall be dis-seised of his birth-right without committing some crime against the known laws of the land in which he is born, or inhabits, and if there was no law in force in



the reign of King Charles the Second against these things, as there certainly was not, and if the Roman Catholics of this Kingdom have not since forfeited their right to the laws that then were in force (as for certain they have not), then with humble submission, all the aforesaid clauses and matters contained in this bill, entituled An Act to prevent the further growth of Popery, are directly against the plain words, and true intent and meaning of the said Articles, and a violation of the public faith, and the laws made for their performance, and what I therefore, hope (said he) this honourable House will consider accordingly."

Counsellor Malone and Sir Stephen Rice made discourses on the same side; the latter not as a counsel, but as a petitioner likely to be aggrieved by the passing of the said Act. But in the course of the reply to the arguments of those gentlemen, it was objected that they had not demonstrated how and when (since the making of the Articles of Limerick) the Papists of Ireland had addressed the Queen or Government, when all other subjects were so doing, or had otherwise declared their fidelity and obedience to the Queen.

It was (among other things) observed that, by a proviso at the latter end of the second of those Articles, none was to have or enjoy the benefit thereof that should refuse to take the oath of allegiance.

That any right which the Papists pretended to be taken from them by the bill was in their own power to remedy, by conforming, as in prudence they ought to do, and that they ought not to blame any but themselves.

The next day the bill was ordered to be engrossed, and sent to the lords.

The petitioners having applied to the lords also for leave to be heard by their counsel against the bill, the same was granted, and the same counsel, upon Monday, February 28th, appeared there, and offered such like arguments as they had made use of in the other house: They told their lordships that it had been objected by the Commons, that the passing that bill would not be a breach of the Articles of Limerick, as had been suggested, because the persons therein comprised were only to be put into the same state they were in the reign of Charles the Second, and because that in that reign there was no law in force which hindered the passing any other law thought needful for the future safety of the Government. That the Commons had further said that the passing this bill was needful at present for the security of the Kingdom, and that there was not anything in the Articles of Limerick that prohibited their so doing.

It was admitted, on the part of the Petitioners, that the legislative power cannot be confined from altering and making such laws as shall be thought necessary for securing the quiet and safety of the Government, that in time of war, or danger, or when there shall be just reason to suspect any ill designs to disturb the public peace, no Articles or previous obligations shall tie up the hands of the legislators from providing for its safety, or bind the Government from disarming and securing any who may be reasonably suspected of favouring or corresponding with its enemies, or to be otherwise guilty of ill-practices. "Or indeed to enact any other law," said Sir Stephen Rice, "that may be absolutely

needful for the safety and advantage of the public; such a law cannot be a breach either of these or any other like Articles. But then such laws ought to be in general, and should not single out or affect any one particular part or party of the people, who gave no provocation to any such law, and whose conduct stood hitherto unimpeached ever since the ratification of the aforesaid Articles of Limerick. To make any law that shall single any particular part of the people out from the rest, and take from them what by right of birth, and all the preceding laws of the land, had been confirmed to and intailed upon them, will be an apparent violation of the original institution, of all right, and an ill precedent to any that hereafter might dislike either the present or any other settlement which should be in their power to alter, the consequence of which is hard to imagine."

Sir Theobald Butler, better known amongst the peasantry of Connaught as the 'famed Sir Toby,' died in Dublin, and was interred in the cemetery of St. James's Church, James's-street, in that city, where a monument was erected to his memory, which at that time must have cost a large sum, but which is now in a dilapidated state, and fast crumbling to decay. When I first visited the tomb of this celebrated and patriotic Irishman, who was the framer of the memorable Treaty of Limerick, I was indeed surprised and somewhat grieved to find the monument of this distinguished personage so totally neglected, and the contrast struck me the more forcibly as I was after passing through Sackville-street, where a great and unsightly column is erected to the memory of Lord Nelson—an Englishman—to whom Ireland was in no way whatever indebted, and which would never have occupied an inch of Irish ground were it not for the subserviency of a partial Corporation. But it is to be hoped that the Irish people will no longer neglect to restore this fast mouldering memorial to Sir Theobald Butler's memory, but unanimously and liberally subscribe towards renovating the tomb of an illustrious Irishman who was proud of his country, and whose voice was ever and fearlessly raised against the cruel acts of the minions of a tyrant who plunged Ireland in blood, and shamefully trampled on the most sacred treaties which were made with that country. Well may Clare feel proud of having given birth to Sir Toby, and of having adopted O'Connell—two of Ireland's ablest, most profound, and patriotic lawyers!

The following is the inscription on Sir Toby's monument, which was erected by his eldest son :—

" Designatur hac effigie,  
Theobaldus è Gente Butlerâ ;  
Hibernus Jurisconsultus,  
Legum Patriæ nominis decus :  
Dignitate equestri donatus non auctus. Causidicus  
Argutus concinnus integer disertus.  
Barbarie forensi & vernaculâ,  
Non Partium Studio,

Non servoris aucupio,  
 Non verborum lenociniis,  
 Sed rerum pondere,  
 Et ingenii vi insitâ,  
 Et legum scientia penitiori. Pollens.  
 Quem lingua soleres illi bata fides  
 Comitatus & sale multo condita gravitas,  
 Quem vitæ tenor sincerus,  
 Et recti custos animus,  
 Legum recondita depromere arte sagax  
 Ad famæ fastigium evexêre ;  
 Fortunæ etiam (ni religio obstaret)  
 Facilè evexissent,  
 Obiit Septuagenarius, II. Martis,  
 MDCCXX.  
 Solâ morte minor. Jacobus filius natu maximus,  
 Patri dignissimo poni curavit."

The following anecdote of Sir Toby is taken from the *Clare Journal* of Thursday, May 16th, 1872 :—

" We extract the following from the ' *Limerick Reporter* ' of Tuesday :—  
 ' Sir Toby Butler, the Attorney-General of our Second King James, " who lost Ireland," and was called in consequence by a name unmentionable to ears polite, was a clever lawyer, ready, witty, faithful, eminent. He drew up the Articles of Limerick, a document of wonderful ability, but soon afterwards to be torn in shreds by those who pretended they would abide by its terms. Sir Toby was adroit in many other respects. He made a fortune for his friend and fellow-lawyer Corne Callaghane (as he used to write his name), who laid the foundation of the Lismore family, by introducing him to the wealthy heiress Miss Flegoe, and showing his tongue to her father as the organ by which he (Corne) was destined to make a noise in the world, and realise a name and fame. Callaghane was a young man at the time, but having made a point against Archbishop Cox, of Cashel, in a suit instituted by him in opposition to Mr. Flegoe about the possession of certain lands, he so far succeeded in the cause as to win the full confidence and approval of his leader, Sir Toby, whose patronage and good opinion he had already obtained. Pleading one day before a certain judge of very bad character in the county town of "rare Clonmel," the learned judge, in a half jocose way, remarked that Sir Toby's ruffles appeared rather soiled. " Oh ! yes, my lord," said Sir Toby in the blindest manner possible, " but "—showing his hands—" You perceive, my lord, that my hands are clean." The judge reddened, and would have roasted Sir Toby, amid the laughter which the retort courteous elicited in a rather crowded Court. Sir Toby was true to his king and true to his party.' "

It is a mistake in the above quotation to call Sir Toby Butler Attorney-General, but he was Solicitor-General for Ireland.

### A LIST OF THE OFFICERS WHO SERVED IN THE IRISH ARMY OF KING JAMES II.

“ Oh for the swords of former time !  
 Oh for the men who bore them,  
 When arm'd for Right, they stood sublime,  
 And tyrants crouch'd before them !  
 When pure yet, ere courts began  
 With honours to enslave him,  
 The best honours worn by Man  
 Were those which Virtue gave him.  
 Oh for the swords of former time !  
 Oh! for the men who bore them,  
 When arm'd for Right, they stood sublime,  
 And tyrants crouch'd before them !

“ Oh for the kings who flourished then !  
 Oh for the pomp that crown'd them,  
 When hearts and hands of freeborn men  
 Were all the ramparts round them !  
 When, safe built on bosoms true,  
 The throne was but the centre,  
 Round which Love a circle drew,  
 That Treason durst not enter.  
 Oh for the kings who flourish'd then !  
 Oh for the pomp that crown'd them,  
 When hearts and hands of freeborn men  
 Were all the ramparts round them !”

MOORE

From the first moment I contemplated publishing the present work, intended giving as full and correct a list as possible of the officers, Irish, English and French, who adhered to James II., and served in the Irish army during the war of the Revolution in Ireland, many of whom followed his fortune on the Continent. Accordingly, I commenced to collect materials from public and private documents and other resources, such as printed works and the genealogies of many Continental families. The result was, that almost at the commencement of my researches I became aware that a work entitled “Illustrations, Historical and Genealogical, of King James's Irish Army List,” by the lamented historian of the county of Dublin, the late learned John D'Alton Esq., Barrister-at-law, &c. &c., was already published. I therefore was about abandoning this idea, until pressed by several friends to append as an appropriate supplement to ‘The Irish Chieftains; or a Struggle for the Crown,’ a Jacobite Irish Army List for 1689, 1690, and 1691, the three years during which the

unfortunate civil war continued and devastated the country. According to the title page, Mr. D'Alton's Army List is for the year 1689, and therefore cannot be taken as a complete list of the Irish Jacobite officers of this period, as changes were continually taking place, owing to promotions, retirements, in consequence of ill health or severe wounds, many of which proved fatal, and deaths in the field, which are so common in time of war.

I consider it quite unnecessary to allude at any length to the calumnies which were cast by Lord Macaulay upon those undoubtedly loyal and brave gentlemen, whose devotion and love of principle elicited the admiration of Swift, who could not but 'highly esteem' the valour of those exiles. Indeed it is my opinion that had his Lordship but lived to make himself better acquainted with the subject he would have retracted his former statement, and would have written as he did in the preface to the reprint of his Essays, "The blemishes which have been removed were for the most part blemishes caused by unavoidable haste." With regard to his assertion of the officers being 'Cobblers,' and so forth, I have only to say that the mass of the Irish people who followed them during the war, and bravely fought and freely bled beneath their respective standards, did not consider them a low-born rabble, but believed and knew them to be—

" Chiefs and warriors long and bright,  
From sire to sire bequeath'd to lead them,  
In valor's morn or sorrow's night,  
To that pure gem of nature—Freedom ! "

I take this opportunity of again thanking those gentlemen who so kindly assisted me in my researches, preparatory to sending this work to press.

## PART I.—1689, 1690, 1691.

" Awake ! arise ! burst your galling chains,  
Up and arm for Freedom and King James ! "

### THE CAVALRY.

#### FIRST TROOP OF LIFE GUARDS.

*Colonel.*

Henry Jermyn, Viscount Dover.  
200 privates, all gentlemen.

#### SECOND TROOP OF LIFE GUARDS.

*Colonel.*

James FitzJames, Duke of Berwick,  
K. G., &c., &c.  
(See Note 48, Page 457).  
200 privates, all gentlemen.

## REGIMENTS OF HORSE.

## THE DUKE OF TYRCONNELL'S.

*Colonel.*

Richard Talbot, Duke of Tyrconnell.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Dominick Sheldon.

*Major.*

Francis O'Meara.

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Cornets.</i>	<i>Quarter-Masters.</i>
John Roche.	Thomas Beytagh.	James Butler.	Michael Walsh.
Walter Bellew.	Charles King.	Edmond Harney.	Thomas Cusack.
Thomas Howard.	George Barnewall.	Nicholas Taaffe.	James Furlong.
Nicholas Cusack.	Edmund Nagle.	Edmond Butler.	Gregory St. Leger.
John Talbot.	Patrick Kirke.	Thomas Bourke.	Peter Casinane.
William Crosby.	Edmond Keating.	Robert Nugent.	Maurice O'Farrell.
Chevalier de Tuck.	Dominick Roche.	Bartholomew Roche.	Frederick Strong-
Michael Belgard.	Joseph Denn.	Simon Creagh.	man.
John Arthur.	Nicholas Barnawall.		John Bryan.
			William Richardson.
			Gerald Cavenagh.

*Adjutant.*

William Butler.

*Quarter-Master.*

Archibald MacAlister.

*Surgeon.*

David Power.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. Bartholomew Taafe.

With Captains Stephen Stevelly and Pierce Creagh, and five French officers,  
*a la suite.*

Nine troop ; 250 men.

## LORD GALMOY'S.

*Colonel.*

Pierce Butler, Viscount Galmoy.



*First Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Lawrence Dempsey.

*Second Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Charles Carroll.

*Major.*

Robert Arthur.

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Cornets.</i>	<i>Quarter-Masters.</i>
Henry Fleming (brother of Lord Slane).	Edmond Butler.	Geoffry Burke.	James Butler.
Lord Trimbleston.	George Gernon.	James Purcel.	Pierce Butler.
Pierce Butler.	Laurence Fitzge- rald.	Ambrose Carroll.	Theodore Russell.
Edward Butler.	Richard Oxburgh.	Roger O'Connor.	William Purdon.
Alan Oxburgh.	Mathew Roche.	John Dwyer.	John Kelly.
Michael Burke.	Mathew Cooke.	Anthony Dulhunty.	Robert Molloy.
Denis O'Kelly.	Patrick Kearney.	Oliver Walsh.	James Shee.
James Bryan.	Lewis Walsh.	Thomas Dwyer.	George Cooke.
	Theobald Purcel.	Charles O'Connor.	
	James Mathews.	Morgan Ryan.	Geoffry Burke.
		John Smith.	

*Adjutant.*

Thomas Allen.

*Quarter-Master.*

Patrick Ryan.

*Surgeon.*

Arthur St. John.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. Garret Cusack.

With Four Captains and Five Lieutenants (French), and two Barrack-Masters (Irish), Hagan and Maguire, ranking as officers, *a la suite*.

Eight troop; 250 men.

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 LORD LUCAN'S.
*Colonel.*

Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Lord Kinsale.

## APPENDIX.

*Major.*

Roger MacKettigan.

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Cornets.</i>	<i>Quarter-Masters.</i>
René de Carné.	Edward Butler.	Christopher Fitzgerald.	William Meagher.
Murtogh O'Brien.	Thomas Leicester.	Patrick Dillon.	Thomas Lilly.
Thomas Burke.	Dominick Sarsfield.	Thomas Sarsfield.	James Plunket.
Charles Forster.	George Mayo.	George Haughton.	Edward Dowdall.
Francis Nagle.	James St. John.	Edmund Morris.	Thomas Taaffe.
Daniel O'Neill.	Richard Tyrrell.	Thomas Burke.	Sylvester Devenish.
John MacNamara.	René Mazandier.	George Morris.	William Synnott.
John Burke.	John Geydon.	James Purcell.	
Manus O'Donnell.	Pierce Butler.	Richard Tyrrell.	
	Thomas Dempsey.		

*Adjutant.*

Louis St. Archange.

*Quarter-Master.*

Joseph Lane.

*Maal des Logis reformé.*

Justin Macarthy.

Nine troop ; 250 men.

## LORD ABERCORN'S.

*Colonel.*

Claude Hamilton, Earl of Abercorn.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Hans Hamilton.

*Major.*

Thomas Corbet.

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Cornets.</i>	<i>Quarter-Masters.</i>
Gerald Dillon.	Nicholas Bellew.	Charles Redmond.	Henry O'Neill.
Gerald Aylmer.	Thomas Bourke.	Thomas Heffernan.	Gerald Butler.
John Rice.	William Luby.	Conor Geoghegan.	Richard Jennings.
Bryan Geoghegan.	Terence O'Brien.	John Hurlin.	Tobias O'Dwyer.
Claude Hamilton.	Patrick Clinch.		
Archibald Hamilton.			
ton.			

*Adjutant.*

Joseph Cooke.

*Officers a la Suite.**Captains.*

Léon Burgain.

Geoffry Prendergast.

*Lieutenants.*

William Blackstone.

Albert L'Espiné.

*Cornets.*

Samuel Roberts.

*Surgeon.*

Donough Fitz-Patrick.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. Marcus Dowdall.

Five troop ; 120 men.

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LUTTRELL'S.*Colonel.*

Henry Luttrell (1).

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Sir James Moclair.

*Major.*

Amand St. Croix.

*Captains.*

Lord Dunsaney.

John Oxborough.

John O'Connor.

Walter Lawles.

Redmond Morris(2).

Harvey Morris.

*Lieutenants.*

James Lawles.

Brian Kelly.

Gerrard Evers.

Patrick Barnewall.

Tady O'Connor.

Arthur Morris.

*Cornets.*

Edmond Power.

Ralph Evers.

Martin Collins.

Joseph Cripps.

Tady O'Connor.

*Quarter-Masters.*

Thomas Carew.

John Ash.

Malachy St. John.

William Fanning.

David Fanning.

## APPENDIX.

*Adjutant.*

Roland Barry.

*Officers a la Suite.**Captains.*

Thomas Nugent.

*Lieutenants.*

Kennedy and Carpenter.

*Surgeon.*

Dominick White.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. Charles M'Donnell.

Five troop ; 180 men.

## SUTHERLAND'S.

*Colonel.*

Hugh Southerland.

*Second Colonel.*

Lord Brittas.

*First Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Edmond Prendergast.

*Second Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Talbot Lasseles.

*Major.*

William Cox.

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Cornets.</i>	<i>Quarter-Masters.</i>
Drury Wray.	James M'Donnell.	William Verdon.	James Butler.
Cornelius Callaghan.	Mathew Roth.	John Ryan.	Thomas Matthews.
James Bryan.	Dermot M'Auliffe.	John Bourke.	John Hynes.
Toby Matthews.	Edmond Walsh.	John Prendergast.	Owen Maguire.
	Godfrey Cunningham.	Francis Bryan.	John Walsh.
	ham.	Edward Danter.	Michael Ryan.
	William Matthews.		

*Adjutant.*

Ralph Oglethorp.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. Bryan O'Rorke.

Six troop ; 135 men.

## PARKER'S.

*Colonel.*

John Parker.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Thomas Gifford.

*Major.*

John Metham.

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Cornets.</i>	<i>Quarter-Masters.</i>
Edward Wedderington.	Thomas Green.	Thomas Smallbone.	Phelim M'Carthy.
Walter Hastings.	George Oldfield.	Ralph Maston.	John Hill.
Robert Nugent.	George Bamfield.	Randolph St. Clare.	Cormack O'Sullivan.
Thomas Eccleston.	Charles Skelton.	Edward Haly.	Thomas Selby.
Jules de Vimeney.	Robert Lowick.	Adolphus Le Torredure.	Joseph Acton.
James Doddington.	Bernard Marshall.	Charles Beaupré.	Michael Stretch.
James Hobb.	Isadore Delagardie.		Edward Conforth.
	John Lock.		Daniel Hackler.
	Robert Chernock.		

*Major.*

Thomas Naughton.

*Surgeon.*

Frederick Hardin.

Eight troop ; 400 men.

## PURCELL'S.

*Colonel.*

Nicholas Purcell.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Robert Purcell.

## APPENDIX.

*Major.*

Charles MacDonnell.

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Cornets.</i>	<i>Quarter-Masters.</i>
James Butler (of Dunboyne).	Gerald FitzGerald.	Owen M'Carthy.	Edmond Meagher.
Miles Burke.	James FitzGerald.	Thomas Travers.	Daniel Quinn.
Richard Cantwell.	Cornelius Meagher.	James Butler.	James Wale.
Daniel MacCarthy.	Theobald Butler.	Hugh Purcell.	William Barron.
Edward Morris.	Thomas Purcell.	Anthony Purcell.	Richard Keating.
Michael Tobyn.	Festus Ryan.	Thomas Meagh.	John FitzGerald.
John Purcell.	Pierce Power.	Bartholomew Maby.	James Tomy.
Martin Condon.	Malachy Condon.	Hugh Kennedy.	
Anthony Morris.	Theobald Purcell.	Martin Hurly.	
George Comerford.	Michael Kearney.	Brian Meagher.	
John Everard.	John Kennedy.	Redmond Meyrick.	

*Chaplain.*

Rev. Stephen Delany.

“ All the foregoing Regiments of Horse were engaged at Aughrim, together with two Troops of Horse Guards (the Duke of Berwick's and Lord Dover's); and also a Troop of Horse Grenadiers, commanded by Colonel Butler, and other Regiments of Horse, under Lord Kilmallock, the Earl of Westmeath, and Lord Merrion, respectively.”—“ *King James's Irish Army List*,” by John D'Alton.

Twelve troop ; 360 men.

## REGIMENTS OF DRAGOONS.

LORD LIMERICK'S.

*Colonel.*

Walter Dongan, Earl of Limerick.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Francis Carroll.

*Major.*

Conly Geoghegan.



<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Cornets.</i>	<i>Quarter-Masters.</i>
Lord Kingsland.	Patrick Nugent.	Thomas Dongan.	James Wolverston.
John M'Namara.	Arthur O'Neill.	Charles Egan.	Patrick Comerford.
Charles Moore.	James Archbald.	James Bellew.	William Nugent.
Patrick Nugent.	Thomas Cavanagh.	Walter FitzGerald.	Felim Fox.
Oliver Plunket.	Hyacinth Eustace.	Thomas Kelly.	Richard Netterville.
James Carroll.	James Carroll.	Adam Colclough.	Robert Quinn.
Cæsar Colclough.	John Hurly.	John Mapas.	Patrick Murphy.
Charles O'Neill.	William Carroll.	Nicholas D'Arcy.	Peter Dobbin.
Pierce Archbald.	John Mapas.	John Begg.	Simon Brice.
William Archbald.	George Talbot.	James Geoghegan.	Richard Archbald.
Richard Bellew.	Henry Talbot.	Richard Archbald.	Francis Bowers.
Daniel O'Neill.	Michael Archbald.	Pierce Butler.	Ignatius Stragon.
	William Talbot.	Gerald FitzGerald.	

*Officers Reformedes.*

De Corday.	Butler.
Edgar Dalle.	Festus Kelly.
Terence O'Dempsey.	Lucius O'Brien.

Twelve troop ; 360 men.

## O'NEILL'S.

*Colonel.*

Sir Neill O'Neill, Bart.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Auguste Tallendier.

*Major.*

Timothy Ryordan.

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Cornets.</i>	<i>Quarter-Masters.</i>
Charles FitzGerald.	Daniel O'Neill.	Phelim O'Neill.	Daniel Egan.
William Butler.	Christopher Eus-	Guy Graham.	Phelim O'Neill.
Henry O'Neill, sen.	tace.	Henry Savage.	Nicholas Mannering.
Henry O'Neill, jun.	Henry O'Neill.	Garrett Fitz Mau-	Dermot Burne.
Charles M'Carthy.	John Savage.	rice.	Constantine Kelly.
Murtagh M'Guin-	Lawrence Geoghe-	Nicholas Williams.	James Hickey.
ness.	gan.	Christopher Piers.	Teige Burne.
Nicholas Eustace.	Lawrence Dul-	Theobald Dillon.	Thomas D'Arcy.
Jerome Ternan.	hunty.	Michael Sales.	Maurice O'Connell.
Geoffrey Fay.	Sylvester Law.	John Manning.	Richard Gracco.
Roland Savage.	John Makane.		Roger Sales.
Everard M'Guin-	Lucien Lemineur.		
ness.	Richard Reddy.		
	Hugh O'Neill.		

## APPENDIX.

*Adjutant.*

Herbert Hederman.

*Surgeon.*

John Taylor.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. Thomas Hughes.

Eleven troop ; 392 men.

## LORD CLARE'S.

*Colonel.*

Daniel O'Brien, Lord Clare.

*Second Colonel.*

Francis MacNamara.

*Lieutenants-Colonel.*

John MacNamara.

James Phillips.

*Major.*

Francis Browne.

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Cornets.</i>	<i>Quarter-Masters.</i>
John MacNamara.	Murrough O'Brien.	Thomas MacDon-	Laurence MacNa-
Roger O'Shaugh-	Turlogh O'Brien.	nell.	mara.
nessy (3).	James Purcell.	Hugh O'Hogan.	Gerald Fitzgerald,
Robert Forster (4).	William Lysaght.	Daniel O'Brien.	Christopher O'Brien.
James MacDon-	Patrick Hehir.	Nicholas Archdeken	James Neylan.
nell (5)	John Hurley.	Thomas Fitzgerald.	Daniel MacNamara.
Florence MacNa-	David Barry.	William Neylan.	James Whyte.
mara.	Silvester Purdon.	Hugh Perry.	William Hawford.
Teige O'Brien.	John Ryan.	Thomas Clanchy.	Dermot Sullivan.
Maurice Fitzgerald.	Owen Cahane.	Thady Mulquiny.	James Ryan.
Redmond Magrath.	Joseph Furlong.	John Bourke.	Edmund Bohilly.
Nicholas Burke.	Richard Bedford.	Lawrence Deane.	Thomas Lee.
John Fitzgerald.	Michael O'Grady.	Murtagh O'Hogan.	James O'Dea.
Thady Quinn.		Stephen O'Flana-	Denis O'Dea.
		gan.	

*Staff.*

Colonels, Lieutenants-Colonel, and Major, as above.

*Adjutant.*

Owen Devon.

*Surgeon.*

Thadeus Neylan.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. Angus Daly.

Six troop ; 60 men each.

## LUTTRELL'S.

*Colonel.*

Simon Luttrell (6).

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Patrick Geoghegan.

*Major.*

Edmond Moclare.

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Cornets.</i>	<i>Quarter-Masters.</i>
Sir Edward Tyrrell.	Valentine Ffrench.	Dermot Daly.	Roderick Sweetman.
Oliver Grace.	Charles Lucas.	John Perkins.	John Sweeney.
William Landres.	Henry Morley.	James M'Donnell.	
Christopher Bellew.	Daniel O'Connell.	Christopher Tyrrell.	
Thomas Duckenfield.	Alfred Archer.	Adam Kennings.	
Tobias Broalls.	Philip Barnewall.	Richard Carter.	
Charles Geoghegan.	Christopher Quinn.	Francis Brady.	
Alexander Fleming.	Paul Bestard.	Thomas Bourke.	
Constantine Geoghegan.		Oliver Warren.	

Seven troop ; 150 men.

## APPENDIX.

## CLIFFORD'S.

*Colonel.*

Robert Clifford.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Alexander Mac Kenzy.

*Major.*

James Forster.

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Cornets.</i>	<i>Quarter-Masters.</i>
Francis Forster (7).	Michael Fox.	Ulick Burke.	Stephen O'Flanagan.
Henry Crofton.	Carberry Bryan.	Louis Du Fresne.	Martin Fahy.
John Mac Hugo.	Constantine O'Connor.	Hyacinth Daly.	Malachy Rush.
Edward Burke.	Thadeus Carney.	William Smith.	Daniel Griffin.
Terence Coghlan.	Simon Terrill.	Christopher O'Farrell.	Terence Doyle.
Connell O'Farrell.	Myles MacDermott.	Henry Clifford.	Patrick Mullaly.
Theobald Butler.	William Clifford.	John Crofton.	John Geoghegan.
Miles D'Alton.	Cornelius Callaghan.	Christopher Fitzgerald.	Patrick Forde.
Simon Wyer.	Joseph Kernan.	James Mathews.	Peter Carre.
Thomas Gibbons.	Thomas Burton.	Andrew Gibbons.	
James Fitzgerald.	Robert Cusack.	Robert Clifford.	
	Dominick Tyrrell.	Garett Boyton.	

*Adjutant.*

Emun Oge O'Hynes.

*Farrier.*

George Marlborough.

*Surgeon*

Edmond Egan.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. Terence O'Dea.

Ten troop; 325 men.

## CARROLL'S.

*Colonel.*

Francis Carroll.

*First Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Terence Carroll (8).

*Second Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Francis de Boismoroll.

*Major.*

Terence Carroll.

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Cornets.</i>	<i>Quarter-Masters.</i>
Sir Thomas Crosby.	George Moore.	John Fitz-Gerald.	Edward Shewell.
Jasper Grant.	Stephen Galway.	Patrick Staunton.	Kennedy M'Kennedy.
Peter Lavallen.	Thomas Lysaght.	Dominick Lynch.	Richard Barry.
Henry Coppinger.	John Kirwan.	Arthur Hyde.	John Fennell.
John Barry.	Pierce Power.	Teige O'Lyne.	Thomas Dynneen.
John Taylor.	Matthew Lavallen.	William Collins.	Stephen Lawless.
Arthur Galway.	James Coppinger.	James O'Connell.	Patrick Staunton.
John Winnetts.	Charles Geoghegan.	Henry Wilson.	David Moskell.
Edward Rice.	Nicholas Barry.	Robert Goold.	William Baker.
	James Barry.	William Bourke.	Dermot Donworth.
	John Lacy.	Daniel Cahill.	

*Adjutant.*

Morough O'Brien.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. David Barry.

Ten troop ; 353 men.

## MAXWELL'S.

*Colonel.*

Thomas Maxwell (9).

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Daniel Magennis.

*Major.*

Cornelius O'Callaghan.

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Cornets.</i>	<i>Quarter-Masters.</i>
Lord Howard.	Thomas Macartan.	Oliver O'Lowrie.	— Dobbin.
Nicholas Macartan.	Donal O'Lowrie.	— O'Doherty.	— Magennis.
Patrick Dunkin.	— Rogers.	— Cooke.	— Byrnes.
Hugh O'Neill.	Bryan M'Dermod.	— Savage.	Donough M'Donnell.
— Throgmorton.	— Savage.	— Dobbin.	— Savage.
— Cusack.	— la Hunty.	— Macartan.	— Lingard.

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Cornets.</i>	<i>Quarter-Masters.</i>
— O' Lourie.	— Calanan.	— Savage.	— Mize.
— Cooke.	Edward Magennis.	— Throgmorton.	— Magnay.
— Savage.	— Magennis.	Brien Maclay.	
— M'Mullen.	— Clancy.	— Macartan.	
	Robert Savage.	— Magennis.	
	— M'Mullen.		

*Adjutant.*

Charles Maxwell.

Twelve troop; 360 men.

## PART II.—1689, 1690, 1691.

## THE INFANTRY.

## THE KING'S ROYAL REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

*Honorary Colonel.*

His Majesty King James II.

*First Colonel.*

William Dorrington.

*Second Colonel.*

Thomas Haggerston (10).

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

William Mansfield Barker (11).

*Major.*

Thomas Arthur.

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Ensigns.</i>
Sir Luke Dowdall.	Robert Dillon.	Robert Barnewall.
Sir Gregory O'Byrne.	John O'Connell.	James Touchett.
Sir Anthony Mulledy.	Thomas Forster.	Edward O'Toole.
Henry Forster.	Christopher Taaffe.	Mervyn Touchett.
Bernard Burke.	Richard Burke.	John Dillon.
John Burke.	Edmond Brennan.	Frederick Chamberlain.
George Talbot.	Murtagh Brennan.	Talbot Slater.
Walter Nagle.	Richard Fitzgerald.	Edward O'Hanlon.
George Aylmer.	David Nihill.	Michael Warren.
Richard Fagan.	Thomas Skelton.	John Slater.
Patrick Dowdall.	Richard Grace.	Nicholas Tyrwhitt.
Dominick Sarsfield.	John Clancy.	Dominick Bodkin.



*Captains.*

George Nagle.  
 Thomas Hackett.  
 William Sarsfield.  
 Thomas Warren.  
 Edward Dowdall.  
 Bartholomew Russel.  
 Thomas Arundell.  
 Charles Lambert.  
 Robuc Lynch.  
 Charles Dongan.  
 Anthony Lattin.  
 John Tyrrel.  
 James Tobyn.  
 John Seagrave.  
 James Tinte.  
 John Arthur.  
 Samuel Roberts.  
 Phelim O'Mahony.

*Lieutenants.*

Michael Mac Sweeny.  
 Robert Russel.  
 James Russel.  
 Peter de Bathe.  
 Owen Burke.  
 William Barnewall.  
 Bryan Lynch.  
 Peter Purcell.  
 Thomas Wafer.  
 James Carney.  
 Walter Plunket.  
 Edward Tipper.  
 Edmond Fahy.  
 Walter D'Alton.  
 John Edwards.  
 Edward Nagle.  
 Christopher Weldon.  
 Charles Mac Donnell.  
 John Grace.  
 Roland Hill.  
 George Davis.  
 Michael O'Madden.  
 Gerard Lally.  
 Charles Povey.  
 James O'Mulloy.  
 Andrew Doyle.  
 Denis Hynes.  
 Francis White.  
 John Morgan.  
 Fergall O'Farrell.  
 John Ware.  
 Rowland Kenealey.

*Ensigns.*

Ralph Fenwick.  
 John Arthur.  
 Pierce Meade.  
 Christopher Archbold.  
 John Cusack.  
 William Dorrington.  
 Edward Arthur.  
 John Plunkett.  
 Reginald Haggerston.  
 Conor O'Hogan.  
 Tobias Kempstone.  
 George Russell.  
 Daniel O'Shaughnessy.  
 Matthew Taafe.  
 William Burke.  
 ——— Meade.  
 Adam Cusack.  
 Henry O'Driscoll.  
 Joseph Kenealey.  
 Thomas Poyntz.

*Adjutants.*

Hubert Burke.  
 Edmond O'Reilly.

*Surgeon.*

Denis O'Hynes.

*Chaplains.*

Rev. Alexius Stafford, Dean of Christ Church, Dublin.  
 Rev. Dermot O'Daly.  
 Rev. Edmond O'Reilly.

Twenty companies ; 1,200 men.

## APPENDIX.

## HAMILTON'S.

*Colonel.*

John Hamilton.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

James Nugent.

*First Major.*

John Talbot.

*Second Major.*

James Gibbons (12).

*Captains.*

John Stanley.

Sieur du Pratt.

Maurice Fitz-Gerald.

Daniel O'Hara.

Edmond Murphy.

Anthony Geoghegan.

Frederick Tress.

Nicholas Harrold.

James Gibbons.

*Lieutenants.*

Bartholomew Harrold.

Walter Plunket.

Laurence Duff.

Anthony Colman.

Edward Ford.

Murtagh Doyle.

Keane O'Hara.

Alexander Magee.

Andrew Duff.

Thomas O'Hagan.

*Ensigns.*

Charles Sanders.

Charles O'Hara.

Francis Warren.

Duncan Macguinness.

John Ford.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. Denis Kelly.

247 men.

## THE LORD GRAND PRIOR'S.

*Colonel.*

Henry Fitz-James, the Lord Grand Prior.

*Second Colonel.*

Thomas Corbet.

*First Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Edward Nugent.

*Second Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Walter Porter (13).

*Major.*

Philip Dodsly.

*Captains.*

George Corridons.  
 Walter Tyrrel.  
 Patrick O'Dempsey.  
 Ignacious Usher.  
 Alexander Knightley.  
 Le Sieur de Corridore.  
 Hugh M'Mahon.  
 — Talbot.  
 Terence O'Brien.  
 Robert Mac Sweeny.  
 Thomas Justié.  
 John Sutton.  
 — Clonshinge.  
 — Walsh.  
 Christopher Sherlock.  
 William Moore.  
 Richard Savage.  
 Patrick Kendelan.  
 — Mac Gowran.  
 John Wogan.  
 Tiernan O'Rourke.  
 John Panton.

*Lieutenants.*

Claudius de Beauregard.  
 Charles Deguent.  
 Felim O'Neill.  
 Roger Mortimer.  
 James Barnewell.  
 Christopher Bellew.  
 Roebuc Keating.  
 Walter Grace.  
 John Stephens.  
 John Henry.  
 — Mac Sweeny.  
 Walter Usher.  
 Bartholomew White.  
 Garret Plunket.  
 — Dobbin.  
 Augustus de Catalier.  
 Bryan O'Rourke.  
 Andrew King.

*Ensigns.*

Oliver Grace.  
 Beaghan Kendelan.  
 Daniel O'Donnell.  
 Joseph Wolverston.  
 Bartholomew Read.  
 Edward Rigney.  
 Terence Dunn.  
 — O'Rourke.  
 Philip Mownson.  
 Francis Borre.  
 — O'Neill.  
 Matthew Wall.  
 Charles Morgan.  
 — O'Brien.  
 — Muschy.  
 — O'Doherty.  
 Walter Tyrrel.  
 Peter Conway.

*Surgeon.*

Patrick Kennedy.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. Terence O'Neill.

Thirteen companies ; 200 men.

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## LORD MOUNTCASHEL'S.

*Colonel.*

Justin M'Carthy, Viscount Mountcashel.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

—

*Major.*

Michael Roth.

*Captains.*

John O'Hogan.  
 Philip Oge Barry.  
 Kennedy O'Brien.  
 Denis Daly.  
 Thomas Power.  
 Gerald Fitz-Gerald.  
 Thady O'Connor.  
 Charles Fitzgerald.  
 Ulick Browne.  
 Richard Condon.  
 Thomas O'Meagher.  
 Fergus Ivorie.

*Lieutenants.*

Hyacinth Chevera.  
 Robert Fitzgerald.  
 Justin M'Carthy.  
 Donough M'Carthy.  
 Dominick Terry.  
 Walter O'Brien.  
 John O'Mally.  
 Stephen Cusack.  
 John O'Sullivan.  
 John O'Ryan.  
 Myles O'Carroll.  
 Thomas O'Hogan.  
 Maurice Piers.  
 Edmond Mac Sweeny.  
 Lewis O'More.

*Ensigns.*

Edward Fitz-Gerald.  
 William White.  
 Laurence Comyn.  
 Auliffe O'Callaghan.  
 James Fitz-Gerald.  
 Tieve M'Carthy.  
 John O'Ryan.  
 Michael Roth.  
 Philip O'Connor.  
 Gille O'Mulvanny.  
 Redmond Condon.  
 Patrick Piers.  
 Patrick Lavallin.

*Surgeon.*

Duncan Owen.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. Rickard Burke.

Thirteen companies; 200 men.

## LORD CLANCARTY'S.

*Colonel.*

Donough M'Carthy, Earl of Clancarty.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

John Skelton.

*Major.*

Philip Ricautt.

*Captains.*

Lord Upper-Ossory.  
 Walter Butler.  
 Edmond Fitz-Gerald.  
 Cornelius Murphy.  
 Alexander Maguire.  
 Donough M'Carthy.

*Lieutenants.*

Gerald Fitz-Gerald.  
 Edmond Purcell.  
 Owen M'Carthy.  
 — Barry.  
 — Condon.  
 — Coppinger.

*Ensigns.*

Daniel M'Carthy.  
 Gerald Dease.  
 John O'Daly.  
 — Charleton.  
 John Quigley.  
 — Byrne.

*Captains.*

Cornelius O'Callaghan.  
 Gerald Tyrrell.  
 Andrew Dorrington.  
 Frederick Hall.  
 — Power.

*Lieutenants.*

— Talbot.  
 Walter Joyce.  
 James M'Carthy.

*Ensigns.*

Æneas Mac Donnell.  
 Donough M'Carthy.

*Surgeon.*

William O'Connor.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. Thomas Hegarty.

Thirteen companies; 200 men.

## LORD CLANRICARDE'S.

*Colonel.*

John de Burgh, Earl of Clanricarde.

*Second Colonel.*

Sir Walter Blake, Bart. (14).

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Edmond Madden (15).

*Major.**Captains.*

Lord Athenry.  
 Sir Ulick Burke.  
 Charles Daly.  
 Teige Daly.  
 Redmond Dolphin.  
 Edward Burke.  
 Jasper Ffrench.  
 William Bermingham.  
 John Burke.  
 Henry Crofton.  
 John Bermingham.  
 John Stephenson.  
 Edmond D'Arcy.  
 Hugh O'Dowde.  
 John Talbot.  
 James Talbot.

*Lieutenants.*

Richard de Burgh.  
 Marcus Ffrench.  
 Paul Daly.  
 Hugh Daly.  
 Teige Daly.  
 Teige O'Kelly.  
 Martin Tierney.  
 John Burke.  
 Rickard Burke.  
 Gerald O'Farrell.  
 Donough O'Dowde.  
 Brian Mahon.  
 Michael Madden.  
 Luke Talbot.  
 Roderick O'Flahertie.

*Ensigns.*

John Ffrench.  
 Ulick Burke.  
 James Burke.  
 Ulick Burke.  
 Patrick Bermingham.  
 Augustin Bodkin.  
 Michael Madden.  
 William Kelly.  
 John Burke.  
 Henry FitzMaurice.  
 Bryan Kelly.  
 William Kelly.  
 David O'Dowde.  
 Thomas Melody.  
 Teige O'Dowde.  
 Andrew Lynch.

## APPENDIX.

*Surgeon.*

Peter Nowlan.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. Ulick Burke.

Thirteen companies ; 350 men.

## LORD ANTRIM'S.

*Colonel.*

Alexander MacDonnell, Earl of Antrim.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Mark Talbot.

*Major.*

James Wogan.

*Captains.*

Lord Inniskillen.  
 Daniel M'Donnell.  
 Hugh O'Neill.  
 Charles M'Donnell.  
 Manus O'Donnell.  
 Terence O'Neill.  
 Ulick Bourke.  
 Henry Vaughan.  
 Arthur Magill.  
 Edmond O'Reilly.  
 Bryan M'Guinness.

*Lieutenants.*

Archibald M'Donnell.  
 Randal M'Donnell.  
 John O'Neill.  
 John M'Donnell.  
 George Moore.  
 Manus M'Manus.  
 Bryan O'Neill.  
 Denis O'Callaghan.  
 Eneas M'Donnell.  
 Randolph Sexton.  
 John O'Neill.  
 Bryan O'Neill.  
 Francis Moore.  
 Terence M'Sweeny.  
 Bryan Magrath.

*Ensigns.*

Randal M'Donnell.  
 Eneas M'Donnell.  
 Turlogh O'Neill.  
 Augustin M'Donnell.  
 Hugh Makay.  
 — M'Donnell.  
 — Vaughan.  
 Francis O'Reilly.  
 John O'Cahan.  
 Francis O'Neill.  
 Constantine O'Rorke.  
 George Sexton.  
 John M'Manus.  
 — M'Mahon.

*Adjutant.*

Alexander MacDonnell.

*Chaplain.*

Hubert Dolphin.

*Officer a la Suite.*

Captain Alexander MacDonnell.

634 men.



## LORD TYRONE'S.

*Colonel.*

Richard Power, Earl of Tyrone.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Thomas Nugent.

*Major.*

Richard Nagle.

*Captains.*

Lord Castleconnell.  
 Joseph Comerford.  
 Lord Cahir.  
 Edward Butler.  
 Hugh M'Namara.  
 Valentine Walsh.  
 Dominick Ferriter.  
 James Magrath.  
 Joseph Nagle.  
 James Power.  
 Edmond Fitzgerald.  
 Francis Cruice.  
 Nicholas Stafford.  
 Pierce Walsh.  
 John Byrne.  
 Andrew Rice.

*Lieutenants.*

Edmond Fitzgerald.  
 Richard Fitzgerald.  
 Thomas Power.  
 Thomas Nugent.  
 Edward Comerford.  
 John Power.  
 Lewis Bryan.  
 Robert Walsh.  
 John Ronan.  
 John Power.  
 Michael Murphy.  
 Jenico Preston.  
 Martin Ffrench.  
 Theobald Throgmorton.  
 Andrew Rice.  
 James Bryan.  
 Nicholas Murphy.  
 John Winston.  
 John Madden.

*Ensigns.*

Peter Aylward.  
 Thomas Power.  
 John Power.  
 Gerald Russell.  
 Thady O'Connor.  
 David Power.  
 — M'Donnell.  
 John Walsh.  
 Robert Barry.  
 Pierce Dobbins.  
 Denis Bryan.  
 Francis Garvan.  
 Thomas Bedford.  
 Thomas Russell.  
 — Daly.  
 William Carroll.

*Adjutant.*

Percy Bolger.

*Surgeon.*

Henry Comerford.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. William Walsh.

Thirteen companies; 400 men.

## APPENDIX.

## NUGENT'S.

*Colonel.*

Richard Nugent.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Francis Nugent.

*Major.*

Ralph Neville.

*Captains.*

Robert Nugent.  
 Thomas Nugent.  
 George Dowdall.  
 Patrick Missett.  
 Richard Nagle.  
 Matthew Nugent.  
 Gilbert Melody.  
 Fergus O'Farrel.  
 Matthew Nugent.  
 Martin Dease.  
 — Plunkett.

*Lieutenants.*

Anthony Nugent.  
 Simon Nugent.  
 Martin O'Grady.  
 Bryan Dowdall.  
 Arthur Nugent.  
 Henry Nugent.  
 Denis O'Farrel.  
 Ralph Dalton.  
 Hugh Tyrrell.  
 — Hurleston.  
 Thomas O'Farrell.  
 Laurence Geoghagan.

*Ensigns.*

Walter Nugent.  
 Michael Kennedy.  
 William Burke.  
 Samuel Metreson.  
 — Dease.  
 — Nugent.  
 Edward Petit.  
 Constantine O'Reilly.  
 Percival Dease.  
 Luke Warren.  
 Claude Nugent.

*Adjutant.*

Robert Nugent.

Thirteen companies; 300 men.

## LORD GORMANSTOWN'S.

*Colonel.*

Jenico Preston, Viscount Gormanstown.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Richard Eustace.

*Major.*

Oliver Fitzgerald.

*Captains.*

Hubert Hussy.  
 Matthew Barnewall.  
 Richard D'Arcy.  
 Hugh Gartlan.  
 Gilbert Gernon.  
 — Holmes.  
 Dominick Hacket.  
 — Barnewall.  
 Edward Beytagh.  
 — Crom.  
 Hyacinth D'Arcy.

*Lieutenants.*

Gerald Fitzgerald.  
 James Hoger.  
 Robert Barnewall.  
 Theobald Burke.  
 Marcus Preston.  
 — D'Arcy.  
 Andrew Stokes.  
 — Preston.  
 — Dillon.  
 — Warren.  
 — O'Carroll.  
 Walter Beytagh.  
 — O'Reilly.  
 Conor Dunne.  
 Paul Preston.

*Ensigns.*

Thomas Fitzgerald.  
 Thomas Gartlan.  
 Roger Gernon.  
 Vincent Manning.  
 George Bourne.  
 Edward Plunket.  
 Patrick Dillon.  
 William Warren.  
 Thomas Beytagh.  
 Thomas Stokes.  
 Theobald Taaffe.  
 Robert Harris.  
 Joseph Merryman.  
 Joseph King.

*Adjutant.*

Cuthbert Fenwick.

Thirteen companies; 300 men.

## DILLON'S.

*Colonel.*

Henry Dillon.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Walter Burke.

*Major.*

John Morgan.

*Captains.*

Walter Blake.  
 Hugh O'Donnell.  
 Robert Fitzgerald.  
 Christopher Dillon.  
 Theobald Dillon.  
 Hubert Burke.  
 Gerald Dillon.  
 George Browne.  
 Lucas Powell.  
 Luke Dillon.  
 Terence M'Donough.  
 Thomas Daly.

*Lieutenants.*

Thomas Dillon.  
 Valentine Blake.  
 Myles Burke.  
 Gerald Lally.  
 Peter Daly.  
 Hubert Dillon.  
 Richard Fitzgerald.  
 Christopher Dillon.  
 Robert Fox.  
 Thady Naughton.  
 Morgan Reynolds.  
 Paul Rutledge.

*Ensigns.*

Thomas Dolphin.  
 Redmond Fitzgerald.  
 Christopher Dillon.  
 Denis Daly.  
 Ferdinand Reynolds.  
 Edmond Daly.  
 Ralph Dillon.  
 Richard Dillon.  
 Myles Loughlin.  
 Rowland Burke.  
 Edmond Dillon.  
 Philip M'Gawley.

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Ensigns.</i>
Robert Dillon.	Thady M'Donough.	Thomas Dillon.
Hugh M'Dermod.	Alexander Dillon.	Philip Fox.
William Burke.	Bryan O'Rourke.	Phelim Hart.
Edward Fitzgerald.	James Lynam.	Bryan M'Dermott.
Thomas Dillon.	Murrough Melaghlin.	Nicholas Lynch.
William Brabazon.	Alexander Plunket.	Cornelius M'Donough.
—— Dolphin.	Luke Sheill.	John Mulloy.
James Lally.	Bryan O'Connor.	Edmond Dowell.
Edmond Reynolds.	Patrick Burke.	Hubert O'Farrell.
Patrick M'Gawley,	Bartholomew Dillon.	Michael M'Dermott.
John Dillon.	Gilbert Talbot.	Michael O'Rorke.
—— Tierney.	Terence M'Sweeny.	Myles M'Sweeny.
Walter Phillips.	Francis Martin.	Andrew D'Alton.
John D'Alton.	Edmond Tyrrell.	Charles Costello.
John D'Alton.	Richurd D'Alton.	John D'Alton.
		Thomas Costello.

*Staff.*

The Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Major as above, with

Ralph D'Alton, *Adjutant.*

Hubert Dolphin, *Maal des Logis.*

Arthur Dillon, *Chaplain.*

Henry Deignan, *Surgeon.*

*Officers a la Suite.*

Dillon, Lynch, Maguire and O'Fflahertie.

Twenty-two companies ; 500 men.

## LORD GALWAY'S.

*Colonel.*

Ulick de Burgh Viscount Galway.

*First Lieutenant-Colonel.*

John Power.

*Second Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Murrough O'Fflahertie.

*Major.*

Henry Dolphin.

*Captains.*

Malachy O'Donnellan.  
 Ulick Burke.  
 Myles Burke.  
 Edmund Lally.  
 Thomas Burke.  
 John Power.  
 James Lynch.  
 Thomas Burke.  
 ——— Dillon.  
 Cornelius Horan.  
 Terence Magrath.  
 John Carroll.  
 John M'Coghlan.  
 James Power.  
 ——— D'Alton.

*Lieutenants.*

Malachy Daly.  
 Ulick Burke.  
 Richard Burke.  
 Dominick Martin.  
 William Kelly.  
 Redmond Archdeacon.  
 Edward Tully.  
 Ulick Burke.  
 Terence M'Grath.  
 James Lynch.  
 Cornelius Coghlan.  
 David Stapleton.  
 Roger Horan.  
 ——— O'Fflahertie.  
 Richard Burke.  
 William Carroll.  
 Michael Morris.

*Ensigns.*

Hubert Burke.  
 Gerald Burke.  
 Laurence Carroll.  
 James Lally.  
 James Burke.  
 Daniel O'Mally.  
 Thomas Lynch.  
 Marcus Lynch.  
 Morgan Coloughan.  
 Richard Wolferston.  
 Daniel O'Carroll.  
 William Synon.  
 Carbery Egan.  
 James Egan.

*Adjutant.*

——— Dolphin.

*Surgeon.*

——— Taaffe.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. ——— Dillon.

Thirteen companies; 400 men.

## LORD BELLEW'S.

*Colonel.*

John Bellew, Lord Bellew.

*First Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Nicholas Fitzgerald.

*Second Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Le Sieur de Doge.

*Major.*

John Dowdell.

*Captains.*

Richard Bellew.  
 Patrick Bellew.  
 Charles Forster.  
 Henry O'Neill.  
 Thomas Bellew.  
 Hugh O'Neill.  
 William Peppard.  
 Owen Murphy.  
 Colin Hanlon.  
 Joseph M'Kenna.  
 William Russell.  
 — Clinton.  
 Valentine Russell.

*Lieutenants.*

Christopher Bellew.  
 Michael Bellew.  
 John Hanlon.  
 Denis Murphy.  
 John Halfpenny.  
 Redmond Vowell.  
 Bernard O'Carroll.  
 — Bellew.  
 John Ley.  
 Neal M'Kenna.  
 — M'Ardell.  
 Herbert Clinton.  
 Thomas MacCartan.  
 Phelim Murphy.  
 Thedy Crawley.

*Ensigns.*

Pierce Pippard.  
 Peter Clinton.  
 Thomas Smyth.  
 John Murphy.  
 Daniel Crawley.  
 Henry Branigan.  
 Terence Morris.  
 John Dowdall.  
 Fulke Comerford.  
 John Tuite.  
 — O'Farrell.  
 — Ardill.  
 — Bellew.  
 — Lay.  
 Patrick O'Hanlan.  
 — O'Carroll.

*Adjutant.*

David Kennedy.

*Surgeon.*

— Taaffe.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. — O'Kelly.

Thirteen companies; 350 men.

## LORD KENMARE'S.

*Colonel.*

Sir Valentine Browne, Lord Kenmare.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Sir Patrick Trant.

*Major.*

Patrick Murphy (16).

*Captains.*

Le Chevalier Hurly.  
 Daniel O'Donovan.  
 Christopher Fagan.

*Lieutenants.*

Thomas Carter.  
 Gerald Nagle.  
 Randal M'Donnell.

*Ensigns.*

Alexander M'Donnell.  
 John Power.  
 Randal M'Donnell.



*Captains.*

William Reeves.  
 Owen O'Connor.  
 Dominick Browne.  
 Tobias Barrett.  
 — Moore.  
 Redmond Archdeacon.  
 — M'Mahon.  
 — M'Auliffe.

*Lieutenants.*

Thomas Pierce.  
 — Murphy.  
 Theodore Wolfe.  
 — Plunkett.  
 — Archer.  
 Patrick M'Gillicuddy.  
 Stephen Goulde.  
 Jasper Ffrench.  
 Michael Roche.  
 — Barrett.

*Ensigns.*

Andrew Browne.  
 Peter Dooly.  
 — Goulde.  
 — MacAuliffe.  
 — O'Callaghan.  
 Maurice O'Mahony.  
 Richard Nagle.  
 — Barrett.  
 — M'Gillicuddy.

*Adjutant.*

Pierce Joyce.

*Surgeon.*

James Browne.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. Daniel O'Dea.

Thirteen companies ; 450 men.

## LORD SLANE'S.

*Colonel.*

Christopher Fleming, Lord Slane.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Maurice O'Connell.

*Major.*

Otho Fitzgerald.

*Captains.*

Christopher Cusack.  
 Edward Chevers.  
 George Weldon.  
 Walter Barnewall.  
 John Jones.  
 Michael Barry.  
 Luke Everard.  
 Oliver Cruise.

*Lieutenants.*

Edmond Trant.  
 Ignacius Nagle.  
 Alfred Fleming.  
 Daniel Byrne.  
 Andrew Toole.  
 Rowland Missett.  
 Charles de Bathe.  
 — Bedford.

*Ensigns.*

Walter Usher.  
 Simon Donnelly.  
 Richard Uriall.  
 Morgan O'Connell.  
 Patrick Flood.  
 Alfred Fleming.  
 — Barry.  
 Gilbert Delahide.

*Captains.*

Valentine Everard.  
 Mathew Conly.  
 Bartholomew Cusack.  
 Richard Kelly.

*Lieutenants.*

Ferdinand de Bathe.  
 James O'Gorman.  
 Roger Cusack.  
 ——— Bellew.  
 ——— Fleming.  
 William Stokes.

*Ensigns.*

Philip Fleming.  
 ——— Walters.  
 Patrick O'Holoughan.  
 ——— Brett.  
 John Nolan.

*Adjutant.*

Francis Ffrench.

*Surgeon.*

Richard England.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. ——— Everard.

Thirteen companies ; 300 men.

## O'NEILL'S.

*Colonel.*

Charles O'Neill.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Felix O'Neill.

*Major.*

Simon O'Hoherne.

*Captains.*

Arthur O'Neill.  
 James O'Neill.  
 Henry O'Neill.  
 Arthur O'Hagan.  
 Henry Courtney.  
 John Clements.  
 William Stewart.  
 Charles O'Hagan.  
 Brian O'Neill.  
 Constantine O'Neill.

*Lieutenants.*

Henry O'Neill.  
 Christopher Fleming.  
 John O'Hagan.  
 Henry Smyth.  
 Randall O'Neill.  
 Bryan M'Manus.  
 Constantine O'Dogherty.  
 John Gernon.  
 Daniel O'Donnell.  
 Thomas Dobbin.  
 Thomas O'Neill.  
 Joseph O'Cahan.

*Ensigns.*

Alexander Stewart.  
 Arthur O'Neill.  
 John O'Dogherty.  
 Neill M'Gill.  
 Torlough O'Neill.  
 Felix O'Neill.  
 George Sheill.  
 Donough O'Cahan.  
 John Clemens.  
 Bryan O'Connor.  
 Thomas Macnally.  
 Terence M'Conway.

*Captains.*

Robert Butler.  
 Arthur M'Gill.  
 Bryan O'Neill.  
 Thomas M'Naughton.  
 Charles O'Hara.  
 Daniel Hegarty.  
 Peter Dobbin.  
 Stephen Gilmore.  
 Ross M'Quillan.  
 Constantine O'Neill.  
 Neill O'Neill.  
 Francis O'Cahan.  
 Christopher Russell.  
 Roger O'Cahan.  
 Arthur O'Horane.  
 Hugh O'Gribbin.  
 Daniel O'Hagan.

*Lieutenants.*

Arthur O'Hara.  
 Bryan M'Cann.  
 — O'Mahon.  
 Patrick O'Sheale.  
 Daniel Mackay.  
 Edmond M'Ileony.  
 Arthur M'Ginness.  
 Peter O'Hagan.  
 — Daly.  
 Alexander Stewart.  
 Bryan O'Cahan.  
 Edward M'Conway.  
 — Gilmore.  
 Donaghy M'Gunshenan.  
 Charles M'Gill.  
 Edmond Savage.  
 Hugh Magennis.  
 Oliver O'Hagan.  
 Charles M'Quillan.

*Ensigns.*

Manus O'Hara.  
 Henry Savage.  
 Charles O'Hagan.  
 Myles M'Namee.  
 James Walsh.  
 Charles M'Can.  
 James O'Crilly.  
 James O'Hagan.  
 Maurice O'Hagarty.  
 Michael O'Hagan.  
 Thomas M'Quillan.  
 Patrick O'Horane.  
 Hugh Dobbin.  
 Myles MacCrowley.  
 Darby O'Cahan.  
 Denis Magill.

*Staff.*

The Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel.  
 — Fleming, *Adjutant*.  
 Rev. Hugh O'Neill, *Chaplain*.

— M'Donnell, *Major*.  
 — Crowley, *Quarter-Master*.  
 — Dobbin, *Surgeon*.

Twenty-two companies ; 550 men.

## CAVENAGH'S.

*Colonel.*

Charles Cavenagh.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

James Lacy.

*Major.*

Gros Portdeverande.

*Captains.*

Ignacius Cavanagh.  
 Walter Esmond.  
 Nicholas Warren.

*Ensigns.*

Daniel Byrne.  
 Ferdinand Kinselagh.  
 William Boole.  
 Valentine Browne.

*Lieutenants.*

Edmond Cavenagh.  
 James Byrne.  
 Otho Fitzgerald.  
 Michael Cavenagh.

## APPENDIX.

*Captains.*

Malcolm Walsh.  
 Anthony Eustace.  
 Simon Cavenagh.  
 Le Seur de Deffoser.  
 Nicholas Nickson.  
 Robert Esmond.  
 Edward Cavenagh.

*Lieutenants.*

Denis Cavanagh.  
 Geoffrey Archbald.  
 Bonaventure Kinselagh.  
 William Burke.  
 Percival Eustace.  
 John Ivers.  
 William Fisher.  
 ——— Cavenagh.

*Ensigns.*

—— Nickson.  
 —— Walsh.  
 —— Raguel.  
 —— Meade.  
 —— Fitzgerald.  
 —— Eustace.  
 —— Cavenagh.  
 —— Butler.

*Adjutant.*

James O'Hara.

*Surgeon.*

Patrick Magrath.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. ——— Kinselagh.

Thirteen companies ; 300 men.

## BUTLER'S.

*Colonel.*

Thomas Butler.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

—— de Busby.

*Major.*

—— Price.

*Captains.*

Richard Butler.  
 Edward Prendergast.  
 James Butler.  
 John Lambert.  
 Thomas Keogh (17).  
 Michael O'Brien.  
 Edward Fitzgerald.  
 Gerald Gough.  
 Edward Mandeville.  
 James Everard.  
 Thomas Shee.

*Lieutenants.*

Michael Comerford.  
 David Tobyn (18).  
 Nicholas Lambert.  
 John Nugent.  
 —— Comerford.  
 Richard Tobyn.  
 Thomas Mandeville.  
 John Tobyn.  
 William Smyth.  
 Richard Ankittell.  
 James Hackett.

*Ensigns.*

James Comerford.  
 James Sarsfield.  
 James Tobyn.  
 Geoffry Fitzgerald.  
 Gerald Comerford.  
 Daniel O'Meagher.  
 Marcus Quirk.  
 Richard Burke.  
 John FitzMaurice.  
 Patrick Mandeville.  
 Nicholas Roche.

*Captains.*

Maurice Roche.  
 Ambrose Mandeville.  
 John Ankittell.  
 Thomas Tierney.  
 James Ward.

*Lieutenants.*

John Howley.  
 Edward Comerford.  
 Philip Wall.  
 ——— Tobyn.  
 Marcus Shea.  
 Richard Malone.

*Ensigns.*

Edmond Bray.  
 ——— O'Farrell.  
 ——— Comerford.  
 John Mandeville.  
 ——— Butler.  
 John Lucker.  
 John Gough.

*Adjutant.*

—— Sexton.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. ——— Fallen.

Thirteen companies ; 300 men.

## FITZGERALD'S.

*Colonel.*

Sir John Fitzgerald, Bart.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

John Binns.

*Major.*

Henry Fitzgerald.

*Captains.*

Edward Fitzgerald.  
 Charles M'Carthy.  
 Henry Stapleton.  
 Marcus Bagot.  
 Stephen Roche.  
 Hubert Burke.  
 Charles Nugent.  
 Patrick O'Keeffe.  
 ——— Gibbon.  
 ——— Creagh.  
 ——— Morris.

*Lieutenants.*

Keadagh O'Leary.  
 Andrew Barry.  
 Bernard Lavallin.  
 Daniel O'Sullivan.  
 Humphrey de Lacy.  
 Thomas Maguire.  
 George O'Shea.  
 ——— Stephenson.  
 ——— Pigott.  
 ——— Fitzgerald.  
 ——— Antinin.  
 ——— Garven.  
 ——— Gibbon.

*Ensigns.*

Thomas O'Donovan.  
 Neill O'Neill.  
 David Comyn.  
 ——— Bagot.  
 ——— O'Connell.  
 ——— O'Callaghan.  
 Murrough O'Brien.  
 Percival Herbert.  
 ——— Kennedy.  
 ——— de Lacy.  
 ——— Fitzgerald.  
 ——— Younge.

## APPENDIX.

*Adjutant.*

Laurence Comyn.

*Surgeon.*

—— MacDonough.

*Chaplain.*

Robert Keogh.

193 men.

## LORD LOUTH'S.

*Colonel.*

Oliver Plunket, Baron of Louth.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

George Fitzgerald.

*Major.*

Christopher Plunket.

*Captains.*

—— O'Donnellan.  
 James Plunket.  
 Charles Throgmorton.  
 Sylvester Plunket.  
 Michael Plunket.  
 John Archer.  
 Robert Bellew.  
 Barnaby Byrne.  
 Theobald Throgmorton.  
 —— Taaffe.  
 Richard Plunket.  
 Patrick Babe.

*Lieutenants.*

Edmond O'Donnellan.  
 Thomas Fitzgerald.  
 Marcus Kirwan.  
 James Bellew.  
 Matthew Plunket.  
 Richard Archer.  
 Edmond Plunket.  
 James Hussey.  
 Albert Fleming.  
 Luke Plunket.  
 Michael Bellew.  
 —— Kelly.  
 —— Babe.

*Ensigns.*

Charles Plunket.  
 Walter Plunket.  
 —— O'Donnellan.  
 George Babe.  
 Owen O'Neill.  
 Joseph Dowdall.  
 Thomas Plunket.  
 Richard Wall.  
 —— Fox.  
 —— Kelly.  
 —— Dowdall.  
 Arthur Davies.  
 —— Mapas.

*Adjutant.*

Francis Ffrench.

Thirteen companies; 400 men.



## LORD KILMALLOCK'S.

*Colonel.*

Dominick Sarsfield, Viscount Kilmallock.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

John Power.

*Major.*

John Chappell.

*Captains.*

Gerald Fitzgerald.  
 James Power.  
 Pierce Bermingham.  
 John Burke.  
 Edmond Fitzgerald.  
 Richard Butler.  
 James Roche.  
 Walter Galway.  
 Neill O'Donnell.  
 Morgan Cavanagh.  
 Richard Butler.  
 Patrick Power.  
 Daniel Egan.  
 Thomas O'Brien.  
 David MacJonnin.  
 John Barry.  
 Terence Browne.  
 Martin Supple.  
 John Noble.

*Lieutenants.*

Peregrine Spencer.  
 James Butler.  
 Reginald Forster.  
 Peter Nihill.  
 Laurence Power.  
 ——— Terry.  
 ——— M'Sweeny.  
 Patrick Sarsfield.  
 Henry Sarsfield.  
 ——— Dunn.  
 ——— Power.  
 Thomas Butler.  
 ——— Power.  
 ——— Griffin.  
 ——— Comerford.  
 ——— Kelly.  
 ——— Fagan.  
 Francis Jennings.

*Ensigns.*

Edmond Fitzgerald.  
 Theobald Butler.  
 Augustin Noble.  
 Albert Power.  
 ——— Forster.  
 ——— Hurley.  
 ——— O'Doherty.  
 ——— Sarsfield.  
 Stephen Power.  
 ——— Markham.  
 ——— Murphy.  
 ——— Ffrench.  
 ——— Savage.  
 ——— Galway.  
 ——— Sarsfield.  
 ——— Egan.

*Surgeon.*

—— O'Mahony.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. ——— Cantillon.

Thirteen companies ; 500 men.

## APPENDIX.

## EUSTACE'S.

*Colonel.*

Sir Maurice Eustace.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

John Wogan.

*Major.*

Rickard Fitzpatrick.

*Captains.*

Thomas Fitzgerald.  
James Eustace.  
Thomas Hussey.  
Valentine Browne.  
James Clinch.  
Thomas Denn.  
Edward Moore.  
Arthur Davis.  
Thomas Aspole.  
Cornelius Conan.  
John Warren.  
Oliver Rochford.  
Francis Seagrave.  
Thomas Sherlock.  
Edward Masterton.

*Lieutenants.*

Walter Fitzgerald.  
Edward Fitzgerald.  
Michael Berford.  
George Fitzgerald.  
Bartholomew Kelly.  
Valentine Browne.  
Maurice Kelly.  
Richard Eustace.  
Michael Bellew.  
Meyler Hussey.  
Francis Tipper.  
Frederick Davies.  
Richard Warren.  
Laurence Segrave.  
Bartholomew Missett.  
Christopher Denne.

*Ensigns.*

Maurice Fitzgerald.  
Robert Missett.  
Edward Fitzgerald.  
John Keating.  
Donough O'Farrell.  
Ulysses Burke.  
William Keogh.  
Mathew Eustace.  
Edward Lawless.  
Joshua Eustace.  
Maurice Sherlock.  
Patrick Godding.  
Robert Sherlock.  
John Eustace.  
Andrew Aspole.  
Simon Hart.  
John Hussey.

*Adjutant.*

Reginald Fenwick.

*Surgeon.*

John O'Connor.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. Matthew Joyce.

454 men.

## LORD WESTMEATH'S.

*Colonel.*

Thomas Nugent, Earl of Westmeath.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Michael de la Hoyde.

*Major.*

Gowan Talbot.

*Captains.*

Henry Nugent.  
Thomas Neville.  
John White.  
Charles O'Toole.  
Gerald Byrne.  
John Doyle.  
Thomas Cowdall.  
Denis Meade.  
Michael Walsh.  
John Byrne.  
William Wickham.

*Lieutenants.*

Matthew Kearney.  
Bryan M'Donnell.  
John Doyle.  
Charles M'Donnell.  
Toole O'Toole.  
Gerald Nolan.  
John O'Toole.  
Owen Mullins.

*Ensigns.*

Myles Barnewell.  
Daniel Doyle.  
Hubert Nugent.  
Patrick Carroll.  
Matthew Cowdall.  
James Forster.  
Thomas Nugent.

*Adjutant.*

Peter Dooley.

*Surgeon.*

Jeremiah Tully.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. — O'Brien.

*Captain a la Suite.*

Augustus Delamere.

Fifteen companies; 814 men.

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DE BOISSELEAU'S.

*Colonel.*

Major-General de Boisseleau.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Bartholomew Beaupre.

*Major.*

Patrick Hurly.

*Captains.*

— Durett.  
 Maurice Fitzgerald.  
 Patrick Arthur.  
 David Colt.  
 Florence M'Carthy.  
 Donough O'Brien.  
 William Butler.  
 Myles de Coursey.  
 Callaghan M'Carthy.  
 Patrick Hyde.  
 David Trant.  
 Walter Fitzgerald.  
 David Barry.  
 Philip Cogan.  
 Edmond Barry.  
 Gerald de Coursey.  
 Edmond Barrett.  
 Charles M'Carthy.  
 Henry Trant.  
 Gerald de Coursey.  
 Gerald Fitzgerald.  
 Robert Dorney.  
 John Mahony.  
 Donough MacSweeney,  
 — O'Leary.  
 Daniel O'Herlihey.  
 Denis Falvey.  
 Charles M'Carthy.  
 Peter MacSweeney.  
 Cornelius Curtain.  
 John Stephens.

*Lieutenants.*

Thomas Butler.  
 Gerald de Coursey.  
 Charles M'Carthy.  
 John Barry.  
 William Harold.  
 Pierce Stapleton.  
 — de Boucands.  
 Richard Bulman.  
 James Quinn.  
 James Trant.  
 Redmond O'Connor.  
 David Barry.  
 — O'Mahony.  
 — Galway.  
 Edmond Colt.  
 Daniel O'Herlihey.  
 Florence M'Carthy.  
 Dermot Falvey.  
 John Condon.  
 Charles M'Carthy.  
 — Butler.  
 James Bagot.  
 Mahon M'Mahon.  
 James Roche.  
 Patrick O'Gorman.  
 Callaghan M'Carthy.  
 Edmond MacSweeney.  
 Martin O'Mahony.  
 Philip Supple.  
 Donough MacSweeney.  
 David Barry.  
 Jean Baptislade Monle-  
 beck.

*Ensigns.*

Edmond Fitzgerald.  
 Daniel O'Keeffe.  
 Gibbon Fitzgibbon.  
 Denis O'Keeffe.  
 Constantine O'Keeffe.  
 Charles M'Carthy.  
 Gerald Barry.  
 David Barry.  
 Simon MacSweeney.  
 — de la Martiniere.  
 — O'Donoghue.  
 John Daly.  
 Philip Wolfe.  
 Gerald Stack.  
 — St. Phalle.  
 — M'Sweeney.  
 Bartholomew O'Leary.  
 Richard Colt.  
 — Tridle.  
 Thomas Healy.  
 Tiege M'Carthy.  
 Tiege Glorney.  
 David Roche.  
 — Gould.  
 Hugh Falvey.  
 John Trant.  
 Nathaniel White.  
 James O'Mahony.  
 Malachy Daly.  
 Edmond M'Sweeney.  
 Donough M'Carthy.  
 Michael Trant.

*Officers a la Suite.*

Nine French Captains ; three Irish.      Three French Lieutenants ; two Irish.

1178 men.

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LORD BOPHIN'S.

*Colonel.*

John de Burgh, Lord Bophin.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

William Cannock.

*Major.*

John Bodkin.

*Captains.*

Charles Ffrench.  
 Richard Blake.  
 William Burke.  
 John White.  
 Joseph Lynch.  
 Peter Blake.  
 Robert Lynch.  
 Francis Baker.  
 Matthew Lynch.  
 Patrick Kirwan.  
 Nicholas Lynch.  
 Richard Martin.  
 Arthur Lynch.  
 — O'Fflahertie.

*Lieutenants.*

Richard Blake.  
 Thomas Ffrench.  
 Francis Burke.  
 John Blake.  
 Laurence Deane.  
 Thomas Lynch.  
 Oliver Martin.  
 Myles Burke.  
 Stephen Lynch.  
 Dominick Lovelock.  
 Laurence Warren.  
 Pierce Lynch.  
 — O'Fflahertie.  
 Robert Bodkin.

*Ensigns.*

Walter Burke.  
 Jasper Ffrench.  
 Andrew Kirwan.  
 Peter Blake.  
 Valentine Ffrench.  
 Matthew Bodkin.  
 Stephen Lynch.  
 John Madden.  
 Nicholas Blake.  
 — Martin.  
 Thomas Browne.  
 Hugh Kelly.  
 William Lynch.  
 — O'Fflahertie.

*Adjutant.*

Richard Blake.

*Surgeon.*

Joseph Tierney.

*Chaplain.*

Geoffrey Joyce.

Thirteen companies ; 215 men.

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## O'GARA'S.

*Colonel.*

Oliver O'Gara (19).

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Thady O'Connor.

*Major.*

Fergal O'Gara.

*Captains.*

Loughlin Naughton.  
 Owen Gallaher.  
 Daniel O'Kelly.  
 Bryan Duff M'Dermott.  
 Charles Phillips.  
 John Conry.  
 William Shanley.  
 Henry M'Dermott Roe.  
 Christopher Bellew.  
 William Molloy.  
 John O'Kelly.  
 Green Molloy.  
 Bryan M'Gowran.  
 Michael Shanley.

*Lieutenants.*

Edmond Naughton.  
 Nicholas Bermingham.  
 Michael Shanley.  
 Pierce Butler.  
 Theobald Molloy.  
 Connor M'Dermott.  
 Edward Lally.  
 Thady Shanley.  
 Henry Lally.  
 Bryan Conry.  
 Roger M'Dermott.  
 Edmond Doyle.  
 Nicholas White.  
 Farrell Gallagher.  
 Daniel M'Gowran.

*Ensigns.*

Charles Dillon.  
 William O'Gara.  
 John O'Connor.  
 Fergus O'Farrell.  
 Thady Mahon.  
 Daniel O'Brien.  
 Randal O'Neill.  
 Daniel O'Kelly.  
 Thomas Walgrave.  
 Paul Duigenane.  
 Morgan M'Donough.  
 Thomas Naughten.  
 Terence Reynolds.  
 Arthur M'Manus.  
 Owen Gallagher.  
 Gilduffe Phillips.

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 GRACE'S.
*Colonel.*

John Grace.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Robert Grace.

*Major.*

Charles Moore.

*Captains.*

Robert Grace.  
 Charles Moore.  
 Robert Grace.  
 Patrick Browne.  
 Edward Cadden.  
 Richard Grace.  
 Matthew Hoar.  
 Mark Baggot.  
 James Shortall.  
 Robert Walsh.  
 Francis Geraghty.

*Lieutenants.*

Richard Grace.  
 Daniel M'Nevin.  
 Francis M'Donnell.  
 Richard Grace.  
 William Shortall.  
 Thomas M'Nevin.  
 Valentine Bolger.  
 Thomas Pearson.  
 James Shortall.  
 Walter Daton.  
 Gilbert O'Dea.  
 James Caddon.  
 John D'Alton.

*Ensigns.*

Thady O'Brien.  
 Adam Walsh.  
 Torlogh O'Brien.  
 Patrick O'Connor.  
 John Knaresborough.  
 Michael Dale.  
 Thomas Guibenny.  
 Nicholas Dale.  
 Daniel MacNevin.

Thirteen companies ; 150 men.



## BUTLER'S.

*Colonel.*

Edward Butler.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

John Innis.

*Major.*

Garret Geoghegan.

*Captains.*

Edmond Butler.  
 Michael Forster.  
 James Blanchville.  
 George Gafney.  
 John Fitzgerald.  
 James Baron.  
 Edmond Butler.  
 Philip Nolan.  
 John Fitzpatrick.  
 Joseph Aylward.  
 Patrick Pay.  
 John Rush.  
 John Power.  
 Neal Geoghegan.

*Lieutenants.*

Richard Butler.  
 Edmond Butler.  
 Francis Forster.  
 Samuel Leigh.  
 George Marshal.  
 Oliver Purcell.  
 Neill Shea.  
 Nicholas Forstall.  
 Simon Cleer.  
 John Brennan.  
 Thomas Haherne.  
 William Darmer.  
 Basil Browne.  
 Darby Fitzpatrick.  
 Michael Blanchville.  
 Daniel M'Grath.

*Ensigns.*

Nicholas Blanchville.  
 John Butler.  
 John Loughnan.  
 William Comyn.  
 Ulick Burke.  
 John Purcell.  
 Michael Loughnan.  
 John Magrath.  
 Philip Nolan.  
 ——— Shea.  
 ——— Evers.  
 John Geoghegan.

*Adjutant.*

Andrew Naughten.

*Quarter-Master.*

Albert Bourdon.

*Surgeon.*

Thomas O'Hagan.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. John Hughes, a Capuchin Friar.

368 men.

## APPENDIX.

## M'MAHON'S.

*Colonel.*

Art. MacMahon.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Philip O'Reilly.

*Major.*

Hugh Mageniss.

*Captains.*

Charles O'Reilly.

Coll. M'Mahon.

John Brady.

Myles O'Reilly.

Edmond O'Reilly.

Patrick M'Mahon.

Connor O'Reilly.

James Duffy.

Hugh O'Reilly.

*Lieutenants.*

Constantine Mageniss.

Edmond O'Reilly.

Edmond M'Mahon.

Jeoffrey Ward.

Maurice M'Mahon.

Philip Brady.

Hugh O'Reilly.

Brian M'Mahon.

Philip O'Reilly.

Thomas O'Reilly.

Arthur M'Mahon.

Thomas O'Reilly.

*Ensigns.*

Bryan O'Reilly.

— Kinselagh.

James O'Duffy.

Owen M'Mahon.

John O'Reilly.

Torlough M'Mahon.

Philip O'Reilly.

William Brady.

Patrick M'Mahon.

Michael Byrne.

Sylvester M'Mahon.

Patrick Brady.

*Adjutant.*

John Joyce.

*Surgeon.*

Michael Browne.

## O'MOORE'S.

*Colonel.*

Charles O'Moore.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Ulick Burke.

*Major.*

John Burke.

*Captains.*

Terence Dunn.

Robert Wolverston.

John Bruerton.

John O'Connor.

Denis O'Carroll.

*Lieutenants.*

Alexander Roche.

Christopher Barnewall.

Isaac Comerford.

William Dunne.

James Tobyn.

*Ensigns.*

Loughlin O'Moore.

Daniel O'Sullivan.

Nicholas Synnott.

Ulick Burke.

Claude Hamilton.

Captain  
J. Dunn.  
h. Byrne.  
gh. Brennan.  
rd. Grace.  
Sherlock.  
Anthony.  
Byrne.

James  
James Laidlaw.  
John Fether.  
Patrick Hynes.

James  
John Burke.  
Thomas Plunkett.  
William Byrne.  
Thomas Breen.

Admiral  
Peter Lyster.

Major-General  
Edmund Lanyon.

Sergeant  
John Seymour.

Captain  
Rev. Laurence Muller.

Michael Murphy. 4th Regt.

Private

Corporal  
John Doyle.  
Lieutenant-General  
James Doyle.

Major  
William Doyle.

Captain  
rd. Marshall.  
y. Pendergast.  
rd. Fanning.  
O'Dwyer.  
O'Brien.  
O'Hagan.  
McCarthy.

James  
Vance Pendergast.  
Michael Doyle.  
William Doyle.  
Edward Doyle.  
Edward Doyle.  
Thomas Doyle.  
— Doyle.  
James Doyle.

James  
John Doyle.  
Edward Doyle.  
William Doyle.  
John Doyle.  
Thomas Doyle.  
James Doyle.  
Edward Doyle.

*Captains.*

John O'Meagher.  
 John Keating.  
 Thomas Purcell.  
 John Gaffney.  
 Nicholas Power.  
 Richard Lambert.

*Lieutenants.*

Thomas O'Dwyer.  
 Edmond O'Meagher.  
 John O'Dwyer.  
 Richard Wadding.  
 Claude Hamilton.  
 Edmond Roche.  
 Richard Maurice.  
 Edmond O'Connor.

*Ensigns.*

Edmond Power.  
 David Roche.  
 Theobald Burke.  
 Thomas O'Meagher.  
 James Prendergast.  
 Pierce Keating.

*Adjutant.*

James Daly.

*Quarter-Master.*

Cahir O'Dogherty.

*Surgeon.*

Richard Tobyn.

*Chaplain.*

Gregory Lynch.

454 men.

## O'NEILL'S.

*Colonel.*

Gordon O'Neill.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Constantine O'Neill.

*Major.*

Henry O'Neill.

*Captains.*

Torlogh O'Neill.  
 Hugh O'Donnell.  
 Robert Stewart.  
 Hugh O'Cahane.  
 Teige Maguire.  
 — Mackan.  
 Daniel O'Donnelly.  
 John O'Cahane.  
 Arthur O'Neill.  
 John O'Neill.

*Lieutenants.*

Phelim O'Neill.  
 Arthur O'Neill.  
 Neill O'Donnell.  
 Hugh O'Donnell.  
 Owen Buigh O'Neill.  
 James O'Dogherty.  
 John O'Cahane.

*Ensigns.*

Felix O'Neill.  
 Roderick O'Donnell.  
 Morogh O'Neill.  
 Owen dubh O'Neill.

*Adjutant.*

—— Beytagh.

*Surgeon.*

—— Carberry.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. Anthony Daly.

200 men.

## BROWNE'S.

*Colonel.*

The Hon. Nicholas Browne.

(Eldest son of Lord Kenmare; for the Officers of whose Regiment see page 638 of this Army List.)

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

George Trappe.

*Major.*

Dermot Mac Auliffe.

*Captains.*

Dudley Fitzgerald.  
 William Murphy.  
 Edmond Ferriter.  
 Thady O'Callaghan.  
 Arthur O'Keeffe.  
 William Lombard.  
 James Fitzgerald.  
 Richard Barry.  
 Ferdinand Keane.  
 Darby O'Grady.  
 William Heas.

*Lieutenants.*

Gerald Barry.  
 Daniel M'Auliffe.  
 Arthur Nagle.  
 James Heas.  
 Cornelius O'Callaghan.  
 Arthur O'Keeffe.  
 Dermot Keaghley.  
 Maurice Murphy.  
 Edmond Fitzgerald.  
 James Cogan.  
 John Browne.  
 Callaghan MacCallaghan.  
 William Heas.

*Ensigns.*

Patrick MacDermot.  
 Thomas Gould.  
 James O'Reardon.  
 Geoffrey O'Donoghue.  
 Cornelius O'Keeffe.  
 William Foulne.  
 John O'Callaghan.  
 Tiege M'Carthy.  
 Owen O'Callaghan.  
 James Roche.  
 John Murphy.  
 Dermott O'Reardon.  
 John Hagherin.

*Quarter-Master.*

Charles Daly.

*Surgeon.*

Anthony O'Callanan.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. Michael Browne.

Thirteen companies; 450 men.

## CREAGH'S.

*Colonel.*

Sir Michael Creagh.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

John Power.

*Major.*

Theobald Burke.

*Captains.*

Robert Bellew.  
 Christopher Janns.  
 John O'Dowd.  
 Patrick Fagan.  
 Richard D'Alton.  
 Philip Roche.  
 Theobald Butler.  
 Terence M'Dermott.  
 Edward Warren.  
 Christopher Pallas.  
 Thomas Sutton.  
 Richard Purcell.  
 Stephen O'Flanagan.  
 Walter Tyrrell.  
 James Roche.  
 Denis O'Dea.

*Lieutenants.*

Nicholas Bellew.  
 Thomas Mullen.  
 Simon Browne.  
 Peter Browne.  
 Gerald Nagle.  
 Arthur O'Brien.  
 Bernard Archbald.  
 Philip Roche.  
 John Croghan.  
 Bartholomew Isaac.  
 Alexius Laplant.  
 James Russell.  
 Denis O'Brien.  
 George Plunket.  
 Laurence Tankard.  
 Bartholomew Hadsor.  
 Oliver Nugent.  
 Simon Creagh.  
 Patrick Everard.  
 — Sarfield.

*Ensigns.*

Phelim O'Neill.  
 John O'Neill.  
 Patrick M'Dermott.  
 John O'Connor.  
 Edward Bellew.  
 James Fitz-Maurice.  
 Patrick Plunkett.  
 George O'Kelly.  
 William Lysaght.  
 Rowland Eustace.  
 Rickard Burke.  
 Nicholas O'Carroll.  
 John Begg.  
 James Ledwich.  
 Andrew Everard.

*Staff.*

Charles M'Dermott, *Adjutant.*      Cornelius Quinnan, *Quarter-Master.*



*Surgeon.*

Robert White.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. Felix Fagan.

547 men.

## OXBURGH'S.

*Colonel.*

Sir Heward Oxburgh.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Edward Scott.

*Major.*

Laurence Dulhunty.

*Captains.*

Henry Oxburgh.  
 Francis Pay.  
 Alexander O'Callanan.  
 Anthony O'Carroll.  
 Constantine O'Connor.  
 Thomas Dowling.  
 William Dulahunty.  
 Edmond Mooney.  
 Myles O'Carroll.  
 Edmond Daly.  
 John Coghlan.  
 Hugh O'Madden.

*Lieutenants.*

Roger M'Manus.  
 Oliver Dulhunty.  
 Philip O'Meagher.  
 Florence O'Callanan.  
 John O'Callanan.  
 Daniel Delany.  
 William O'Duignan.  
 Owen Dowling.  
 Constantine O'Connor.  
 Anthony O'Carroll.  
 Francis Mooney.  
 Ignacius Archer.  
 Denis Dulhunty.  
 John O'Madden.  
 Hugh Flaherty.

*Ensigns.*

Algernon Oxburgh.  
 Charles O'Connor.  
 Hugh O'Molloy.  
 Walter Peechell.  
 Bryan O'Kelly.  
 Philip Ash.  
 Patrick Dulhunty.  
 Edmond Coghlan.  
 Michael O'Callanan.  
 Hugh O'Kelly.  
 Patrick Dulhunty.  
 Patrick M'Manus.  
 John O'Duignan.  
 James O'Carroll.  
 Bryan Shanley.

*Adjutant.**Quarter-Master.*

Charles Tobyn.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. Malachy O'Kelly.

Ten companies ; 300 men.

## APPENDIX.

## BROWNE'S.

*Colonel.*

Dominick Browne.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Nicholas Lynch.

*Major.*

Le Sieur Montgonge.

*Captains.*

Christopher Ffrench.  
 Farragh O'Donnell.  
 Matthew Ffrench.  
 Gregory Ffrench.  
 Andrew Browne.  
 James D'Arcy.  
 Francis Martin.  
 Andrew Nolan.  
 Dermod O'Connor.  
 Andrew Athy.  
 Peter Lynch.

*Lieutenants.*

Valentine Blake.  
 Francis D'Arcy.  
 Nicholas Ffrench.  
 William Burke.  
 Hugh O'Donnell.  
 Valentine Ffrench.  
 Henry Browne.  
 Teige M'Namara.  
 Roger O'Donnell.  
 Malachy O'Connor.  
 Andrew Browne.  
 Matthew Lynch.  
 Dominick Lynch.  
 John O'Hara.

*Ensigns.*

Dominick Ffrench.  
 Redmond Dolphin.  
 Patrick Ffrench.  
 Henry Dolphin.  
 Francis D'Arcy.  
 Hubert Dolphin.  
 Thomas Athy.  
 John Bodkin.  
 Thomas Lynch.  
 William Skerret.  
 Philip Morris.  
 George Morris.  
 Torlough O'Connor.  
 Gregory Joyce.

*Adjutant.*

Jasper Ffrench.

*Quarter-Master.*

Martin Linnane.

*Surgeon.*

— Coghlan.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. Henry Browne.

Thirteen companies ; 400 men.

## MACCARTHY'S.

*Colonel.*

Owen MacCarthy, commonly called The MacCarthy More.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Justin MacCarthy.

*Major.*

Terence O'Brien.

*Captains.*

Daniel O'Donoghue.  
 David Barry.  
 Edward Barry.  
 Edward Fitz-Gerald.  
 Teige O'Driscoll.  
 Gilbert Morrows.  
 Peter Roche.  
 Theobald Burke.  
 John M'Carthy.  
 Paul M'Sweeny.  
 Anthony Ferris.

*Lieutenants.*

Otho Fitz-Gerald.  
 Alexander O'Sullivan.  
 Charles M'Donnell.  
 Dermod O'Donoghue.  
 Gerald Gibbons.  
 Torlough M'Carthy.  
 John Gould.  
 Thomas Maguire.  
 Michael M'Namara.  
 Augustus Herault.  
 Owen MacCarthy.  
 David Barry.  
 Philip Terry.  
 Thomas Barry.

*Ensigns.*

Gerald Fitz-Gerald.  
 Donough MacCarthy.  
 George Carew.  
 John O'Mahony.  
 Dermod O'Houlaghan.  
 Stephen Roche.  
 Owen MacCarthy.  
 Patrick O'Gorman.  
 — MacCarthy.  
 — O'Madden.  
 Ferdinand Mellefont.  
 — Terry.  
 Ulick Burke.

*Adjutant.*

George Comerford.

*Surgeon.*

— Magrath.

*Chaplain.*

John Loughnan.  
 Ten companies.

## BARRETT'S.

*Colonel.*

John Barrett.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Donogh O'Callaghan.

*Major.*

John Roche.

*Captains.*

John Butler.  
 Redmond Barry.  
 Thomas Meade.

*Lieutenants.*

Gibbon Fitz-Gerald.  
 David Roche.  
 Arthur O'Keeffe.

*Ensigns.*

Thomas O'Donnell.  
 John O'Callaghan.  
 James Gould.

*Captains.*

David Cooshene.  
George Hennessy.  
William Sheehan.  
Francis Fytton.  
John Barrett.

*Lieutenants.*

Edmond Condon.  
Nicholas Magrath.  
John Elliott.  
John Gafney.  
Myles Magrath.  
John Heaphy.  
Thomas Barry.  
John Barry.

*Ensigns.*

Patrick O'Phelan.  
James Koche.  
David Roche.  
Philip O'Donovan.  
William Barry.  
Thomas Keary.  
Richard Coshine.  
Edmond Barrett.

*Adjutant.*

—— Comyn.

*Quarter Master.*

Edmond Barrett.

*Surgeon.*

——

*Chaplain.*

Rev. —— Callanane.

Thirteen companies ; 400 men.

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**O'BRIEN'S.**
*Colonel.*

The Hon. Charles O'Brien.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

La Motte Darquet.

*Major.*

William Saxby.

*Captains.*

Donogh M'Namara.  
Donogh O'Brien.  
Alfred Forster.  
Ignatius Sarsfield.  
Cornelius MacMahon.  
William Burke.  
Thomas Fitz-Gerald.  
John Rice.  
Dermot O'Callaghan.  
Thady M'Namara.

*Lieutenants.*

Nicholas Comyn.  
Teige O'Brien.  
Donogh M'Namara.  
Joseph Comerford.  
Ulick Burke.  
Winter Bridgman.  
Malachy O'Donnellan.  
—— M'Namara.  
Michael Scanlon.  
Philip O'Dwyer.

*Ensigns.*

Joseph Sarsfield.  
Theobald Burke.  
—— MacNamara.  
—— Comerford.  
—— Comyn.  
—— White.  
Stephen Stritch.  
Peter Dodd.  
James O'Brien.  
Torlogh O'Brien.

*Captains.*

Nealand.  
 n O'Connell.  
 gh M'Mahon.  
 O'Ryan.  
 . O'Maloney.  
 is Magrath.

*Lieutenants.*

William Sheenan.  
 Thomas Barry.  
 James O'Maloney.  
 Dominick White.  
 Donough O'Brien.  
 Bernard Sale.  
 John Hurley.  
 Henry Mac Donough.  
 Edward Barry.

*Ensigns.*

Teige O'Connell.  
 Thomas Burke.  
 Louis O'Ryan.  
 Murrough MacMahon.  
 Callaghan O'Callaghan.  
 Patrick White.  
 Teige O'Hehir.  
 Thomas O'Grady.

*Adjutant.*

Florence MacNamara.

*Quarter-Master.*

Hubert de Burgh.

*Surgeon.*

— Bolton.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. Patrick Hurley.

Thirteen companies ; 400 men.

---

O'DONOVAN'S.

*Colonel.*

Daniel O'Donovan.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Cornelius O'Driscoll.

*Major.*

Sir Alphonso Mottit.

*Captains.*

Fox.  
 MacCarthy.  
 d O'Donovan.  
 O'Mahony.  
 c O'Mahon.

*Lieutenants.*

Richard O'Donovan.  
 Michael O'Donovan.  
 Murrough Ffalvey.  
 Terence O'Brien.

*Ensigns.*

— Gregson.  
 — O'Regan.  
 — Loughnan.  
 — Joyce.

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>
Daniel Fitz-Richard O'Donovan.	—— M'Mahon.
Dermod O'Connor.	—— Hamilton.
Donogh O'Donovan.	—— O'Hagan.
Daniel M'Donough O'Donovan.	—— Hennessy.
James Gould.	
Daniel O'Regan.	
Teige Hurley.	
Teige O'Donovan.	
Hugh O'Donovan.	
Randal Hurley.	
Denis M'Carthy.	
Henry Carew.	
Daniel O'Donovan, jun.	
William Coggan.	
Denis M'Croghan.	
John MacMahon.	

Thirteen companies ; 400 men.

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LORD IVEAGH'S.

*Colonel.*

Bryan Magennis Lord Iveagh.

*First Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Bryan Magennis.

*Second Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Francis Wauchop.

*Captains.*  
Neill O'Donnell.  
Conn. Magennis.  
William Keogh.  
—— Magennis.

*Lieutenants.*  
—— Magennis.  
Henry O'Neill.  
—— Magennis.

*Ensigns.*  
William Carr.  
Walter Clayton.  
—— M'Ellicott.

Eleven companies.

---

M'ELLICOTT'S.

*Colonel.*

Roger M'Ellicott.

*First Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Teige M'Carthy  
(Killed at Aughrim).

*Second Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Maurice Hussey (Commissioned in 1690).

*Major.*

Edmond Fitzgerald.

*Captains.*

John Fitzgerald.  
David Fitzgerald.  
Teige M'Carthy.  
Owen M'Carthy.  
Daniel M'Carthy.  
Edmond Fitz-Maurice.  
George Aylmer.  
Daniel O'Donoghue.  
Charles M'Carthy.  
Oliver Stephenson.  
Redmond Ferriter.

*Lieutenants.*

William Harding.  
Turlough M'Sweeny.  
Bryan O'Donoghue.  
Albert Harding.  
Thomas M'Ellicott.  
Gerald FitzMaurice.  
Callixtus O'Donoghue.  
David Rice.  
Nicholas Stephenson.  
Peter Aylmer.  
James Fitzgerald.  
Teige M'Auliffe.  
Donough MacFincen  
M'Carthy.  
Maurice MacEllicott.

*Ensigns.*

Nicholas Fitzgerald.  
Charles M'Carthy.  
Daniel O'Connor.  
John M'Ellicott.  
John O'Connor.  
—— O'Callaghan.  
Daniel Dowling.  
Malachy M'Ellicott.  
Valentine M'Ellicott.  
Owen M'Carthy.  
Charles M'Carthy.  
Maurice Ferriter.  
John Cullamore.

Thirteen companies; 450 men.

## O'REILLY'S.

*Colonel.*

Edmond Buighe O'Reilly.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Luke O'Reilly.

*Major.*

Philip O'Reilly.

*Captains.*

Edmond O'Reilly.  
John O'Reilly.  
Bryan O'Reilly.

*Lieutenants.*

Arthur O'Callaghan.  
Bryan O'Reilly.  
Owen O'Reilly.

*Ensigns.*

Philip O'Reilly.  
Thomas O'Reilly.  
Patrick O'Reilly.



*Captains.*

John O'Reilly, sen.  
 John O'Reilly, jun.  
 Charles O'Reilly.  
 Owen Brady.  
 Edmond O'Reilly.  
 Richard Fitzpatrick.  
 Hugh O'Reilly.  
 John O'Reilly.  
 Nicholas Smyth.  
 James O'Reilly.  
 Thomas M'Cabe.  
 John O'Reilly.  
 William Kernan.

*Lieutenants.*

Patrick Fitzpatrick.  
 Charles O'Reilly.  
 John Smyth.  
 Owen O'Reilly.  
 Edmond O'Reilly.  
 — Smyth.  
 — Fitzpatrick.  
 Mark O'Reilly.  
 James O'Reilly.  
 — M'Cabe.  
 James O'Reilly.  
 — Kernan.  
 Owen O'Reilly.  
 Thomas Brady.  
 Edmond O'Reilly.  
 Edward Smyth.

*Ensigns.*

Malachy Daly.  
 James Daly.  
 Edmond O'Reilly.  
 Denis Daly.  
 Charles O'Reilly.  
 Henry Fitzpatrick.  
 Bryan O'Reilly.  
 Thomas Smith.  
 Owen O'Reilly.  
 Joseph Kernan.  
 Hugh O'Reilly.  
 James Brady.  
 Charles O'Reilly.  
 Owen O'Reilly.  
 John O'Reilly.  
 Patrick O'Reilly.

*Adjutant.**Surgeon.*

Luke Tully.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. Hugh O'Reilly.

Twenty companies ; 1103 men.

## MAGUIRE'S.

*Colonel.*

Constantine Maguire (20).

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Alexander Maguire.

*Major.*

Cornelius Maguire.

*Captains.*

Florence M'Namara.  
 Owen Maguire.  
 Edward Murphy.  
 Teige O'Duffy.  
 James Tobyn.

*Lieutenants.*

James Lally.

*Ensigns.*

Morogh Maguire.

## BOURKE'S.

*Colonel.*

Walter Bourke.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

De Tourville.

*Major.**Captains.*

Luke Sheill.  
Robert Fitzgerald.  
Stephen Bourke.  
James Beytagh.  
Joseph Bourke.

*Lieutenants.*

Peter Daly.  
Loughlen Daly.  
Philip Fox.  
Walter D'Alton.  
Loughlin O'Donnellan.  
Theobald Bourke.

*Ensigns.*

William Purcell.  
Edward Butler.  
Edmond Murphy.  
Joseph Comerford.

Eight companies.

## O'NEILL'S.

*Colonel.*

Felix O'Neill.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Constantine O'Neill.

*Major.**Captains.*

Daniel Gilmore.

*Lieutenants.*

Terence O'Neill.  
Daniel O'Neill.

*Ensigns.*

Henry O'Neill.  
Hugh O'Neill.  
Marius O'Donnell.

## MACMAHON'S.

*Colonel.*

Hugh M'Mahon.

## APPENDIX.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

—

*Major.*

Christopher Plunket.

*Captains.*

Owen M'Mahon.

Hugh M'Mahon.

— O'Connell.

*Lieutenants.*

James M'Gillalkin.

Arthur M'Mahon,

*Ensigns.*

Tobias Preston.

John Coppinger.

## MACGILLICUDDY'S.

*Colonel.*

Denis MacGillicuddy.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

—

*Major.*

John Butler.

*Lieutenants.*

Randal O'Shaughnessy.

Florence MacCarthy.

— O'Brien.

## PURCELL'S.

*Colonel.*

James Purcell.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Toby Purcell.

*Major.*

—

*Captains.*

Denis O'Kelly.

William Henn.

— O'Neill.

— Purcell.

*Lieutenants.*

Festus O'Kelly.

*Ensigns.*

— O'Deely.

— Loftus.

## LORD HUNSDON'S.

*Colonel.*

Sir Robert Carey Baron of Hunsdon.

*First Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Robert Ingram.

*Second Lieutenant-Colonel.*

John Gifford.

*Major.*

Francis Gyles.

*Captains.*

Darby Murphy.

John Murphy.

—— Carey.

—— Clayton.

—— Daly.

*Lieutenants.*

Roger Taggert.

—— Murphy.

—— Morris.

*Ensigns.*

Edward Murphy.

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BUTLER'S.*Colonel.*

Richard Butler.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

William Butler.

*Captains.*

Pierce Butler.

Pierce Butler, jun.

John Archer.

Edward Fitzgerald.

—— Doran.

Theobald Butler.

Michael O'Kelly.

Henry Fitz-Harry.

George Sexton.

Patrick Lincoln.

*Lieutenants.*

Algernon St. Leger.

Albert Sutton.

Percival Butler.

Bryan Kearney.

Percy Boulger.

William Mandeville.

Thomas Kelly.

James O'Ryan.

Edmond Fitzgerald.

David Roche.

Francis Colclough.

—— Forde.

*Ensigns.*

—— Newport.

—— Fitzgerald.

—— Butler.

Albert Langton.

Michael Walsh.

—— Fagan.

—— Kerans.

—— Jordan.

—— Butler.

—— Stafford.

—— Ruguet.

—— Kelly.

*Surgeon.*

Bryan O'Kelly.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. Patrick Murphy.

## LORD CLARE'S.

*Colonel.*

The Hon. Daniel O'Brien (his Lordship's eldest Son).

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

— Arthur.

*Major.*

— Mangny.

*Captains.*

Lucius O'Brien.  
Rupert Forster.  
— O'Carroll.  
— Rowe.  
— O'Callaghan.  
— Harold.  
— O'Ryan.  
Walter Raleigh.  
Hugh de Lacy.  
— Barry.  
Edmond Roche.

*Lieutenants.*

— O'Callaghan.  
Donogh O'Brien.  
Pierce Creagh.  
John O'Ryan.  
Myles Burke.  
Frederick de Lacy.  
Reginald Connard.  
Paul Lane.  
William Ryan.  
— Samon.  
Bernard Egan.  
— O'Callaghan.

*Ensigns.*

Florence M'Namara.  
— M'Namara.  
— Fitzgerald.  
— Mansfield.  
Thomas Stretch.  
— Burke.  
Henry Raleigh.  
— de Lacy.  
— Burke.  
— Harold.  
— Burke.  
— Tubbs.

*Adjutant.*

Donough O'Brien.

*Quarter-Master.*

— Stritch.

*Chaplain.*

Rev. Gregory Kennedy.

## O'DONNELLAN'S.

*Colonel.*

Malachy O'Donnellan.

*First Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Ulick Blake.

*Second Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Arthur O'Donnellan.

*Captains.*  
Tully O'Donnellan.

*Lieutenants.*  
—— O'Kelly.  
—— O'Flahertie.  
—— Browne.

*Ensigns.*  
—— Moore.  
—— Lynch.

## O'MOORE'S.

*Colonel.*

—— Forster.

Charles O'Moore.

## BURKE'S.

*Colonel.*

Patrick Burke.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Jeoffry Bodkin.

*Major.*

Oliver Martyn.

*Captains.*  
Michael Murphy.  
John Burke.  
Robert Bodkin.  
—— Forde.

*Lieutenants.*  
Oliver Dolphin.  
—— Wade.  
—— Quirk.

*Ensigns.*  
Hubert Dolphin.  
Patrick Burke.

## BURKE'S.

*Colonel.*

Michael Burke.

It does not appear that this regiment was filled up, but the above officer, however, had the rank of Colonel, and had been previously a Captain.

## CORMACK'S.

*Colonel.*

Michael Cormack.

This regiment was never filled.

## APPENDIX.

O'NEILL'S.

*Colonel.*

Henry O'Neill.

This officer, who was better known as Captain Henry O'Neill, was grandson of the celebrated patriot Sir Phelim O'Neill, who was executed by the English Government in 1641.

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MACMAHON'S.

*Colonel.*

Hugh MacMahon.

During the war he only commanded a Troop of Dragoons; he never raised a Regiment.

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O'TOOLE'S.

*Colonel.*

Francis O'Toole.

This was not a full Regiment, but an independent Company of Fusiliers.

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THE PROVOST MARSHAL'S.

No authentic return of the officers of this regiment now exists.

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WHITE'S.

*Colonel.*

Charles White, of Leixlip.



## BUTLER'S.

*Colonel.*

Richard Butler.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Manus O'Hara.

## FIELDING'S.

*Colonel.*

Robert Fielding.

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Edward Fielding.

## FIELDING'S.

*Colonel.*

James Fielding.

It appears from various reliable authorities, that regiments were raised by the following officers :—

Lord Castleconnel, Sir Edmond Scott, Sir Charles Geoghegan, Colonel Roger O'Connor, Colonel Manus O'Donnell, Colonel James Roth, Colonel Roger O'Cahane, Colonel Gerald Burke, Colonel Christopher Kelly, Colonel Bryan M'Dermot, Colonel James Talbot, Colonel Ulick Burke, Colonel Myles Kelly, Colonel John Browne, Colonel Walter Burke, Colonel James Butler, Colonel Joseph Comerford, Colonel Charles O'Kelly, and Colonel Edward Nugent.

These regiments, however, were soon disbanded, and many of the men joined other regiments.

The following is a correct List of the General and Field Officers of King James's Irish Army :—

Richard Talbot, Duke of Tyrconnell, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Captain General of his Majesty's Forces.

James Fitz-James, Duke of Berwick, Lieutenant-General. (See Note 48, page 457).

Richard Hamilton, Lieutenant-General. (See Note 81, page 490).

The Duke de Lauzun, Lieutenant-General of the French.

Gerald Lery, *alias* Geraldine, Lieutenant-General.  
 Dominick Sheldon, Lieutenant-General of Horse.  
 Patrick Sarsfield, afterwards Earl of Lucan, Major-General.  
 Monsieur de Boisseleau, Major-General of the French.  
 Anthony Hamilton, afterwards Count Hamilton, Major-General. (See Note 81, page 490).  
 John Wauchop, Major-General.  
 Thomas Maxwell, Brigadier.  
 John Hamilton, Brigadier.  
 William Dorrington, Brigadier.  
 Solomon Slator, Muster-Master-General.  
 Robert Fitzgerald, Comptroller of the Musters.  
 Sir Richard Nagle, Secretary of War. (See Note 18, page 434).  
 Sir Henry Bond, Receiver-General.  
 Louis Doe, Receiver-General.  
 Sir Michael Creagh, Lord Mayor of Dublin, Paymaster-General of the Forces.  
 Felix O'Neill, Advocate-General.  
 Doctor Archbald, Physician to the State.  
 Patrick Archbald, Surgeon-General.

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NOTE 1.—PAGE 617.

*Colonel Henry Luttrell.*

For a memoir of this officer, who is so well known as Luttrell the Traitor, see Note 115, Page 509 of this work.

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NOTE 2.—PAGE 617.

*Captain Redmond Morris.*

The ancient family of Morris was distinguished in Ireland since the twelfth century, Sir Harvey de Monte-Maurisco, Knt., the founder of this house, having accompanied the great Earl of Pembroke, better known as 'Strongbow,' to that country in 1172. Sir Harvey, who was one of the most accomplished Knights of his time, was appointed by the Earl of Pembroke Seneschal over the vast territories which he had acquired by his marriage with the Princess Eva, daughter and heiress of Dermot MacMurrough, King of Leinster, and he was afterwards confirmed in his appointment by King Henry II. Sir Harvey, who was a great benefactor to the Church, founded 'the large and noble Cistercian Religious House of Dunbrody, which he filled with learned monks who came from Bildewas in Shropshire.' He died in the Monastery of the Holy Trinity at Canterbury. In 1335 a descendant of his, Sir John Morris, Knt., was sent to England by the Irish Council on 'urgent business,' and received a Treasury Order

for money expended on his journey, and also in reward of valuable services rendered by him on a former occasion in the province of Munster. In 1336, this Sir John, by the name of 'Sir John Morice, Knt.,' was appointed Justiciary of the kingdom of Ireland, and the same year summoned a Parliament at Dublin; but although he was the representative of the then Sovereign, King Edward I., no very great respect was paid to the summons; and it is worthy of remark that it was on this important occasion that the powerful and haughty Earl of Desmond proved the remarkable influence over all classes in the kingdom, both native and Anglo-Norman Irish, which he possessed; for feeling annoyed at Sir John's proceedings in relation to himself, he sent invitations to the nobles and prelates of the Pale to assemble at Kilkenny, where he would meet them, and the summons of the proud Geraldine was obeyed, and thus, strange as it may now appear, Sir John, though Justiciary of the whole kingdom, was unable to hold a Parliament in Dublin, while his rival, the Earl of Desmond, had assembled around him at Kilkenny the Bishops, Earls, Barons, and Commons of the kingdom, who, according to the 'Red Book of the Exchequer,' preserved in the Chief Remembrancer's Office, joined him in a remarkable remonstrance to the King against the proceedings of Sir John Morris and his Irish Ministry. In 1402, Sir Stephen Lescrop, Knt., was appointed 'Governor of the county of Connaught,' on the 12th of March, and in the next month Martin Morris, Esq., was appointed 'Lieutenant' of said county for life. In 1403, Sir William de Burgh, Knt., John de Liverpool, William 'Mirreson' or Morris, and John Morris, were the King's Justices for and within the county of Connaught. Sir William de Burgh was also, on the 5th of December this year, appointed Deputy of the county, and William Morris, Esq., was shortly afterwards appointed 'Lieutenant over ye county of Connaught.' In 1447, the year in which Pope Eugenius IV. (the successor of Martin V.) died, and his Holiness, Nicholas V., ascended the pontifical throne, the Right Rev Doctor Redmond Morris, who had been raised to the dignity of the Purple by the title of the Cardinal de Castres,\* died in the Eternal City. It is said that in honour of this learned prelate's memory, and to perpetuate his Christian name, the two lines of Morris, of Castle-Morris, afterwards Viscounts Mountmorris, of Castle-Morris, Iatragh, Knockagh, and Rathlin, in the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, constantly preserved the name of 'Redmond' in their respective lines. In 1449, Sir William Morris, Knt., died in Dublin, and was interred in Christ's Church, in that city; and it is worthy of note, that here also rest the remains of the Earl of Pembroke, with whom, as before stated, Sir William Morris's ancestor, Sir Harvey de Monte-Maurisco, came over to Ireland. In the reign of Henry VI., a branch of the Morris family settled in the ancient town of Galway, where they soon took a leading part, and several of them held the offices of Mayors and Sheriffs of that town, and were distinguished by their active and upright conduct as members of the Corporation. In 1486, Richard Morris was one of the two 'Bailiffs' of Galway, which was the *ancient name* for SHERIFFS, which latter designation the bailiffs of Galway *first received* in the reign of King James I. In 1501, John Morris held this office, as did William Morris in 1508, and John Morris in 1515. In 1527, William Morris was Mayor of Galway, and

\* The title of Eminence was first conferred on the Cardinals in 1680 by his Holiness, Pope Urban VIII.

Andrew Morris was Bailiff of the same town in 1565, and its Mayor in 1588, in which year one of the Bailiffs was George Morris. After the Restoration of King Charles II., which took place in May, 1660, I find among those who obtained 'Adjudications' in their favour, the names of Ensign Jasper Morris, Quarter-Master Thomas Morris, and Captain Samuel Morris; while the Act of Settlement passed by the Irish Parliament assembled at Dublin, in the reign of James II., contained a saving of the rights of John 'Morish' or Morris, as a Trustee in Wexford lands, and the declaration of Royal gratitude contained therein, for services performed 'beyond the seas,' includes the name of the gallant Captain Neal Morris. In 1666, Thomas Morris received a grant of 1239 acres of land in Tyrone; Harvey Morris, of the Castle of Kirrehill, one for 850 acres in Kilkenny, and 80 in Tipperary; Samuel Morris and Sarah his wife, one for 168 in Meath; Captain William Morris, one of 1509 in Cork; and in 1677, Margaret Morris received a patent for 171 acres in Galway. In 1684, in virtue of the Commission of Grace, the said Harvey Morris passed a patent for the Castle, Manor, and lands of Castle-Morris, with 3588 acres in Kilkenny. In 1687 Edmond Morris was High Sheriff of the Queen's County, which was represented in the Parliament of Dublin by Edward Morris, while the before-mentioned Harvey Morris was one of the members for the borough of Knocktoper, in the county of Kilkenny. The Morris's were one of the Fourteen Tribes of Galway, and from

Richard Morris, Esq., who was Bailiff of Galway in 1486, lineally descended,

William Morris, Esq., Mayor of Galway in 1529.

Andrew Morris, Esq., Mayor of Galway in 1588.

George Morris, Esq., Bailiff of Galway in 1588.

Edmond Morris, Esq.; he, with other well-known townsmen of Galway, witnessed the will of Sir Morogh ne doe O'Fflahertie, in the year 1593. Sir Morogh was chief of his name, and owner of the territory of Iar-Connaught.

John Morris, Esq., of Galway.

Andrew Morris, Esq., of Galway. He took an active part under General Preston, the Irish commander, in the defence of Galway against the Parliamentary forces of Cromwell, and, upon the surrender of the town, in 1652, refused, with other townsmen, to sign the Articles of Capitulation. A return of their names was made to the Commissioners of the Commonwealth, by Sir Charles Coote, the Parliamentary General, on the 26th of November, 1652. Galway was the last place in England, Scotland, or Ireland, that held out for the King, which was recorded in the verses—

"Of all the cities of the British Isles,  
Galway was conquered last by hostile wiles."

James Morris, Esq., of Galway.

George Morris, Esq., of Spiddal and Galway. He married, in 1684, Catherine, daughter of John Fitzpatrick, Esq., of Loughmore, in the South Island of Arran, in the county Galway, a descendant of a junior branch of the House of Ossory. He was owner of a moiety of the Islands of Arran and of landed property on the mainland. His son, Edmond Fitzpatrick, married Annable Martin, of Dangan, of the family of Colonel Richard Martin, of Dangan, near Galway, who was the founder of the Ballynahinch family of that name. Edmond Fitzpatrick died in 1717, leaving a son, Rickard Fitz-

patrick. His widow married Michael O'Flaherty, Esq., of Park, near Spiddal, in the county of Galway, son of Roderick O'Flaherty, the celebrated antiquarian and historian, author of the 'Ogygia,' and many other works. Roderick O'Flaherty outlived his son Michael, who died without issue, and who assigned his estate of Park to his stepson, Rickard Fitzpatrick, who was Sheriff of the town of Galway in 1730, and M. P. from 1749 to 1761, in which latter year he died without issue, and was succeeded by his nephew, Edmond Fitzpatrick, Sheriff of Galway in 1769, 1789, 1794, and 1797.

George Morris, by his marriage with Catherine Fitzpatrick, obtained the property at Spiddal, where, and at the house in the west suburbs of Galway, afterwards called Dominick-street, his descendants have since resided.

John Fitzpatrick died in the year 1709, at the house of his son-in-law, George Morris, in the west suburbs of Galway, leaving personal chattels to the amount of £6000 and £1500 in gold and silver, as appears by his will.

Andrew Morris, Esq., of Spiddal and Galway, was the only son of George Morris, and intermarried with Monica Browne, of the ancient family of Gloves, near Athenry, in the county of Galway. He left two sons, George and James.

George Morris, Esq., died in India, leaving two daughters, who married respectively Major Macan, of the county of Louth, and Sir Lionel Smith, a Judge in India.

James Morris, Esq., of Spiddal and Galway, married Deborah Lynch, daughter of Nicholas Lynch, Esq., of Galway, merchant, and niece of George Staunton, Esq., of Cargins, in the county of Galway, whose son accompanied Lord Macartney on his embassy to China, and received a baronetcy. James Morris died in 1813. He had three sons: 1, Ambrose Morris, Captain in the 64th Regiment, killed at the battle of Talavera, in Spain, and who was unmarried; 2, Michael Morris, of Spiddal and Galway, who died in 1826 unmarried; and 3, Martin Morris, Esq., J. P., of Spiddal and Galway, born in 1784, and married in 1822, to Julia, daughter of Doctor Charles Blake, of Galway. He was the first High Sheriff of the county of the town of Galway, in the year 1841, and was the first Catholic who held office since 1690. He died in 1862, and left two sons:—

I. Michael, of whom presently.

II. George Morris, Esq., of Well Park, Galway, J. P. for the county and for the town of Galway. He was High Sheriff of the town for two consecutive years—1860 and 1861—and was unanimously elected M. P. for the town in April, 1867. He retired at the general election in November, 1868.

The Right Hon. Michael Morris was born in 1827, at Dominick-street house; was educated in Galway; entered Trinity College, Dublin, where he graduated in 1847, obtaining the first Moderatorship and Gold Medal; he was High Sheriff of the town of Galway in 1849; was called to the Bar the same year; became Recorder of Galway in 1857, and was the first Catholic who filled the office; was made a Queen's Counsel in February, 1863; was elected M. P. for the town of Galway at the general election in July, 1865, having the largest majority any member ever was returned by; became Solicitor-General for Ireland in July, 1866; was re-elected M. P.; became Attorney-General for Ireland in October, 1866, and one of Her Majesty's Privy Council; was again unanimously re-elected M. P. in February, 1867; was raised to the Bench as one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas in March, 1867. He married, in September, 1860, Anna, the daughter of the late Right Hon. Baron Hughes, and has, with daughters, one son, Martin Henry Fitzpatrick Morris, born in 1867.

*Arms.*—Or a fess dauncettie sable : a lion rampant on base sable.

*Crest.*—A lion's head, erased, argent guttee de sang.

*Motto.*— *Si Deus nobiscum quis contra nos.*

NOTE 3.—PAGE 622.

*Captain Roger O'Shaughnessy.*

This unfortunate officer, whose fine property was confiscated after his death, was brother-in-law of the Colonel of the regiment, Lord Clare, being married to his Lordship's sister, Lady Helena, by whom he had two children, William and Helena. See O'Shaughnessy's pedigree in this work. Mr. O'Callaghan, in his ably-written history of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France, page 336, speaking of this William, who died a Major-General in the French service, says that he commanded a troop in Ireland in 1689. "In 1689, or on the commencement of the war in Ireland, William O'Shaughnessy, then only about fifteen, was captain of a company of 100 men, with which he served there, till sent to France in the spring of 1690, in the regiment of the Hon. Daniel O'Brien (afterwards that of Clare), and July 10th, 1691, was commissioned by Louis XIV. as a captain in that corps." Now, most probably, the date of the commission given by Mr. O'Callaghan was the period when William O'Shaughnessy first entered the regiment of his cousin, the Hon. Daniel O'Brien, which was then in France. In none of the lists of officers who served King James in Ireland—not even in D'Alton's King James's Irish Army List for the year 1689—can I find the name of William O'Shaughnessy. Now, it is quite evident that the painstaking Dermot Oge Cloran, who wrote so much, particularly about the O'Shaughnessy sept, with whose history he was so well acquainted, and whose muniments were in his possession for many years, in one of his documents, kindly lent to me by Henry Cloran, Esq., M. D., says, 'William O'Shaughnussie, who is now a student, or soldier in France.' The inference to be taken from this quotation is, that William O'Shaughnessy left Ireland in his youth, a student, to complete his education in a French college, which was then usual with the gentry of this country. It is not likely that if he left this country a captain in the army, he would, when abroad, leave his regiment and enter college. It was usual with the Jacobite gentlemen in those days, when their education was completed, to enter the army; and the cautious Dermot Oge, knowing that William O'Shaughnessy intended doing so, in speaking of him, adds the words, 'or soldier' after student, which shows plainly that he was not then aware whether he had left college and entered the regiment of his first cousin, the Hon. Daniel O'Brien. Dermot Oge also plainly states that Captain Roger O'Shaughnessy, William's father, who served in the Yellow Dragoons, the regiment of his brother-in-law, Lord Clare, never recovered his health after receiving a letter from his beloved and only son, William, complaining bitterly of 'some bad treatment' which he received at the college he was attending. This, in all probability, meant corporal punishment, and it is not likely that such would be inflicted on a captain in the army. William was a high-spirited youth, and, probably, this bad treatment caused him to join the army sooner than he otherwise

would have done, as, according to the traditions of the Cloran and Blake-Forster families, he joined his cousin's regiment in France the year of his father's death. This also agrees with the text.

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NOTE 4.—PAGE 622.

*Captain Robert Forster.*

This gentleman, who joined the Yellow Dragoons in 1690, was one of the witnesses to the will of John Forster of Crushnahaun, afterwards, when he became head of his family, of Clooneene and Rathorpe, who died at Dublin in 1703.

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NOTE 5.—PAGE 622.

*Captain James MacDonnell.*

This gentleman was cousin of Lord Clare, the Colonel of the Yellow Dragoons. He was the eldest son and heir of Daniel MacDonnell, Esq., of Kilkee, and his wife, Penelope, third daughter of Daniel More O'Brien, of Dromore and Dough Castle, county of Clare, by Eleanor, his wife, daughter of Edmond Fitzgerald, commonly called the Knight of Glynn. The sister of this Penelope MacDonnell, Honora O'Brien, married her kinsman, Conor, second Lord Viscount Clare, of Carrigahoult Castle. In D'Alton's King James's Irish Army List for the year 1689, this officer is incorrectly called James McDaniel, and is placed fifth in the list of captains.

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NOTE 6.—PAGE 627.

*Colonel Simon Luttrell.*

This brave officer was the eldest brother of Colonel Henry Luttrell, and is thus spoken of by Lodge in his account of the Earl of Carhampton's family:—"Simon, the eldest son, was Knight of the Shire for Dublin, and Lord Lieutenant thereof in the reign of King James II.; Governor of the town and garrison of Dublin, a Privy Councillor, and Colonel of a regiment of dragoons; he adhered to the fortune of King James II., commanding an Irish regiment on foreign service, and was killed at the battle of Landen in 1693. He married, pursuant to Articles dated 16 August, 1672, Catherine, daughter of Sir Thomas Newcomen, of Sutton, in the county of Dublin, Bart.; but having no issue, was succeeded by his brother Henry." It is necessary here to remark, concerning the treachery of Colonel Henry Luttrell, so fully alluded to in Note 115, page 509 of this work, that Lodge says—"At the beginning of the century, when party contests ran high in this kingdom, many injurious and groundless imputations arose against the character of Colonel Henry, touching his conduct at Limerick, and in the battle of Aughrim, but he was sufficiently justified on the former head by a letter from Thomas, Earl of Westmeath, a nobleman of the most strict honour and veracity." Any one anxious to see this letter will find it in the Appendix to Harris's Life of King William, page 73, and in Ferrar's History of Limerick, page 354-5.



NOTE 7.—PAGE 624.

*Captain Francis Forster.*

This gentleman was the second son of the Major, and raised many men for King James during the war. He afterwards received a Colonel's commission from the King, on undertaking to raise a regiment in Ireland, should his Majesty return to assert his claims. He is also alluded to in Notes 12 and 185, pages 431 and 562.

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NOTE 8.—PAGE 625.

*Lieutenant-Colonel Terence Carroll.*

D'Alton, in his King James's Irish Army List for the year 1689, incorrectly calls this officer Thomas. I have seen several returns and contemporary MSS. in which the patronymic of this officer is written with the 'O,' a letter which may be regarded as the Hall-mark of native Irish respectability.

This regiment formerly belonged to Colonel Thomas Trant, and, before him, to Sir James Cotter, called by Story, in his history of the war, Sir James 'Cotton.' He also states that the regiment consisted of six companies of sixty men each.

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NOTE 9.—PAGE 625.

*Colonel Thomas Maxwell.*

This officer was afterwards Brigadier-General Maxwell.

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NOTE 10.—PAGE 626.

*Colonel Thomas Haggerston.*

In all probability, this gentleman was Thomas, the eldest son of Sir Thomas Haggerston of Haggerston, Bart., Governor of Berwick, by his first wife, Margaret, daughter of Sir Francis Howard, of Corby Castle, county of Cumberland. For an account of his family, see Note 165, page 547.

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NOTE 11.—PAGE 626.

*Colonel William Mansfield Barker.*

This officer was slain at the battle of Aughrim, having previously obtained the rank of Brigadier-General. He is called 'Maunsell Barker' by D'Alton.

## NOTE 12.—PAGE 628.

*Major James Gibbons.*

D'Alton, in his list, incorrectly calls this officer Gibbs.

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## NOTE 13.—PAGE 628.

*Lieutenant-Colonel Walter Porter.*

Mr. D'Alton, in his King James's Irish Army List for the year 1689, gives — Porter as *Major* in the Regiment of Fitz-James, and says 'the above Major, whose Christian name does not appear on this roll, was, it may be presumed, the Colonel James, member for Fethard in 1689, as he was early promoted to the rank of second Lieutenant-Colonel in this regiment.' This, however, could not have been, as, according to the MSS. of the Chevalier O'Gorman, he held that rank when the regiment was first raised. Therefore *Lieutenant-Colonel Walter Porter* should not be confounded with his contemporary, *Colonel James Porter, M. P.*

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## NOTE 14.—PAGE 631.

*Colonel Sir Walter Blake, Bart.*

Hardiman, in his History of Galway, says, on the authority of what he calls an original MS., that Sir Walter was the first Catholic gentleman who received a commission from William III., having raised a regiment of foot for his service after the surrender of Galway. I would certainly like to know where this original MS. was found; for, through the kindness of Sir Thomas E. Blake, D. L., of Menlough Castle, I was permitted to examine all his family papers, but could find no trace or record of Sir Walter having served in the army of William III. The tradition in the writer's family is, that he always held aloof from the Williamite Government. There is a painting of Sir Walter at Forster-street House, the residence of Captain Blake-Forster, in his Mayoralty robes, on the back of which is a curious and elaborate inscription.

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## NOTE 15.—PAGE 631.

*Lieutenant-Colonel Edmond Madden.*

D'Alton, in his list for the year 1689, calls this officer Edward.

## NOTE 16.—PAGE 638.

*Major Patrick Murphy.*

In King James's Irish Army List for 1689, compiled by D'Alton, no Christian name is given for this officer. The name Patrick in the foregoing list is given by the writer of this note on the authority of the Chevalier O'Gorman, many of whose interesting and instructive MSS. are preserved in the valuable library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. The ancient Milesian sept of which this officer was a member was long distinguished in Ireland, and produced many warriors, both in ancient as well as later times. Particular mention is made in history of Malachy O'Morrogh, or Murphy, a chieftain of Wexford living in the fourteenth century, who, in conjunction with the celebrated Art Mac Murrogh, a life of whom was written by the late lamented D'Arcy Magee, rendered every opposition to Richard II. while in Ireland, who finally entered into a treaty of peace with them, and other Irish Chieftains, including Gerald O'Byrne, of Wicklow, Daniel O'Nolan, of Carlow, and Rory Oge O'Moore, of Leix, on the plain of Ballygorry, near Carlow. "The O'Murphys, who were chiefs of Crioich O'Felme, or High Feidhlime, are thus spoken of by the poet O'Heerin:—

' An extensive and profitable lordship  
Was obtained by O'Murphy, of smooth and fair plains,  
The country Hy-Felimy the chief received,  
An inheritance handed down from his ancestors.'

"The O'Murphys were one of the Cahirfán families of Leinster, a branch of the same race as the MacMorroughs, Kings of that Province. The territory of Hy Felimy, which they possessed, extended along the sea coast, and was commonly called the Murrowes, and comprised the barony of Ballaghkeen, in the county of Wexford. The O'Murphys were powerful chiefs in ancient times, and at the present day the name is one of the most numerous in Ireland, and found in all the counties of Leinster, and in various parts of Munster, Connaught, and Ulster, and there are many respectable and wealthy families of them in various parts of Ireland."—Connellan's *Annals of the Four Masters*.

In A. D. 1488, according to the same work, the son of O'Murphy, Lord of Hy Felimidh (in Wexford), i. e. Mahon, the son of Teige, was treacherously killed by Donogh, the son of the Lord of Hykinsellagh. Major Patrick Murphy, the subject of this note, was a native of Kilkenny, in the Cathedral of which there are many monuments to the memory of different members of his family, from 1640 to 1741. The attainders of the year 1642 contained the names of Michael Murphy, of Balruddery, and Loughlin Murphy, of Dunganstown, George Murphy, of the parish of St. Michan's, in the city of Dublin, together with Donough Murphy and Conor Murphy, Esqrs., of Blarney, in the county of Cork. In 1654, Colonel Murphy, a native of Ireland, in command of 800 of his exiled countrymen, distinguished himself in the campaign in Spain. The members of this family attainted by the Williamite Government in 1692 were Captain Edmond Murphy, of Kilkenny, who served in Colonel John Hamilton's regiment of Infantry, and two others of the name in the same county; seven in Wexford, six in Louth, four in Cork, three in Down, two in Armagh, one in Clare, one in the Queen's County,

and one in Waterford. Members of this family were also highly distinguished in the Irish Brigade, and in the regiment of Charlemont, commanded by Colonel Gordon O'Neill, on its first formation in France, Captain Edmond Murphy, who served in Ireland in Hamilton's Regiment, was appointed its Major, and Cornelius Murphy was at the same time Major of the regiment of Clancarty. At the Court of Claims in 1700, Madam Maria Margarita de Murphy claimed the benefit of a judgment debt affecting the estates of Donough, Earl of Clancarty, but her petition, like that of many others, was dismissed. The archives of the grand and quaint old city of Bruges record the death of Captain-Lieutenant Darby Murphy, of Lord Hunsdon's infantry regiment, and the writer of this note remembers distinctly, when there in the year 1864, seeing in St. Donat's Cathedral in that city a monument to the memory of the Rev. and Ven. John Albert de Murphy, of the Royal sept of O'Morrogh, which had given kings to Leinster, while himself had been imprisoned in London, driven into exile, found an asylum at Bruges, where he was appointed Penitentiary of the diocese, and died, universally lamented by the inhabitants, on the 12th of November, 1745.

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NOTE 17.—PAGE 642.

*Captain Thomas Keogh.*

From a very early period the sept of MacKeogh was located in Connaught, and should be distinguished from the Keoghs of the county of Wicklow, though the names of both septs were often spelt in a similar way. Under the year 1479, the Annals of the Four Masters record the death of Fergal MacKeogh, a 'good poet.' Under the year 1534, the Four Masters record the death of 'Maolmuire MacKeogh, the intended chief professor of poetry in Leinster, a man of learning and of extensive knowledge in poetry, and who kept a good house of hospitality.' In the attainders of the year 1642 are to be found the names of Thomas MacMaolmuire MacKehoe, or Keogh, and William MacShane MacFarrel MacKehoe, of Knockandarragh, county of Wicklow. In 1691, John 'Keagho,' or Keogh, of Ballymurroe, in the county of Wicklow, and his cousin, Humphrey Keogh, of Ballybeddin, in the county of Wexford, were outlawed and attainted, in consequence of their attachment to their religion and country. Of the Connaught line of this ancient family was the late William Keogh, Esq., of Corkip, in the county of Roscommon. Of this line also was the Right Rev. Dr. Teige Keogh, Lord Bishop of Clonfert, who ordained the Rev. Dermot Moylan in 1680 (see page 61) Parish Priest of Beach, or St. Anne's, and who is one of the characters introduced in this work. Duelling being then in vogue, Mr. William Keogh and the late Robert Blake-Forster, of Bath, granduncle of the writer of this note, having quarrelled about some trifling matter, met, as was then the custom, on the Fifteen Acres, Phoenix Park, Dublin. After exchanging shots, their seconds having interfered, they left the field on friendly terms. This gentleman, who was highly esteemed in the counties of Roscommon and Galway, married Mary, daughter of A. Ffrench, Esq., of Ragoon, county of Galway, and had, with other issue, the Right Hon. William Keogh, of Bushy Park, in the county of Wicklow, one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas in Ireland.

Judge Keogh was educated at Trinity College, Dublin; called to the Irish Bar in 1840; appointed a Queen's Counsel in 1849, Solicitor-General for Ireland in 1852; Attorney-General in May, 1855; a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in Ireland, in 1856, and sworn a member of the Privy Council in Ireland in 1855; was M. P. for Athlone 1847-56.

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NOTE 18.—PAGE 642.

*Lieutenant David Tobyn.*

This family (whose name, according to some writers, was originally 'St. Aubin') settled in England at the time of its conquest by William of Normandy, and in Ireland, A. D. 1172. Now, I find that at the time of the invasion of Ireland, under Richard De Clare, Earl of Pembroke, surnamed 'Strongbow,' the names of 'De Tobyn' and 'De St. Aubin,' or 'St. Aubin,' were borne by *two* different families.

The family of Tobyn was principally settled in Kilkenny and Tipperary. Pierce Butler (son of Edmond, son of James, son of William Butler, Baron of Dunboyne) was slain in 1502 by James Tobyn. In 1382, William, son of Thomas, and Richard, son of David Tobyn, were appointed Guardians of the Peace for the county of Kilkenny. 1419, the King appointed John Tobyn to fill the offices of water-bailly, searcher and guardian of all the harbours and seaports on the coast of Cork. 1566, Robert Tobyn was Portreeve of Irishtown, Kilkenny; in 1608, Thomas, and in 1649, Richard. In 1557, Francis Tobyn died Mayor of the town of Youghal. In 1615 Edmond, son of Walter Tobyn, of Kenaganach, in Tipperary, surrendered to the Crown several lands for the purpose of obtaining a re-grant; he married, in 1638, Margaret, daughter of Edward Tobyn, of Killaghy, in Kilkenny. Catherine, daughter of James Tobyn, of Cumpshinagh, county of Tipperary, married Sir Richard Everard, Bart., of Fethard, whose daughter, Catherine Everard, was married to Richard Shee, of Cloran, Colonel of an Irish regiment at the siege of Arras. James Tobyn married Catherine, daughter of Lord Dunboyne, and had a daughter, Margaret Tobyn, who married James Butler, living in 1560, fourth son of James Butler, Earl of Ormonde. The Tobyns of the Compsey, on the borders of Kilkenny and Tipperary, are characterised by Clyne, in the fourteenth century, as a restless and turbulent clan, more dreaded by the English settlers than the aboriginal Irish.

In King James's Parliament in Dublin, James Tobyn sat as one of the representatives for the borough of Fethard. On the remodelling of James's army at Bretagne, after the surrender of Limerick to Baron De Ginckell, James Tobyn was appointed Major of Lord Galmoy's Horse. The attainders of 1691 include, with James Tobyn, M.P. (mentioned above), Pierce Tobyn, of Jerpoint, and James Tobyn, of Killalow, in Kilkenny. I find that, in the Index Nominum to the Inrolments of the certificates for Adventurers, Soldiers, &c., preserved in the office of the Chief Remembrancer of the Exchequer, Dublin, the following members of this family are mentioned:—

Ellen Tobyne,	.	xxiv. 31.
James, .	.	iii. 49, xi. 27, xxviii. 73.
John, .	.	xxviii. 55.
Robert,	.	xxiv. 28.
James, .	.	xxviii. 21, xx. 53, 57, xxviii. 55, xxiv. 6, 76.

In the Index Nominum to the Inrolments of the Decrees of Innocents (preserved in the same office), I find the names of—

Adam Tobyne,	.	.	.	x. 32.
Walter,	.	.	.	x. 32.

In the Index Nominum to the Inrolments of the Connaught Certificates (preserved in the same office), are recorded the names of—

David Tobyne,	.	.	.	v. 42.
Edmond,	.	.	.	vi. 5, 63.
James,	.	.	.	vi. 63.
John, . . .	.	.	.	i. 32, v. 42.
Richard,	.	.	.	vi. 5.
Thomas,	.	.	.	vi. 5.
Eleanor,	.	.	.	i. 71,
James,	.	.	.	iii. 18.
Thomas,	.	.	.	i. 71.
Walter,	.	.	.	i. 71.

John Tobyne, Esq., of Caherbiska and Ballytobyne, in the county of Kilkenny, was one of those whom Cromwell banished to Connaught; he married Miss Walsh, of Ballinvoher, county Kilkenny, and had issue Michael Tobyne, Esq., of Tobynstown, county of Galway, who married Isabella, daughter of Keane, of Keanesbrook, county of Leitrim, and was father of David Tobyne, Esq., of Tobynstown, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Tobias Kelly, Esq., of Clondoyle, and had issue Michael David Tobyne, Esq., of Murrough or Merville, in the county of the town of Galway, who married Marcella, daughter of Nicholas Bermingham, Esq., of Barbersfort, county of Galway, and had, with other issue, Michael Charles, and Elizabeth, now living.

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NOTE 19.—PAGE 649.

*Colonel Oliver O' Gara.*

This officer was not, as is generally believed, slain at the last siege of Athlone. See Note 108, page 506, and the Treaty of Galway, page 587.

## NOTE 20.—PAGE 664.

*Colonel Constantine Maguire.*

This officer, who was High Sheriff of the county of Fermanagh in 1687, was killed at the battle of Aughrim. No correct list of the officers of his regiment can now be made. They were nearly all cut to pieces at the battle of Aughrim, and, besides their brave Colonel being slain, their Lieutenant-Colonel was taken prisoner.

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### A LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL PERSONS WHO ACCOMPANIED KING JAMES FROM FRANCE AND AFTERWARDS.

The Duke of Berwick (see Note 48, page 457), Lord Henry Fitz-James, Lord Grand Prior of England, the Duke of Powis, Count d'Avaux, the French Ambassador at the Irish Court, the Marshal Count de Rosen, Lieutenant-General, the Marquis de Pusegnan (killed at the siege of Londonderry, Lieutenant-General de Maumont (killed at Londonderry), Major-General Leary, Major-General de Boisseleau (appointed Governor of Cork), St. Martin de Boisseleau (his brother, Commissary of Artillery, killed at the siege of Crom Castle); Colonel the Earl of Dower, Colonel the Earl of Abercorn, Colonel Lord Dongan (afterwards Earl of Limerick), the Earl of Melfort, Lord Drummond, Lord Hunsdon, Lord Seaford, Lord Tendraught, Lord Buchan, Lord Henry Howard, Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Bishop of Chester (who died in this country, and was interred in Christ's Church, Dublin); Dr. Gourdain, Lord Bishop of Galway, the Very Rev. Hans Hamilton, Dean of Glasgow; Sir Edward Herbert, Sir John Sparrow, Sir Roger Strickland (sea Captain), Sir William Jennings, Sir Henry Bond, Receiver-General; Sir Charles Carney, Sir Edward Vaudrey, Sir Charles Murray, Sir Robert Parker, Colonel Sarsfield of Lucan (see Note 47, Page 454), Colonel Anthony Hamilton (see Note 81, page 490), Colonel Porter, Colonel John Hamilton, Colonel Simon Luttrell, Colonel Henry Luttrell, Colonel Ramsey (killed at the siege of London), Colonel William Dorrington, Colonel Sutherland, Colonel Robert Clifford, Colonel Parker, Colonel James Purcell, Colonel Alexander Cannon, Colonel Robert Fielding, Lieutenant-Colonel John Skelton, Lieutenant-Colonel David Hungate, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander MacKenzy, Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Scott, Lieutenant-Colonel Bynns, Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Leonard, Major Thomas Arthur, Major John Gordon, Major John Ennis, Major William Douglas, Major William Cannock, Major James Fountaine, Major Teige O'Regan (afterwards the celebrated Sir Teige O'Regan, Governor of the Fort of Charlemont); Major Robert Frayne, Major Simon O'Hogherne, Major Robert Ingram, Major Edmond Prendergast, Major John Gifford, Major Edmond Burke, Major James O'Dempsey, Major Frederick Conyngham, Major Richard Hillersden, Major



Boepry, Captain Stafford, Captain Trevanyon, Captain Arundell, Captain MacDonnell (sea Captains); Mr. Collins, Commissioner of the Revenue; Monsieur Pointee (engineer, who was wounded at the siege of Londonderry, in consequence of which he died soon after); Captains Lord Brittas, Sir Samuel Fexon, Sir William Wallace, Sir Alphonso de Moiclo, the Chevalier Devalory, William Charters, William Oliphant, Robert Charters, Peter Blair, Thomas Browne, Francis Creighton, James Buchan, Alexander Gordon, George Lattin, John Baptist du Molle, John Mullins, John Wynnell, John Fortescue, Robert London, George Roberts, Thomas Scott, James Fitzsimons, William Gibbons, William Delaval, Maurice O'Flynn, Richard Scott, Conor O'Toghill, Anthony O'Ryan, Rupert Napier, Terence O'Brien, Edmond Kendelam, Henry Crofton, Richard Anthony, Edmond Nugent, John Plunket, John Dongan, Rowland Smyth, Gowen Talbot, Simon Barnwall, John Broder, John Cavanagh, Edmond Stack, Walter Hastings, Edward Widdrington, Samuel Arnole, Robert Welsh, David Roche, Charles Booth, Jerome Gernon, Robert Fielding, Francis Gyles, John Barnardy, Anthony Power, John Chapelle, Roland Watson, Thomas Arundel, Robert Hacket, Richard Burton, Cornelius MacMahon, Talbot Lassels, Richard Bucker, Charles Fox, Anthony Vane, Strickland Tyrwhit, John Manback, Francis Cullange, John Lumendato, Francis Lappanse, Bernardo Buskett, Joseph Pamnett, Augustus Millio, George Coney, John Power, John Banner, Henry Nugent, William Mackintosh, Charles O'Donnell, Arthur Dillon, Allen Bellingham, John Browne, Thomas Carleton, Robert Nugent, Thomas Paget, Louis de Duras, and Nicholas Kemish. Chaplains—Fathers Jean de Graville, Edmond O'Reilly, James O'Reilly, Conor O'Hogan, Nicholas Dunbar, Anthony Maguire, Austin Matthews, Laurence Moore, Richard Pierce, Darby O'Daly, John Holoughan, John O'Madden, Thady Crowley, Nicholas Tapp, Daniel MacAuliffe, Morgan O'Connell, Patrick Agby, Daniel MacCarthy. Surgeons—John Baptist de Monlebeck, Edmond Tully, Thady O'Regan, John Brunton, Charles Stapleton, John James Aremore, Nicholas Reynard, John Cassell.

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#### KING JAMES'S IRISH PARLIAMENT.

The following is a list of the Peers who sat in the Irish House of Lords in the reign of James II., or according to Williamite writers, 'the Lords that sat in the pretended Parliament at Dublin, held the 7th day of May, 1689':—

The Duke of Tyrconnell, *Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.*

Lord Gosworth, *Lord High Chancellor of Ireland.*

Dr. Boyle, *Lord Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland.*

#### *Earls.*

Westmeath, Antrim, Barrymore, Cavan, Clancarty, Tyrone, Longford, Granard, and Limerick.

*Viscounts.*

Gormanstown, Mountgarrett, Costello and Gallen, Dowth, Iveagh, Kilmallock, Mayo, Ikerin, Glanmalier, Galmoy, Kingsland, Clare, Rosse, Galway, Kenmare, Mountcashel, Mount-Leinster.

*Bishops.*

Meath, Ossory and Kilkenny, Cork and Ross, Limerick and Ardfert.

*Barons.*

Athenry, Kinsale, Kerry and Lixnare, Slane, Howth, Tremblestown, Dunsany, Dunboyne, Upor-Ossory, Louth, Castleconnell, Cahir, Brittas, Monaghan, Glenmalun, and Courchey, Enniskillen, Strabane, Duleek, Bophin, Riverston.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The following is a list of the Members who were returned to serve in King James's Parliament this year, and of the Counties and Boroughs which they represented :—

*County of Armagh.*

Arthur Brownloe.  
Walter Hovendon.

*Borough of Armagh.*

Francis Stophard.  
Constantine O'Neill (returned on the  
16th of May).

*County of Antrim.*

Cormack O'Neill.  
Randal MacDonnell.

*Borough of Belfast.*

Mark Talbot.

*Borough of Lisburn.*

Daniel O'Neill (returned on the 20th  
of May.)

*County of Carlow.*

Dudley Bagnell.  
Henry Luttrell.

*Borough of Carlow.*

Mark Baggot.  
John Warren.

*Borough of Old Loughlin.*

Darby Long.  
Daniel Doran.

*County of Cork.*

Justin MacCarthy.  
Sir Richard Nagle, Knt.

*Town of Youghal.*

Alderman Thomas Uniack.  
Alderman Edward Gough.

*Town of Kinsale.*

Andrew Murrough.  
Myles de Courcy.

*Borough of Baltimore.*

Daniel O'Donovan.  
Jeremiah O'Donovan.

*Borough of Bandonbridge.*

Charles MacCarthy of Balloa.  
Daniel MacCarthy Reagh.

*Borough of Cloghnerkilty.*

Lieutenant-Colonel Owen MacCarthy.  
Daniel Fynn MacCarthy.

*Borough of Middletown.*

Dermot Long.  
John Longan.

*Borough of Moyallow.*

John Barret, of Castlemore.  
David Nagle, of Carrigoone.

*Manor and Borough of Rathcormack.*

James Barry.  
Edward Powel.

*Manor of Doneraile.*

Jeremiah O'Donovan.  
John Bagot, Jun., of Bagotstown.

*Borough of Charleville.*

John Bagot, Sen., of Bagotstown.  
John Power, of Kilbelone.

*City of Cork.*

Sir James Cotter, Knt.  
John Galway.

*County of Cavan.*

Philip O'Reilly, of Aghnicrery.  
John O'Reilly, of Garryrobuck.

*Borough of Cavan.*

Philip Oge O'Reilly.  
Hugh O'Reilly, of Larha.

*Borough of Belturbet.*

Sir Edward Tyrrell, Bart.  
Nicholas Tuite, of Newcastle.

*County of Clare.*

Daniel O'Brien.  
Lieutenant-Colonel John MacNamara, of Cratloe.

*Borough of Ennis.*

Sir Theobald Butler, Knt., of Shraghnagalloon (returned on the 10th of May).  
Florence MacCarthy, of Dromad (returned on the 10th of May).

*County of Down.*

Murtagh Magennis, of Greencastle.  
Ever Magennis, of Castlewelan.

*Borough of Newry.*

Roland White.  
Roland Savage.

*Borough of Keleleagh.*

Bernard Magennis, of Ballygowonbeg.

Toole O'Neill, of Dromankelly.

*County of Dublin.*

Simon Luttrell, of Luttrellstown.  
Patrick Sarsfield, of Lucan.

*Borough of Swords.*

Francis Barnwell, of Woodpark, Co. Meath.  
Robert Russell, of Drynham.

*Borough of Newcastle.*

Thomas Arthur, of Colganstown.  
John Talbot, of Belgard.

*City of Dublin.*

Sir Michael Creagh, Knt.  
Alderman Terence MacDermot, Sen.

*The University of Dublin.*

Sir John Mead, Knt.  
Joseph Coghlan.

*Town of Drogheda.*

Henry Dowdall, the Recorder.  
Alderman Christopher Peppard.

*County of Donegal.**St. John's-Town.*

Sir William Ellis, Knt.  
Lieutenant-Colonel James Nugent.

*County of Galway.*

Sir Ulick Burke, Bart., of Glynsk.  
Sir Walter Blake, Bart., of Menlough.

*Borough of Athenry.*

James Talbot, of Mount Talbot.  
Charles Daly, of Dunsandle.

*Borough of Tuam.*

James Lally, of Tullinadaly.  
William Burke, of Carrentrila.

*Town of Galway.*

Oliver Martyn, of Tillyra.  
John Kirwan.

*County of Kilkenny.*

John Grace, of Courtstown.  
Robert Welsh, of Clooneshy.

*Borough of Callan.*

Walter Butler.  
Thady O'Meagher.

*Borough of Thomas-town.*

Robert Grace, Sen.  
Robert Grace, Jun.

*Borough of Gowran.*

Richard Butler.  
Walter Keily, Dr. of Physic.  
Colonel Robert Fielding (by a new election).

*Borough of Inishoge.*

Edward Fitzgerald.  
James Bolger.

*Borough of Knocktopher.*

Harvey Maurice.  
Henry Meag.

*City of Kilkenny.*

John Roth, the Mayor.  
Alderman James Bryan (returned on the 4th of May).

*Borough of Kells.*

Patrick Everard.  
John Delamare.

*County of Kildare.*

John Wogan.  
George Aylmer.

*Borough of Naas.*

Walter Lord Dongan.  
Charles White.

*Borough of Athy.*

William Fitzgerald.  
William Archbold.

*Borough of Harristown.*

James Nighill.  
Edmond Fitzgerald.

*Borough of Kildare.*

Francis Leigh.  
Robert Porter.

*King's County.*

Heyward Oxburgh.  
Owen Kerrall.

*Borough of Philipstown.*

John O'Connor.  
Heyward Oxburgh.

*Borough of Banagher.*

Terence Coghlan.  
Trence Coghlan.

*County of Kerry.*

Sir Thomas Crosby, Knt.  
Nicholas Browne.

*Borough of Tralee.*

Maurice Hussey, of Kerries.  
John Browne, of Ardagh.

*Borough of Dingle-Idough.*

Edward Rice, of Ballinleggin, County  
Limerick.  
John Hussey, of Cuhullin.

*Borough of Ardfert.*

Colonel Roger MacEllicott.  
Cornelius MacGillicuddy.

*County of Longford.*

Roger O'Farrell.  
Robert O'Farrell.

*Borough of Lanesborough.*

Oliver Fitzgerald.  
Roger O'Farrell.

*County of Louth.*

Thomas Bellew.  
William Talbot.

*Borough of Atherdee.*

Hugh Gernon.  
John Babe.

*Borough of Dundalk.*

Robert MacDermott.  
John Dowdall.

*Borough of Carlingford.*

Christopher Peppard.  
Bryan MacDermott.

*County of Limerick.*

Sir John Fitzgerald, Bart.  
Gerald Fitzgerald, commonly called  
the Knight of Glynn.

*Borough of Kilmallock.*

Sir William Harley.  
John Lacy.

*Borough of Askeaton.*

John Burke, of Carrickenohill.  
Edward Rice.

*City of Limerick.*

Alderman Nicholas Arthur.  
Alderman Thomas Harrold.

*County of Leitrim.*

Edmond Reynolds.  
Iriel O'Farrell.

*Borough of Jamestown.*

Alexander MacDonnell (returned on  
the 15th of May).  
William Shanley (returned on the  
15th of May).

*County of Mayo.*

Garret Moore.  
Walter Burke.

*Borough of Castlebar.*

John Bermingham Portrieve.  
Thomas Burke.

*County of Meath.*

Sir William Talbot, Bart.  
Sir Patrick Barnwall, Bart.

*Borough of Ratoath.*

John Hussey.  
James Fitzgerald.

*Borough of Trim.*

Captain Nicholas Cusack.  
Walter Nagle.

*Borough of Nacan.*

Christopher Cusack, of Corballis.  
Christopher Cusack, of Ratholdran.

*Borough of Athboy.*

John Trinder.  
Robert Longfield.

*County of Monaghan.*

Bryan MacMahon (returned on the  
9th of July).  
Hugh MacMahon (returned on the  
9th of July).

*Queen's County.*

Sir Patrick Trant, Knt.  
Edmond Morris.

*Borough of Maryborough.*

Pierce Bryan.  
Thady FitzPatrick.

*Borough of Ballinkill.*

Sir Gregory Byrne, Bart.  
Oliver Grace.

*Borough of Portarlinton.*

Sir Henry Bond, Bart.  
Sir Thomas Hacket, Knt.

*County of Roscommon.*

Charles Kelly.  
John Burke.

*Borough of Roscommon.*

John Dillon.  
John Kelly.

*Borough of Boyle.*

Captain John King.  
Alderman Terence MacDermott (re-  
turned on the 6th of May).

*County of Sligo.*

Henry Crofton.  
Oliver O'Gara.

*Borough of Sligo.*

Terence MacDonough (returned on  
8th of May).  
James French (returned on the 8th  
of May).

*County of Tipperary.*

Nicholas Purcell, of Loghmore.  
James Butler, of Grangebeg.

*City of Cashel.*

Alderman Denis Kearney.  
Alderman James Hacket.

*Borough of Clonmel.*

Alderman Nicholas White.  
Alderman John Bray.

*Borough of Fethard.*

Sir John Everard, Bart.  
James Tobyn, of Fethard.

*County of Tyrone.*

Colonel Gordon O'Neill.  
Lewis Doe, of Dungannon.

*Borough of Dungannon.*

Arthur O'Neill, of Ballygawly.  
Patrick Donnelly, of Dungannon.

*Borough of Strabane.*

Christopher Nugent, of Dublin.  
Daniel O'Donnell, of Dublin (re-  
turned on the 8th of May).

*County of Waterford.*

John Power.  
Matthew Hore.

*Borough of Dungarvan.*

John Hore (returned on the 7th of  
May).  
Martin Hore (returned on the 7th  
of May).

*City of Waterford.*

John Porter.  
Nicholas Fitzgerald.

*County of Wexford.*

Walter Butler, of Munfine.  
Patrick Colclough, of Mounlirry.

*Borough of Wexford.*

William Talbot.  
Francis Roth.

*Borough of New Ross.*

Luke Dormer.  
Richard Butler.

*Borough of Bannow.*

Francis Plowden, Commissioner of  
the Revenue.  
Dr. Alexius Stafford, Chaplain to the  
King's Royal Regiment of Infan-  
try, &c.

*Borough of Newborough.*

Abraham Strange, of Tubberduff.  
Richard Daly, of Kilcorky.

*Borough of Enniscorthy.*

James Devereux, of Carrigmenan.  
Dudly Colclough, of Mughery.  
Arthur Waddington (by a new  
election).

*Borough of Taghmon.*

George Hore, of Polhore.  
Walter Hore, of Harperstown.

*Borough of Cloghmyne.*

Edward Sherlock, of Dublin.  
Nicholas White, of New Ross.

*Borough of Fethard.*

Colonel James Porter.  
Captain Nicholas Stafford.

*County of Wicklow.*

Richard Butler.  
William Talbot.

*Borough of Carysfort.*

Hugh Byrne.  
Pierce Archibald (in consequence of  
whose non-attendance Bartholo-  
mew Polewheele was elected).

*Borough of Wicklow.*

Francis O'Toole.  
Thomas O'Byrne.

*Borough of Blessington.*

James Eustace.  
Maurice Eustace.

*County of Westmeath.*

The Hon. Colonel William Nugent.  
The Hon. Colonel Henry Dillon.

*Borough and Manor of Mullingar.*

Garret Dillon, Prime-Sergeant-at-  
Law.  
Edmond Nugent, of Garlanstown.



*Borough of Athlone.*

Edmond Malone, Counsellor-at-Law.  
Edmond Malone, of Mallynehown.

*Borough of Kilbeggan.*

Bryan Geoghegan, of Donore.  
Charles Geoghegan, of Syenan.

*Borough of Fare.*

John Nugent, of Donore.  
Christopher Nugent, of Dardistown.

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The following Counties and  
Boroughs were not represented in this  
Parliament, though entitled to ex-  
ercise the franchise.

Charlemont (county Armagh).  
Carrickfergus (county Antrim).  
Antrim (county Antrim).  
Hillsborough (county Down).  
Bangor (county Down).  
Down (county Down).  
Newtown (county Down).  
County of Donegal.

Lifford (county Donegal).  
Ballyshannon (county Donegal).  
Killebegs (county Donegal).  
Donegall (county Donegal).  
St. Canice (county of Kilkenny).  
Birr (King's County).  
Longford (county Longford).  
Dunleer (county Louth).  
Carrickdrumrusk (county Leitrim.)  
Duleek (county Meath).  
Kells (county Meath).  
Monaghan (county Monaghan).  
County of Fermanagh.  
Enniskillen (county Fermanagh).  
Tulske (county Roscommon).  
Thurles (county Tipperary).  
Tipperary (county Tipperary).  
Clogher (county Tyrone).  
Augher (county Tyrone).  
Lismore (county Waterford).  
Tallow (county Waterford).  
Baltinglass (county Wicklow).  
County of Londonderry.  
Londonderry (county Londonderry).  
Coleraine (county Londonderry).  
Lamavaudy (county Londonderry).

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A LIST OF THE CIVIL OFFICERS, AND THE DATES OF THEIR  
ENTERING UPON OFFICE.

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THE COURT OF CHANCERY.

Sir Alexander Fitton, Knt., afterwards created Lord Fitton, of Gosworth,  
in the county of Limerick, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland.

Sir William Talbot, Bart., Master of the Rolls, appointed on the 23rd of  
April, 1689.

Denis Fitz Gerald, his Deputy.

Dr. Alexius Stafford, Dean of Christ Church,

Ignatius Berford, Esq., Doctor of Laws, appointed on the 2nd  
of May, 1689,

Dr. Matthew Kennedy, appointed on the 6th of May,

The Rev. Dr Michael Plunkett, Catholic priest, appointed on  
the 10th of May,

} Masters.

Colonel William Dorrington, Registrar, appointed on the 1st of August.  
James Nagle, Cursitor, and Ingrosser of all Original Writs.

**Owen Coile,**

**John Maynard,**

**Robert Power,**

**Thady Meagher,**

**John Henry,**

**Bryan Geoghegan,**

**Baskerville Polewhcele, Pursuivant.**

**Examinators.**

## The Six Clerks of Court.

**COURT OF KING'S BENCH.**

**Second Justiceship vacant.**

**Randal Mac Donnell, Clerk of the Crown, and Prothonotary, appointed on 6th of July, 1689.**

**Francis Nugent, Deputy Prothonotary.**

**Bryan Kearney, Deputy Clerk of the Crown.**

**COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.**

**Denis Daly, of Carrownakelly, Second Justice.**

**Peter Martin, of Kilconnell, Third Justice.**

Edmond FitzGerald, Chief and only Prothonotary, appointed on the 23rd of January, 1689.

**Richard Fenner, his Deputy.**

Robert Barnewell, Custos Brevium, and Chirographer, appointed on the 6th of January.

**James Nagle, Clerk of the Outlawrics.**

## COURT OF EXCHEQUER.

Buno Talbot, Chancellor.

Treasurer, vacant.

Sir Stephen Rice, Knt., Lord Chief Baron.

Sir John Barnwell, Knt., Second Baron.

Sir Henry Lynch, Bart., of Castlecarra, Puisne Baron.

Oliver Grace, Chief Remembrancer, appointed on the 1st of August, 1689.

Second Remembrancership not disposed of. Although in ancient times this was an office of great perquisite, in James II.'s reign it was not worth the fees of passing the patent.

Walter, Lord Dongan, Clerk of the Common Pleas, appointed on the 8th of August.

Murtagh Griffin, his Deputy.

Philip O'Dwyer, his Sub-Deputy.

Richard Talbot of Malahide, Auditor-General, appointed on the 6th of July, 1689.

Christopher Malone, Surveyor-General, appointed on the 23rd of July, 1689. Held in trust for the Duchess of Tyrconnell's daughter, who was married to Colonel Dillon.

James Nagle, Clerk of the Estreats, and Summonister, appointed on the 3rd of October, 1689.

Richard Morgan, Pursuivant, appointed on the 24th of October, 1689.

Francis Stafford, Clerk of the Pipe, appointed on the 28th of November, 1689.

Charles White, Clerk of the First Fruits and 20th Parts, appointed on the 20th of December, 1689.

Marcus Bagot, First Sergeant-at-Arms.

Thomas Haughton, Second Sergeant-at-Arms, appointed on the 7th of January, 1689.

Bryan Mac Dermott, Clerk of the Pels and Tallies, and Clerk of the Treasury, appointed on the 16th of January, 1689.

Patrick Kennedy, Comptroller of the Pipe, appointed on the 13th of February, 1689.

Thady Meagher, Clerk of the Errors. This is on the Statute for writs of error from the King's Bench to the Exchequer Chamber, appointed on the 18th of February, 1689.

John Barry, Chief Chamberlain, appointed on the 27th of February, 1689.

Simon Carrick, Second Chamberlain.

Oliver Grace, Transcripitor and Foreign Opposer, appointed on the 6th of March.

## LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF THE TREASURY.

The Duke of Tyrconnell Lord Lieutenant; Colonel the Earl of Dover, Lord Riverstown, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench; Sir Stephen Rice, Knt., Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer; Buno Talbot, Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Mr. Adam Colclough, Secretary; all appointed on the 9th of June, 1689; Hugh O'Reilly, Clerk of the Privy Council, appointed on the 27th of August.

## COMMISSIONERS OF THE MINT IN DUBLIN.

John Trinder, William Talbot, Thomas Goddars, William Bromfield, Francis Rice, Edward Fox, and Walter Plunket, all appointed on the 26th of August, 1689. Alderman James Malone and Richard Malone were appointed to the office of Printer-General on the 31st of January, 1689.

## COMMISSIONERS OF THE REVENUE.

Sir Theobald Butler, Sir Patrick Trant, Sir William Ellis, John Trinder, Richard Collins, Francis Plowden, and Charles Playdel, Secretary.

Sir Henry Bond,

Lewis Doe,

Nicholas FitzGerald, Solicitor.

Robert Longfield, Clerk of the Quit Rents and Forfeited Estates.

} Receivers-General:

A LIST OF THE PRIVY COUNCILLORS APPOINTED BY KING JAMES'S LETTERS PATENT, BEARING DATE THE 28TH OF FEBRUARY, 1684, AND THOSE WHO WERE SWORN AFTERWARDS BY 'PARTICULAR LETTERS.'

The Lord High Chancellor.

The Lord Primate.

The Lord Archbishop of Dublin.

The Lord High Treasurer.

The Secretary of State.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Master of the Ordnance.

The Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

The Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

The Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

The Lieutenant-General of the Army.

The Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Guards.	Viscount Netterville.
(All the above for time being).	Viscount Gormanstown.
The Duke of Ormonde (not sworn).	Viscount Rosse.
The Earl of Thomond.	Lord Louth.
The Earl of Roscommon.	Lord Bellew.
The Earl of Ardglass.	Sir Paul Rycant.
The Earl of Drogheda.	Sir William Wentworth.
The Earl of Mount-Alexander.	Sir William Talbot.
The Earl of Ranelagh (not sworn).	The Hon. Justin Mac Carthy (after- terwards created Viscount Mount- cashel).
The Earl of Longford.	Thomas Keitley.
Viscount Fitzhardinge.	Thomas Nugent (afterwards created Lord Riverstown).
Viscount Blessington.	Denis Daly (afterwards Justice of the Common Pleas).
Sir Charles Fielding (not sworn).	Stephen Rice (afterwards knighted, Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer).
Sir Richard Reyneld (not sworn).	Richard Hamilton.
Sir Thomas Newcomen.	Nicholas Purcell.
Sir Robert Hamilton.	Anthony Hamilton (afterwards Count Hamilton).
Robert Fitz-Gerald.	Thomas Sheridan.
Adam Loftus.	Simon Luttrell.
Lemuel Kingdon.	Fitz-Gerald Villiers.
The Earl of Tyrconnel (afterwards appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and created a Duke).	Colonel Garret Moore.
The Earl of Limerick.	Colonel Charles O'Neill.
The Earl of Ballymore.	Charles White.
The Earl of Clanricarde.	Francis Plowden.
The Earl of Antrim.	
The Earl of Tyrone.	
Viscount Ikerin.	
Viscount Galmoy.	

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PRIVY COUNCILLORS SWORN BEFORE THE KING AFTER HIS  
ARRIVAL IN IRELAND.

The Duke of Berwick.	Viscount Clare.
The Duke of Powis.	Lord Kenmare.
The Marquis d'Albeville.	Lord Merrion.
The Earl of Clanricarde.	Lord Thomas Howard.
The Earl of Abercorn.	Lord Chief Justice Herbert.
The Earl of Melfort.	Colonel Sarsfield (afterwards Earl of Lucan).
The Earl of Dover.	Colonel Dorrington.
The Earl of Carlingford.	Colonel William Patten.
Viscount Kilmallock.	

LORD LIEUTENANTS AND DEPUTY-LIEUTENANTS OF THE  
DIFFERENT COUNTIES IN IRELAND DURING KING JAMES'S  
REIGN.

## LEINSTER.

<i>Counties.</i>	<i>Lord Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Deputy Lieutenants.</i>
Dublin (county), . . .	Colonel Simon Luttrell,	{ Thomas Warren. Bartholomew Russell.
Dublin (city), . . .	{ The Lord Mayor, . . . Terence MacDermott, . . .	{ Sir Thomas Hacket. William Sarsfield.
Meath, . . . . .	{ Lord Gormanstown, . . .	{ Thomas Bellew. Francis Nugent. Walter Nagle.
Trim, . . . . .		
Westmeath, . . . . .	The Earl of Westmeath,	Edward Nugent, of Carlingston.
Mullingar, . . . . .	Ditto, . . . . .	James Nugent, of Welsh-town.
Longford (county), . . .	Colonel William Nugent,	Fergus O'Farrell.
Longford (borough), . . .	Ditto, . . . . .	Laurence Nugent.
Carlow (county), . . .	Colonel Dudley Bagnal,	Marcus Baggot.
Carlow (town), . . .	Ditto, . . . . .	William Cooke.
Kilkenny (county), . . .	Lord Galmoy, . . . .	John Grace.
Kilkenny (town), . . .	Ditto, . . . . .	Cæsar Colclough.
Wexford (county), . . .	{ Colonel Walter Butler, Ditto, . . . . . Ditto, . . . . .	{ Patrick Colclough. Walter Talbot. Edward Masterson.
Wexford (town), . . .		
Wicklow (county), . . .		
Wicklow (town), . . .	John Talbot, of Belgard,	Hue Roe O'Byrne.
Wicklow (town), . . .	Ditto, . . . . .	Thady O'Byrne.
King's County, . . .	Colonel Garrett Moore,	Terence Coghlan.
Birr (town), . . . . .	Ditto, . . . . .	Owen O'Carrell.
Queen's County, . . .	Lord Clanmalyra, . . .	Edward Morris.
Maryborough (capital), . . .	Ditto, . . . . .	Thady Fitzpatrick.
Louth (county), . . .	Lord Louth, . . . . .	Roger Bellew.
Drogheda (capital), . . .	Ditto, . . . . .	John Babe.
Kildare (county), . . .	{ The Earl of Limerick, . . . Ditto, . . . . . Ditto, . . . . .	{ Captain Charles Whyla. Francis Leigh. William FitzGerald, of Cookstown.
Naas (capital), . . .		

## MUNSTER.

<i>Counties.</i>	<i>Lord Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Deputy-Lieutenants.</i>
Cork (county), . . .	{ Lord Mountcashel, . . . Ditto, . . . . . Ditto, . . . . . Ditto, . . . . .	Pierce Nagle.
Cork (capital), . . .		Daniel MacCarthy Reagh.
		The O'Sullivan Berc.
		Charles MacCarthy.

<i>Counties.</i>	<i>Lord Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Deputy Lieutenants.</i>	
Waterford (county), . . .	The Earl of Tyrone, . . .	John Nugent.	
Waterford (capital), . . .	Ditto, . . . . .	Thomas Sherlock.	
Clare (county), . . .	{ Lord Clare, . . . . .	Donough O'Brian, Dough Castle.	
Ennis (capital), . . .		Ditto, . . . . .	Francis MacNamara, of Moyriesk.
		Ditto, . . . . .	John MacNamara, of Crat- loe Castle.
		Ditto, . . . . .	Florence MacNamara.
Kerry (county), . . .	Lord Kilmare, . . .	Donough Macgillicuddy.	
Tralee (capital), . . .	Ditto, . . . . .	Joseph Browne.	
Limerick (county), . . .	Lord Brittas, . . .	Maurice Fitzgerald.	
Limerick (city), . . .	Ditto, . . . . .	Dominick Roche.	
Tipperary (county), . . .	{ Walter Butler, . . . . .	Jas. Butler, of Kilascahan.	
Clonmel (capital), . . .		Ditto, . . . . .	Garrett Gough.
		Ditto, . . . . .	John Cantwell.
		Ditto, . . . . .	Daniel MacCarthy.

## CONNAUGHT.

<i>Counties.</i>	<i>Lord Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Deputy-Lieutenants.</i>
Galway (county) . . .	The Earl of Clanricarde,	Captain Francis Forster, of Clooneene.
Ditto, . . . . .	Ditto, . . . . .	Roger O'Shaughnessy.
Ditto, . . . . .	Ditto, . . . . .	John O'Donnellan, of Balldonnellan.
Ditto, . . . . .	Ditto, . . . . .	Nicholas Ffrench, of Durras.
Ditto, . . . . .	Ditto, . . . . .	Myles Burke.
Ditto, . . . . .	Ditto, . . . . .	Major James Forster, of Rathorpe, High Sheriff of the county.
Roscommon (county), . . .	Lord Dillon, . . . . .	Patrick Plunkett.
Roscommon (capital), . . .	Ditto, . . . . .	John Fallen.
County of Mayo, . . .	Lord Athenry, . . .	Colonel John Browne.
Ballintubber (borough), . . .	Ditto, . . . . .	John Hoare.
Sligo (county), . . .	Colonel Henry Dillon, . . .	Edward Crofton.
Sligo (capital), . . .	Ditto, . . . . .	James Ffrench.
Leitrim (county), . . .	{ Colonel Alexander MacDonnell,	Henry O'Neill.
		Hugh O'Rorke.



## ULSTER.

<i>Counties.</i>	<i>Lord Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Deputy Lieutenants.</i>
Cavan (county), . . .	Colonel Edmond O'Reilly,	Philip Oge O'Reilly.
Cavan (capital), . . .	Ditto, . . . . .	Myles O'Reilly, jun.
Monaghan (county), .	Colonel Arthur Oge Mac	
	Mahon, . . . . .	Colonel Bryan Mac Mahon.
Ditto, . . . . .	Ditto, . . . . .	Captain Hugh MacMahon.
County of Tyrone, . .	Colonel Gordon O'Neill,	Captain Terence O'Don-
		nelly.
Ditto, . . . . .	Ditto, . . . . .	John O'Donnelly.
Armagh (county), . .	Sir Neill O'Neill, . .	Walter Hovendon.
Ditto, . . . . .	Ditto, . . . . .	Constantine O'Neill.
Londonderry (county), .	Colonel Cormack O'Neill,	Captain Roger O'Cahane.
Ditto, . . . . .	Ditto, . . . . .	Captain Francis O'Cahane.
Donegal, . . . . .	Connell O'Donnell, . .	Manus O'Donnell.
Ditto, . . . . .	Ditto, . . . . .	Torlogh Oge O'Boyle.
Ditto, . . . . .	Ditto, . . . . .	Daniel O'Donnell.
Down (county), . . .	Lord Iveagh, . . . .	Shilling Magennis.
Ditto, . . . . .	Ditto, . . . . .	Arthur Magennis.
Antrim (county), . .	Earl of Antrim, . . .	John O'Neill.
Ditto, . . . . .	Ditto, . . . . .	Colonel Thady O'Hara.
Fermanagh (county),	Lord Enniskillen, . .	Constantine Maguire.

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When King James's fortune began to decline, he issued a commission, bearing date the 10th of April 1690, for applotting £20,000 per month on personal estates, and the benefit of trade, 'according to the ancient custome of this Kingdom, used in time of danger.' The following is a List of those persons appointed by His Majesty to collect this Tax for Three Months:—

For the city and county of Dublin:—The Lord Mayor and Sheriff of the city, for the time being; Garrett Dillon, Esq., Recorder, Simon Luttrell, Governor of the city; Sir Thomas Hackett, Sir William Ellis, Thomas Whitehead, Lewis Doe, and Thomas Browne, Esqrs. Their applotment on the city to be £5,000 for three months.

For the county of Dublin:—The High Sheriff for the time being; Simon Luttrell, Esq., Lord Lieutenant of the county; Colonel Patrick Sarsfield, afterwards Earl of Lucan, John Talbot, of Belgard, Esq., Captain Robert Arthur,

Captain Robert Russell, James Hacket, Esq., Christopher Massey, Esq., and Ignatius Purcell, Esq. Their applotment to be £2,391 6s. 9d.

For the county of Kildare :—The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*; Sir Patrick Trant, Bart., Charles White, Esq., Colonel Charles Moore, William Talbot, John Wogan, Francis Leigh, Esqrs., The Sovereign of Naas, *pro temp.*, and Edmond Fitzgerald, Esq. Their applotment £1,643 5s. 3d.

For the county of Carlow :—The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*; Colonel Dudley Bagnal, John Bagot, jun., Patrick Wall, Pierce Brian, Marcus Bagot, Hubert Kelly, Esqrs., The Sovereign of Carlow, *pro temp.*, and William Coolie, Esq. Their applotment £726 19s. 3d.

For the King's County :—The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*; Garrett Moore, Esq., Colonel Francis Oxburgh, Terence Coghlan, John Coghlan, of Tullamore, Edward Bagot, Owen O'Carroll, Henry Oxburgh, Garrett Trant. Their applotment £860 17s. 6d.

For the Queen's County :—The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*, Sir Patrick Trant, Bart., Sir Gregory Byrne, Edward Morris, Oliver Grace, Thady FitzPatrick, Daniel Doran, John Weaver, and John Warren, Esqrs. Their applotment £956 10s. 9d.

For the county of Longford :—The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*; Oliver Fitzgerald, Thomas Nugent, of Colamber, John Nugent, of Killasonna, Robert Lans, Francis Farrell, Robert Farrell, and Robert Dowling. Their applotments £573 18s. 3d.

For the county of Mayo :—The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*; Sir Patrick Barnewall, Sir William Talbot, Sir John Fleming, Thomas Bellew, Henry Draycott, John Hatch, Adam Crane, and Richard Barnewall, Esqrs. Their applotment £2,793 2s.

For the county Westmeath :—The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*; Garrett Nugent, of Dysart, Edmond Malone, Garret Nagle, William Handcock, James Dease, Keadagh Geoghegan, George Peyton, and Richard Fitzgerald, Esqrs. Their applotment £1,434 16s.

For the city of Kilkenny :—The Mayor, Recorder, and Sheriffs, *pro temp.*; Walter Lawless, Henry Archer, Luke Dormer, James Rafter, and John Shee. Their applotment £190 17s. 6d.

For the county of Kilkenny :—The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*; Colonel Walter Butler Colonel Edward Butler, John Grace, Marcus Shee, Hervey Morris, Esqrs., The Sovereign of Callan, *pro temp.*, Edmond Blanchville, Esq., and the Portrieve of Gowran, *pro temp.* Their applotment £1,932 4s. 3d.

For the county of Wexford :—The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*; Colonel Walter Butler, Patrick Colclough, Walter Talbot, William Howe, Patrick Lambert, Anthony Talbot, Matthew Forde, and Patrick White, Esqrs. Their applotment £1,434 16s.

For the county of Wicklow :—The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*; Francis Toole, William Talbot, of Fassaroe, Philip Cowdell, William Wolverston, William

Hoey, Cromwell Wingfield, Esqrs., and Thomas Byrne, Burgess of Wicklow. Their applotment £688 14s. 3d.

For the county of Louth:—The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*; Sir Patrick Bellew, John Cheevers, Roger Gernon, John Babe, Henry Townley, Patrick Dowdall, and Nicholas Gernon, Esqrs. Their applotment £994 16s.

For the Town of Drogheda:—The Mayor, Recorder, and Sheriffs, *pro temp.*; Thomas Peppard, Christopher Peppard, Patrick Plunket, Alderman, and John Moore, Esqrs. Their applotment £210 9s. 3d.

For the county of Limerick:—The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*; Sir Joseph FitzGerald, Dominick Roche, John Bourke, of Cahirmoyle, John Rice, of Hospital, Edward Rice, John Baggott, sen., Henry Wray, Thadeus Quinn, and George Evans, Esqrs. Their applotment £1,932 1s. 3d.

For the city of Limerick:—The Mayor, Recorder, and Sheriffs, *pro temp.*; Sir James Galway, Bart., John MacNamara, John Rice, Robert Herman, and John Leonard, Esqrs. Their applotment £382 12s. 3d.

For the county of Cork:—The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*; Daniel O'Donevan, Daniel O'Sullivan Bear, Daniel MacCarthy Reagh, Nicholas Browne Esqrs., Sir John Meade, Knt., Sir James Cotter, Knt., Miles Coursey, Charles MacCarthy, *alias* MacDonough, Edward Fitzgerald, of Ballyverter, Dominick Sarsfield, David Nagle, John Galway, Martin Supple, Esqrs., the Mayor, Recorder, and Sheriffs of the city of Cork, *pro temp.*, Andrew Morrough, Stephen Gould, John Langan, Edward Gough, Esqrs., the Mayor of Youghal, *pro temp.*, The Sovereign of Kinsale, *pro temp.*, The Sovereign of Mallow, *pro temp.*, The Sovereign of Charleville, *pro temp.*, and John Power, of Kellbally, Esq. Their applotment £683 11s.

For the city of Waterford:—The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*; The Earl of Tyrone, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Nugent, Matthew How, John Nugent, Nicholas Power, Esqrs. Their applotments £1,292 12s. 9d.

For the county and city of Waterford:—The Mayor, Recorder, and Sheriffs, *pro temp.*; Richard FitzGerald, Michael Porter, Michael Head, and James White, Esqrs. Their applotment £382 12s. 3d.

For the county of Clare:—The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*; Sir Donough O'Brien, Bart., of Dromoland Castle, Lieutenant-Colonel John MacNamara, of Cratloe Castle, Donough O'Brien, of Duach Castle, Daniel MacNamara, John MacNamara, of Moyriesk, James Aylmer, Florence MacNamara, Samuel Boyton, John MacNamara, and the Provost of Ennis, *pro temp.* Their applotment £1,798 5s. 6d.

For the county of Kerry:—The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*; Colonel Charles MacCarthy, commonly called The MacCarthy More, Sir Thomas Crosby, Knt., William Browne, Stephen Rice, Daniel O'Donoghue, Ambrose Moore, The Sovereign of Dingle, *pro temp.*, the Provost of Tralee, *pro temp.*, and Andrew Elliott. Their applotment £1,052 4s. 9d.

For the county of Tipperary, including Holy Cross:—The High Sheriff,

*pro temp.*; Colonel Nicholas Purcell, Major James Tobyn, John Cantwell, James Kearney, Thadeus O'Meagher, Terence Magrath, James Hackett, Ambrose Mandeville, Esqrs., The Mayor of Cashel, *pro temp.*, The Mayor of Clonmel, *pro temp.*, Edmond Ryan, Cormick Egan, Nicholas White, Esqrs., The Sovereign of Fethard, and Peter Dalton, Esq. Their applotment £4,208 16s.

For the county of Donegal:—The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*; Captain Manus O'Donnell, Henry Nugent, John Nugent, Daniel MacSwine, Captain Daniel O'Donnell, and Captain Hugh O'Donnell. Their applotment £1,951 7s.

For the county of Tyrone:—The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*; the Provost of Strabane, *pro temp.*, The Provost of Dungannon, *pro temp.*, Captain Terence Donnelly, Patrick Donnelly, Hugh Quinn, and John Clements, Esqrs. Their applotment £1,492 4s.

For the county of Fermanagh:—The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*; Colonel Constantine Maguire, Edmond Oge Maguire, Bryan Maguire, Constantine Oge Maguire, Philip Maguire, Esqrs., and Captain Thomas Maguire. Their applotment £1,013 18s. 9d.

For the county of Cavan:—The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*; Captain Edmond O'Reilly, Luke O'Reilly, Philip O'Reilly, Philip Oge O'Reilly, Francis Bourke, and Thomas Fleming, Esqrs. Their applotment £1,090 9s. 6d.

For the county of Monaghan:—The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*; Colonel Art Oge MacMahon, Captain Hugh MacMahon, Captain Bryan MacMahon, Captain Farrell Ward, Dr. Henry Cassidy, and Alexander MacCabe, Esqrs. Their applotment £1,052 4s.

For the county of Antrim, including the town of Carrickfergus:—The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*; Colonel Sir Neill O'Neill, Bart., Cormack O'Neill, Randal MacDonnell, Thady O'Hara, Francis Stafford, and Roland White, Esqrs. Their applotment £2,257 8s. 9d.

For the county of Down:—The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*; Phelim Magennis, Murtagh Magennis, Roland Savage, John Savage, John MacArtan, and Toole O'Neill, Esqrs. Their applotment £2,011 14s. 3d.

For the county of Armagh:—The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*; The Sovereign of Armagh, *pro temp.*; Colonel Owen O'Neill, Torlough O'Neill, Paul O'Neill, Hugh Burghe O'Neill, and Robert Martin, Esqrs. Their applotment £1,052 4s.

For the county of Londonderry, and the city of Londonderry, and the town and barony of Coleraine:—The Mayor and Sheriffs of Londonderry, *pro temp.*; Cormack O'Neill, Constantine O'Neill, Arth. O'Hagan, and John O'Hagan, Esqrs. Their applotment £1,473 1s. 3d.

For the county of the town of Galway:—The Mayor, Recorder, and Sheriffs, *pro temp.*; Stephen Deane, Peter Kirwan, John Bodkin, James Browne, Collector, John Kirwan, Thomas Revett, and George Staunton, Esqrs. Their applotment £325 4s. 6d.

For the county of Galway:—The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*; Sir Ulick Burke, Bart., of Glynsk, Captain Roger O'Shaughnessy, Richard Burke, of Derrymacloughlin Castle, Nicholas Ffrench, of Duras, Oliver Martyn, of Tillyra Castle, Dermot Daly, Loughlin Daly, James O'Donnellan, Richard Blake, of Ardfry, and Myles Burke, of Clogheroge, Esqrs. Their applotment £2,410 9s. 6d.

For the county of Roscommon:—The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*; Colonel Charles Kelly, Captain Theobald Dillon, Bryan Fallon, Roger MacDermot, Cormack MacDermot, Esqrs., and The Portrieve of Roscommon, *pro temp.* Their applotment £1,501 15s. 3d.

For the county of Sligo:—The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*; Colonel Oliver O'Gara, Henry Crofton, David Bond, Charles O'Hara, John Crofton, James Ffrench, John Brett, Esqrs., and The Sovereign of Sligo, *pro temp.* Their applotment £1,186 2s.

For the county of Leitrim:—The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*; Colonel Henry O'Neill, Captain John Reynolds, Lieutenant Jeffry O'Rourke, Gerald Keane, Bryan Geoghegan, Thady Roddy. Their applotment £688 14s. 3d.

For the county of Mayo:—The High Sheriff, *pro temp.*; Colonel Garret Moore, Colonel Henry Dillon, Colonel John Browne, Lieutenant-Colonel Walter Burke, George Browne, Esq., Captain Thomas Burke, Captain John Bermingham, and John Fitzgerald, Esq. Their applotment £1,555 14s. 3d.

## A LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL OFFICERS EMPLOYED IN THE REVENUE, 24TH OF JUNE, 1690.

### DUBLIN PORT:—CHIEF COMMISSIONERS AND OFFICERS ESTABLISHED BY PATENT.

Sir Patrick Trant, Knt.	}	Commissioners of the Revenue.
Francis Plowden,		
John Trinder,		
Richard Collins, Esqrs.		
Sir William Ellis, Knt.		
Charles Playdel, Secretary.		
Nicholas Fitzgerald, Solicitor.		
James Bonnell, Accomptant-General.		

### *Collectors and Officers appointed by the Commissioners, viz:—*

Doctor James Fitzgerald, Collector.  
Nathaniel Evans, Clerk to the Commissioners.

William Alcock, { Examiner of the Port-accounts, and Warrants, and  
Cashier.

Senolphus Bellasis, Clerk of the Coast.

John Kent, Land Surveyor, and Comptroller of the Store.

Edward Prescott, Land Surveyor.

John Robinson,  
Denis Boyle,  
Francis Isaackson,  
Henry FitzGerald, } Land-waiters.

Bartholomew Wybrants, Store-keeper.

Robert Longfield, Chief Clerk of the Quit and Crown Rents.

William Briscoe,  
Phelim Dempsey, } Surveyors of Ringsend.

Francis Creagh, Surveyor at Dunleary.

*Dublin Excise, viz :—*

Francis Babe, Collector.

Bernard Waight, Surveyor-General of Excise.

James O'Carroll, Examiner of Excise Accounts.

*Ports and Districts, viz :—*

Benjamin Powning, Examiner of Diaries.

Henry Davis,  
Jacob Walton,  
Philip Clayton, } Surveyors of Excise.

Athlone, { Christopher Nicholson, Collector.  
Peter Duffe, Surveyor.

Baltimore. Dominick Nagle, Collector.

Clonmel, { Terence Magrath, Collector.  
Edward Morris, Surveyor.

Cork Port, { Sir James Cotter, Collector.  
Edward Trant, Surveyor.  
Florence MacCarty, Surveyor at Cove.

Cork Excise, { Francis Garvan, Collector.  
James Griffith, Surveyor.

Dingle, Ambrose Moore, Collector.

Bernard Byrne, Collector.

Drogheda, { Walter Babe, Surveyor of Excise.

Maurice Moriarty, Surveyor at New-Key.

Dungarvan, Thomas Meade, Collector.

{ John MacNamara, Collector.

Ennis, { James Dalton, Surveyor.

Foxford,	{ Valentine Kirwan, Collector. Nicholas Tapping, Surveyor.
Galway Pond,	Arthur Nagle, Collector.
Galway Excise,	James Browne, Collector.
Kilkenny,	{ Cæsar Colclough, Collector. Samuel Pigeon, Surveyor.
Kinsale,	{ Dominick Rice, Collector. Dominick Murrough, Surveyor.
Limerick,	{ John Rice, Collector. Nicholas Skiddy, Surveyor.
Loughrea,	Stephen Dean, Collector.
Maryborough,	{ Garret Trant, Collector. William Bourne, Surveyor.
Moyallow,	{ John Longfield, Collector. Richard Aylward, Surveyor.
Naas,	{ Edmond Fitzgerald, Collector. Robert Dowdall, Surveyor.
Rosse,	{ James Butler, Collector. Mark Whitty, Surveyor.
Sligo,	Owen MacDermot, Collector.
Trim,	{ Richard Barnwall, Hugh MacDonough, } Surveyors. Richard Barton,
Waterford,	{ Councillor Butler, Collector. James Heas, Surveyor.
Wexford,	Anthony Talbot, Collector.
Wicklow,	Barnaby Hacket, Collector.
Youghal,	{ Patrick Fitzgerald, Collector. David Fitzgerald, Surveyor.

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#### THE SEPT OF O'SHAUGHNESSY.

This aboriginal family, who were anciently Chiefs of Cineal Aodh, held a high position in Connaught, from the reign of Henry VIII., to that of James II., when their possessions were confiscated for adhering to his cause. Owing to the severity of William III. and his successors, not one of the family now possess property in the territory. In a description of the Province of Connaught, dated in the month of January, 1612, it is stated that 'the O'Heynes were then utterly banished, but that the O'Shaughnessies remayned a rich and hable family.' They are thus alluded to by O'Dugan, as one of



those families who gave Chiefs to the district called Hy-Fiachrach Aidhne, in the 14th century.

“ Let us approach Aidhne of steeds,  
And their noble Chiefs of hospitality ;  
Let us trace their Kings, who are not few,  
And treat of the host of the free clans.

We treat of Aidhne, a duly uncontrouled,  
We leave the Tribes of Connaught ;  
We have melodiously sung of her nobles,  
Let us record the Chiefs of Hy-Fiachra.

\* \* \* \* \*

To other Chiefs of Kinel-Hugh,  
O'Shaughnessy whom I will not shun ;  
Together with O'Cahil of the learned men ;  
Smooth are his fields, and fertile his mountains.”

Fourteen of the race of Hy-Fiachrach were Kings of Connaught. Heremon, Monarch of Ireland, was ancestor of Achy, Monarch of Ireland, in A. D. 358, who married Mogfinna, daughter of Fidach, and sixth in descent from Olill Olom, King of Munster, by whom he had four sons :—

- I. Brian, from whom the Hybriunians in Connaught.
- II. Fiachrach, ancestor of the Hyfrachrians, in Connaught.
- III. Fergus.
- IV. Olill.

King Achy married, secondly, Carinna, the Saxon, and had issue—

Niall, the Great King of Ireland in A. D. 379, called Niall of the nine hostages.

Fiachrach, second son of King Achy, by his first wife, was King of Connaught and father of

Dathy, who succeeded his uncle Niall as King of Ireland. This Monarch carried his victorious armies through Britain and France, and helped to cause the fall of the Roman Empire. He was killed by lightning at the foot of the Alps, and his body was brought to Ireland by his troops, and interred in the county of Roscommon, at Relig-na-Rioh, or the burying-place of the Kings of Ireland ; and a large red pillar was placed over his grave, which remains to this day. He was killed in A. D. 428, and was the last Pagan King of Ireland. His real name was Feredach, but he was called Dathy, in consequence of his quickness in putting on his armour ; and is said by many ancient poetical Irish writers to have been so skilful in handling his arms and defending himself, that, if attacked by a hundred persons at once, all discharging their weapons at him, he could ward off every blow by his dexterity. He married Felia,\* daughter of Achy, and had issue—

\* Olill Molt, Monarch of Ireland, was son of King Dathi, by his wife Ethnea, daughter of Courach Cas ; and Fiachrach Elgad was his son by Rusina, daughter of Artich Uctlethan.

Achy Breac, who was father of

Eoghan Aidhne, so named from being Chief of the territory of Aidhne, called 'the land of saints.' He was reared and educated in this territory by the Oga Bathra tribe, who afterwards elected him their Chieftain. He had issue—

- I. Canall.
- II. Cormac.
- III. Sedna.
- IV. Senach Ceanngamhna.

Conall, the eldest son, was father of

Goibhnenn, Chief of Hy-Fiachrach Aidhne. This warlike Chieftain in A. D. 531, fought the battle of Claonloch, in Cineal Aodh, in which he slew the valiant Maine, son of Cerbhal. He was father of

Cobhthach, who had issue—

- I. Aodh.
- II. Colman.

III. Canall, who was father of Ainmire, father of Duach, who married Rignach, the daughter of Cormac, of the race of Achy Breac, and was father of the celebrated St. Colman, commonly called MacDuach, to distinguish him from others bearing the same Christian-name, patron of Cineal Aodh, and first bishop of Cill MhicDuach, the church of the son of Duach, now Kilmacduach, in the county Galway.

Colman, the second son of Cobhthach, was father of

Guaire Aidhne, the Hospitable. He was King of Connaught, and from him the town of Gort was called Insi Guara, or the Island of Guara, it being his royal residence. He was father of

Artgoile, who had issue—

- I. Aodh.
- II. Artgoile, father of

Fergal Aidhne, King of Connaught, who died in 694, who was father of  
Torpa, father of  
Cathmagh, father of  
Comuscach, father of  
Ceadadhach, father of  
Cluireach, father of  
Eidhin *a quo* O'Hynes.

Aodh, the eldest son, was father of

Morrough, father of  
Broinleath Dearg, father of  
Tobhuigh Brenain, father of  
Gabhran, father of  
Eaghno, father of  
Nochba, father of  
Scothmaine, father of  
Moltuile, father of

Cais.

Maolciarain.

Ferguli.

Conmidhe.

Donough.

Sheaghnaasy, from whom the name O'Shaughnessy is derived.

Guil Buidhe O'Shaughnessy, killed at the battle of Ardee in 1159.

Randall O'Shaughnessy.

Giolla na naomh Crom O'Shaughnessy, Chief of the western half of Cineal Aodh, who died in 1224.

Ruidric.

Giolla na naomh.

William.

Owen, or Eoghan-or Achy.

John Buighe.\*

William, who was succeeded by his son

Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy,† who married More Ny Bryan, called Na Pheeach or the gaudy, daughter of Bryan O'Brien, son of Teige, son of Torlough, son of Bryan, 'of the battle of Nenagh.' The 'Annals of the Four Masters' state, that this lady was distinguished for her personal beauty and benevolence. She died in 1569. Dermot O'Shaughnessy having accompanied O'Brien, King of Thomond, and Ulick na Cane, of Clan-Rickard, to the Court of Henry VIII., they surrendered their territories; and the Lord Deputy states, that they had no sterling money, as none could be had in the kingdom; but that he lent them some in harp groats; and he says, in a letter addressed to King Henry, speaking of O'Brien—'That ther repaireth with O'Brien one O'Shaughness, a goodly gentleman dwelling between Thomond and Connaught,' and adds, 'We know no suite he hathe but only to see you and take his lands, and be your subject.' Henry VIII. wrote afterwards to the Council in Ireland, stating that he had created 'O'Shaghness,' a knight, and directing them to make out a patent for 'O'Shaftness,' and others, of their lands,‡ such as they have now in their possession; and in a note it is stated, that O'Shaughnessy was to have a 'Bishoprick,' or some other spiritual

\* This Chieftain is called in the 'Annals of the Four Masters,' *John* Buighe, but is mentioned in many Irish Genealogies as *Owen* Buighe. This, however, makes no difference, as *Owen* is the old Irish for *John*.

† Hardiman, in his History of Galway, page 216, Note h, speaking of this Sir Dermot, says:—'Sir Dermot, the *seventh* in descent from Seachnusy.' This is altogether incorrect, as it may be seen by the above pedigree, which is the authenticated one, that he was the *tenth* in descent from Sheaghnaasy.

‡ It appears by the Patent Roll, 33-35, Henry VIII., that the King wrote to the Lord Deputy and Privy Council of Ireland, on the 9th of July, 1533, stating—"We have made the Lord of Upper Ossory, M<sup>c</sup>Nemarrowe, O'Shaftness, Denys Grady, and — Wise, Knyghtes, and wall, that by virtue and warraunt thereof, youe shall make out unto M<sup>c</sup>Nemarrowe O'Shaftness, and Denys Grady, several patentees of all such lands as they nowe have."

dignity for his kinsman Malachy Donohoo, and the Bishoprick of Kilmacduagh for his son William Shaftness. On the 3rd of December, 1543, Sir Dermot received his patent from Henry VIII.,\* which recited, that although he and his predecessors, Kings of England, were the true possessors of the lands therein named, yet, that Sir Dermot and his ancestors possessed them unjustly against the Crown until lately: being truly sensible thereof, he relinquished the same, and accordingly granted to Sir Dermot, Chief of his name, and his heirs male *in capite*, by the service of a knight's fee, all the estate which he had in the manors, lordships, lands, &c., of Gort-Inchegorie, and several other lands, with a proviso, however, of forfeiture, in case of any confederacy or disturbance against the Crown. Sir Dermot had issue†—

I. Sir Roger.

II. William, referred to above.

III. Dermot, surnamed Reavagh, who contended for the Chieftaincy of Cineal Aodh, of whom presently.

IV. Joan married, about the year 1560, Edmond Bermingham, 15th Lord Athenry, and Premier Baron of Ireland, by whom she had issue.

Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy, called in the 'Annals of the Four Masters,' Giolla Duff, married the Lady Honora O'Brien, daughter of Morrough, the first Earl of Thomond. This lady was Abbess of the Abbey of Killowen, near Ennis. Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy died in 1569, and his death is thus recorded in the 'Annals of the Four Masters.' "O'Shaughnessy, i. e. Giolla Duv, the son of Dermot, son of William, son of John Buighe, the supporting mound of all the English and Irish who came to his place, died; he was, though not learned in the Latin or English, the most esteemed and admired man by the English of his time." He left issue‡—

\* The patent was for the following lands:—All the manors, lordships, towns, and townlands of Gotynchegory, Dromneyll, Dellyncallan, Ballyhide, Monynan, Ardgossam, Ballyegyn, Kapparell, Clonehage, Tollenegan, Lyckenegarishe, Crege, Karrynges, Tirrelagh, Rathville-downe, Ardmylowan, one-third part of Droneskenan and Rath, the moiety of Flyngeston, Ardvillegoghe, Domlebalehue, Cowle, and Beke.

† "Hardiman in his 'History of Galway,' page 216, says:—'Sir Dermot had two sons, Sir Rory and Dermot.' This statement is erroneous, as it is shown by the above pedigree, that he had three sons and one daughter. That William was his son is beyond all doubt, as it is proved by the documents which passed between his father, Sir Dermot, and Henry VIII., relative to the Bishoprick of Kilmacduach, which O'Shaughnessy was desirous of obtaining for his son William.

‡ Hardiman, in his 'History of Galway,' page 216, in mentioning Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy's issue says:—"Sir Dermot had two sons, Sir Rory and Dermot; the former was married to the Lady Onora ny Brien, and had two sons, William and Darby. After his death his widow, his brother Dermot, and William, his eldest son, &c., &c." With regard to Sir Dermot having two sons, see note to the issue of the first Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy. Hardiman was also mistaken in saying, that Sir Rory, by whom he means Sir Roger, had two sons by the Lady Honora O'Brien, as his issue by that lady, as may be seen by the above pedigree, were six children, four sons and two daughters; and he was further wrong in

I. John, said in the 'Annals of the Four Masters' to have succeeded his father, but was deposed by his uncle Dermot Riveagh.

II. William, who married the sister of William Oge Burke, of Cloghroak Castle, Esq., but died without issue.

III. Fargananim, who died unmarried.

IV. Dermot, ultimately Chief of Cineal Aodh.

V. Joan.

VI. Margaret.

On the death of Sir Roger, a great disturbance took place between the members of the O'Shaughnessy family. Dermot Riveagh (his brother) claimed to be Chief of the clan, and the case was heard by the Privy Council in Dublin, who made their award on the 21st of March, 1570, in favour of Dermot Riveagh, who was a man of fierce disposition. He had been in England, and while there became what was then styled servant to the Earl of Leicester, the favourite of Queen Elizabeth, and had, therefore, great interest with the English Court, so much so, indeed, that he was able to procure from Queen Elizabeth the following letter addressed to the Lord Deputy Sir Henry Sidney:—

“BY THE QUEEN,

“ELIZABETH R.

“Right trusty and well beloved we grete you well. Wher one Derby O'Shagnes, Lord of Kynally in that o' Realme of Ireland, hath by the meanes of his Lord and Master o' Coosen the Erle of Leicester humbly required as not onely to geue him leaue to returne into his country but also to recommend his petition unto yow for some order to be taken with him upon the death of his brother named Roger O'Shaghnes as being next heire unto him we being duely inforemed of his honest demeaner here and of his earnest desire to Serve us, have been content to accompt him to o' service and too require yow to have favorable consideracion of his sute and as you shall fynd it mete to place and settle him in the foresaid Contry so the rather to encourage him to persever in his fidelitie to shewe him as muche favor as may accord with the good government of the same contry

“Given under our Signet at o' Manor of Otlands the xxiiird  
of June 1570 in the xii<sup>th</sup> yere of our Reigne.

“To O' right trusty and wellbeloved S<sup>r</sup> Henry  
Sidney, Knight of O' Order of the Garter  
and Deputy of our Realme of Irland.”

stating, that William was the eldest son, as it is proved beyond contradiction by various documents, and the Annals of Ireland, that John O'Shaughnessy, who conveyed the lands of Cineal Aodh to Sir Geoffrey Fenton, was the eldest son of Sir Roger. William was, no doubt, the eldest legitimate son; but John, before his banishment, was acknowledged by his tribe and the Government, as the lawful Chief of Cineal Aodh.

He contended against the O'Briens, and slew Morrough, third Baron of Inchiquin. According to the 'Annals of the Four Masters,' in the year 1573, "Murrough the son of Dermot, son of Murrough O'Brien, was slain by Ulick Burke, the son of Rickard, son of Ulick of the Heads, aided by O'Shaughnessy, namely, Dermot Riavach, the son of Dermot, son of William, son of John Buighe, and it was by the hand of O'Shaughnessy he was slain;" and it also states that "Gort was taken from O'Shaughnessy by John Burke, in revenge of the death of his brother," who was also slain by Dermot Riveagh. However, he still held Ardemilevan Castle, and led a desperate life until the year 1579, when according to the 'Annals of the Four Masters,' "O'Shaughnessy, i. e. Dermot Reavach, the son of Dermot, son of William, son of John Buighe, and his brother's son William, the son of Giolla Duv, son of Dermot, fell by each others' hands in a treacherous attack made by O'Shaughnessy on William in the vicinity of Ard-Maol-dubhain; William was slain on the spot, and O'Shaughnessy was wounded, of which he died soon after." The Annals further state that John, the son of Gilladuff (Sir Roger), was nominated O'Shaughnessy. This John O'Shaughnessy, the eldest son of Sir Roger, was born before the Lady Honora O'Brien, his mother, was married,\* in Galway; still it would appear that the Government were inclined at one time to acknowledge him as chief of his sept, although they had before given their decision in favour of his uncle Dermot Riveagh. In 1585 this John and his younger brother Dermot attended Perrot's Parliament. Thus it would seem the Government of that unfortunate period endeavoured to make the O'Shaughnessy clan quarrel among themselves, by having two of its members to represent it at the same time. It would also appear that John O'Shaughnessy, finding that the laws of England were in favour of his younger brother Dermot—who had made efforts to depose him—conveyed the lands of Cineal Aodh to Sir Geoffry Fenton 'for the sole consideration of Sir Geffrie maintaining his title against Dermot.' On Fenton's death Sir Fulco Comerford, who was son of Gerald Comerford of Incholegan, in Kilkenny, Baron of the Exchequer in 1603, claimed all Cineal Aodh under his will. The following extract throws some light on the history of the O'Shaughnessy sept during the early part of the seventeenth century:—

*"Abstract of Depositions in a cause in the Chancery of Ireland, wherein Fulk Comerford was Plaintiff, and Roger O'Shaghnes, of Gort-Inchigorye, in Galway county, Defendant, touching the town and lands of Cappafennell or Capperell, in that county, A. D., 1615.*

"Donnell O'Halloran of Gilloconry, in Galway county, husbandman, deposed that Sir Roger O'Shaghnes was son and heir of Sir Dermot—that Sir Roger was

\* It was found by an Inquisition, proved by the examination on oath of several witnesses at Gort, on the 29th of May, 1615, that Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy, and the Lady Helena O'Brien, were lawfully married in the house of William Skerret, at Galway, a dispensation having been first obtained from the Pope.

married to Honora ny Brien, by whom he had four sons :—1st, John, born about four or five years before marriage, as were also two daughters, Joan and Margaret; and 2nd, William; 3rd, Ferganany; and 4th Dermott, born in marriage; that William was married, but died without male issue, and Ferganany died unmarried; that John O'Shagnes conveyed all the lands in O'Shagnes county to Sir Geffrie Finton for the sole consideration of Sir Geffrie maintaining the title of John against Dermott; that John was continually disturbed in his possession by Dermott, the defendant's father; that Dermott, after the death of his two brothers, and in the lifetime of John, enjoyed the greatest part of the lands of which Sir Roger had died seised, and that John was always reputed to be a bastard; that Sir Roger, the defendant's grandfather, enjoyed these lands (viz., Cappafennell), and had tillage there, having had at one time fourteen score of reapers in harvest cutting, of whom deponent was one."

Depositions to the same effect were made by the following persons, viz. :—

"Knougher Crone O'Hyne, of Ledygane, gent., 100 years old, and upwards.

Richard Burke, of Rahaly, in Galway county, 64 years, or thereabouts; who added that he had seen an Order of Council made by Sir Henry Sydney, between Dermot and William, brother and son of Sir Roger, ordering that William should enjoy O'Shagnes' lands to him and his heirs male, remainder to Dermot, Sir Roger's brother.

Margaret, Countess Dowager of Clanrickard, 80 years old, and upwards, sister of Honora, wife of Sir Roger; who added that they were married by a dispensation from Rome.

Manus Ward, Dean of KilmacRoweth (Kilmacduach), 80 years old, or thereabouts; who added that he knew of the controversy between Dermot and William O'Shaghnes as above mentioned, wherein Dermot endeavoured to prove Sir Roger's sons bastards, because their mother was abbatissa, and could not be wife.

Sir Tirrelagh O'Brien, of Dowgh, in Clare county, Knt., nephew of Honora ny Brien.

Donell O'Heyne, of Killaveragh (Kinvara), freeholder, aged 80 years.

Richard Lord Bremigham, Baron of Athenrye, nephew of Sir Roger by his mother.

Tirlagh Roe MacMahowne, of Clare county, Esq., 44 years old; who added that he knew the defendant's father, Dermott, to have been in suit with John O'Shagnes, and to have held Gort-Inshygory, the Newton and Ardemoyle, during Sir John's lifetime, as heir of the body of Sir Roger.

Nehemias Folan, of Balladowgan, in Galway county, Esq., 60 years old; who added that Dermott Reagh O'Shaghnes, brother to Sir Roger, being servant to the Earl of Leyster, having come from England after Sir Roger's death, brought in question the legitimacy of Sir Roger's sons by the Lady Honora, at which time, during Sir Henry Sydney's Government, it appeared that the said Honora was a professed nun when the said Sir Roger had the said John by



her, and that afterwards a dispensation was procured from Rome for their marriage."

John O'Shaughnessy, the eldest son of Sir Roger, being declared illegitimate, and banished from Cineal Aodh, joined the sons of Shane na Seamar Burke, son of Rickard de Burgh, Earl of Clanricard, surnamed Sasanagh, who rebelled in 1598, and while encamped in the territory of O'Meagher at I-Kerrin, in Tipperary, were surprised by night in January, 1601, by Sir Walter Butler, and many of them slain, amongst whom was this John O'Shaughnessy. The event is thus recorded in the 'Annals of the Four Masters.'

"The sons Shane-na-Seamar, the son of Rickard Sasanach Burke, of whom we have already treated, were encamped on the estate of O'Meagher, in Ikerrin, in Tipperary, on the 1st day of the month of January. Spies and reconnoiterers came about them in that place from the Butlers, after it had been reported by some of their gentlemen, that an opportunity and an advantage could be obtained to attack them at that place where they were; so that it was on that account Sir Walter, the son of John, son of James Butler, and MacPierce, namely, James, the son of Edmond, son of James, with a number of the gentlemen of the two counties, viz., of the county of Tipperary, and of the county of Kilkenny, came to meet and join each other on a certain night, at a particular place appointed and agreed upon by them; the resolution to which they came in their consultation, and on which they agreed, was to attack the Conacian camp very early on the following morning. An unusual thing, and an evident fatality, befel that camp of the Burkes, viz., an advantage being gained of their watching, so that their enemies came amongst them, who left them stretched lifeless, with their flesh lacerated, and their gory bodies completely hacked throughout their tents and booths. On that occasion O'Shaughnessy, i. e., John, the son of Giolla Duv, son of Dermot, son of William, who had been expelled from his patrimony, like all the other insurgents, who were along with the sons of John Burke, was slain. John Oge, the son of John Burke, was taken prisoner there, and was brought to Kilkenny to be imprisoned. Redmond Burke and William, together with a number of their party, having escaped from that conflict, went from thence into Ely, but did not remain long in that territory, when they proceeded into Ulster, leaving the towns of Ormond, which were in alliance with them, till then feebly defended." Therefore, of all the sons of Sir Roger, only Dermot the younger survived, who succeeded as—

Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy,\* Knt. of Gortinsiguara, Chief of his name. Sir Dermot had, previous to his accession to the Chieftaincy of his sept,

\* Hardiman mentions this Sir Dermot as being the son of Dermot, who was the younger son of the first Sir Dermot. As previously shown, Dermot, the youngest son of the first Sir Dermot, who submitted to Henry VIII., was Dermot Rievagh, who was, consequently, the uncle, and not the father of this Sir Dermot, who married Sheela ny Hubert de Burgh.

married Sheela ny Hubert de Burgh, and died on the 8th of July, 1606, having had issue by her—

I. Sir Roger, born in 1583.

II. Dathe.

III. Lieutenant-Colonel William, who married Eleanor, daughter of Sir Robert Lynch, Bart., of Castle-Carra, county Mayo, and had issue—

1. William.

2. Edmond.

3. Roger.

4. Dermot.

IV. Joan, who married Sir William de Burgh, Knt., son of Ulick, third Earl of Clanricarde, and by him was mother of Richard and William, successively sixth and seventh Earls of Clanrickard. Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy, in a letter dated at Fidane Castle in 1647, alludes to this fact; therefore, the Clanricarde pedigree given in Lodge's Peerage is incorrect, inasmuch as it states, that the wife of Sir William Burke, by whom he had issue, was the daughter of Sir James MacDonnell. The following is the tradition of the peasantry, in the neighbourhood of Clooneene and Fidane:—"Joan, eldest daughter of Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy, of Gortinsiguara, Knt., while out riding at Cloone, near Gort, was surprised by a party of Clanrickard's troops, who were out on a plundering expedition, and carried off by them to Portumna Castle, where Lady Clanrickard, taking a great fancy to her, had her married to one of her sons."

V. Julia, who married Teige O'Kelly, Esq., of Gallagher Castle, county Galway.

VI. Honoria, who married Johnock Burke, Esq., of Tully.

Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy had a patent to hold a fair, dated 1607, at Gortinsiguara, and was made a freeman of Galway in 1611. On the breaking out of the insurrection in 1641, he appears to have aided the Earl of Clanricarde, and by his order hanged two cow-herds for having killed a minister in the country. His first wife was Ellis Lynch. He married, secondly, in 1642, Julia, second daughter of Charles MacCarthy, of Muskerry, and relict of David Barry, Viscount Buttevant, and Baron of Ishawne. Sir Roger possessed a castle near Timoleague Abbey, in Cork, where his family then were residing and besieged, which is shown by the following extract from a letter written by the Marquis of Clanricarde to Lord Inchiquin:—"The bearer, my noble kinsman Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy, has by my licence taken his departure out of this Government into Munster, to take care of his lady, family, and estates, in these parts, which, by reason of his long absence, doth, and may suffer by the general unhappy distemper in this kingdom. I could not let so much worth and merit pass from me, without giving your Lordship notice, that in his own person, his son and followers, he hath constantly, and with much forward affection, being present and assisting to me in all my proceedings and endeavours for his Majesties service." The son alluded to was

Dermot, who had raised fifty foot soldiers for Clanricarde; and Sir Roger's brother was a captain in this levy. Sir Roger wrote a letter from his Castle of Fidane, in 1647, to his daughter Julia, wife of the Chief of Clancahill, in Cork, of which the following copy is inserted here, as a proof that Sir William Burke, or De Burgh, Knt., had issue by Joan, daughter of Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy, Knt. :—

*“ For my uerie loucinge Daughter Mrs. Gyles Donouane, at Castledonouane  
theise.*

“ Daughter,

“ I have received yours of the eighteenth of Ffebruarie last and as for your troubles you must be patient as well as others and for my parte I taste enough of that fruit; God mend it amongst all, and send us a more happie tyme. As for the partie lately commanded to the cuntree of Kiery who may be expected to return that way, they are conducted by my Nephew (your Coussen) Lieut. Collonell William Bourke, to whom I have written by the bearer in your behalfe. I am most Confident he will not suffer any wrong to be don into your Dependents, Tenants, or yourself. And if in gase you should expect the whole Armeey you may certifie me soe much with speed and I shall take that Course that shal be befittinge. In the meane tyme beseeching God to bless and keepe you and yours—

“ I am,

“ Youre assured loveing ffather,

“ R. O'SHAUGHNESSY.

“ Fedan, 14 Martii, 1647.”

The Arms on the seal of this letter were—A tower carenelled in pale between two lions combatant; the crest, an arm in armour embowed, grasping a spear.

Sir Roger, who died in 1650, left issue by his first wife—

I. Sir Dermot.

II. Julia, married Daniel O'Donovan, of Castle Donovan, Chief of Clancahill, county Cork, by whom he had issue—

1. Colonel Daniel, an officer in King James's army, and great grandfather of the late General O'Donovan, of Bawnlahan.

2. Cornelius.

3. Murrough.

4. Richard.

Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy, the eldest son, was one of the Members of the Catholic Confederation of Kilkenny, from the county of Galway, in 1642. About September, 1651, while in Galway, General Ludlow, the regicide, passing Gortinsiguara, on his way to Limerick, stormed and burned its Castle,

of which he gives the following account:—"Having put a garrison into this place, and sent back Commissary-General Reynolds, with his party, to Portumna, I marched with my Horse towards Limerick, and came to Gourtenshogore, a castle belonging to Sir Dermot O'Shortness, who was then gone to Galway, but had left his tenants with some souldiers, and one Foliot an English man to command them in the castle. At my coming before it, I summoned them to submit, offering them, that in case they would dismiss their souldiers, and promise to live quietly in the obedience of the Parliament, I would leave no garrison in the place, nor suffer any prejudice to be done to them. They, pretending they had already submitted to Sir Charles Coote, refused to deliver the Castle to any other. Though I took this to be only a pretence, yet, to leave them without excuse, and to prevent all exceptions, I sent to Sir Charles Coote to desire him to let me know how the matter stood, and to direct them to deliver the place to me. Having received an answer to my letter from Sir Charles Coote, I sent it to them, telling them that now I expected their obedience; but, instead of that, they sent me a defiance, and sounded their bagpipes in contempt of us, to which they were chiefly encouraged by one of the country, whom I had sent to bring in to me some iron bars, sledges, and pickaxes, and who, under colour of going to fetch them, ran away to the enemy, and acquainted them with our want of Artillery, and instruments to force them. I gave orders to take up all the horses from grass, to bridle and saddle them, and to tie them to the tents of their respective troops, commanding two troops to mount the guard, and to send out scouts to discover if any enemy were near. The rest of the men I drew into several parties, and assigned them their particular attacks. Every souldier carried a fagot before him, as well to defend himself, as to fill up the enemies trenches, or to fire the gates, as there should be occasion. On one side of the wall there was an earth-work, about eleven foot high, with a trench of equal breadth without. The wall of the Court was about twelve foot high, well flanked. On the other side the place was secured by a river. Upon our first approach, the enemy shot very thick upon us, and killed two of our men, which so enraged the rest, that they ran up to the works, and helping one another to the top of them, beat off the enemy, following them so close, that by means of some ladders which those within had made use of, they got into the Court, and put to the sword most of those they found there, the enemy not daring to open the gate to receive their friends. Those of ours who had entered the Court, having no instruments to force the house, made use of a wooden bar which they found, and with which they wrested out the iron bars of a strong stone window, about six foot from the ground, and forced the enemy by their shot out of that room, where, being entered, they put to the sword those that were there. Lieutenant Foliot finding his case desperate, resolved to sell his life at as dear a rate as he could, and charged our men, who were nine or ten in number, with a tuck in one hand, and a stiletto in the other, defending himself so well with the one, and presecing them so hard

with the other, that they all gave ground ; but he, closing with one of them whom he had wounded, and probably might have killed, gave an opportunity to another to run him through the body, by which wound he fell, and the house was quickly cleared of the rest. Most of the principal of the enemies being got into the Castle, our men fired a great number of faggots at the gates, which burned so furiously, that the flame took hold of the floors, and other timber within, through the iron grate, which, being perceived by those in the Castle, they hung out a white flag, begging earnestly for mercy, and that we would take away the fire. I commanded my men to leave shooting, and acquaint the besieged, that if they expected any favour from us, they must throw down their arms, which they presently did. Whereupon I ordered the fire to be taken away, and gave a souldier twenty shillings to fetch out two barrels of powder that was near the fire, which continued to burn so fiercely, that we could not put it out, but were obliged to throw up skains of match into the chambers, by which those in the Castle descended to us, being about four-score in number, besides many women and children. We secured the men until the next morning, when I called a Council of War, and being pressed by the officers, that some of the principal of them might be punished with death for their obstinacy, I consented to their demand, provided it might not extend to such as had been drawn in by the malice of others. Those who were tenants to Sir Dermot O'Shartness and countrymen, I dismissed to their habitations, upon promise to behave themselves peaceably, and to engage against us no more ; the rest of them we carried away with us. While we were spending our time in sending to Sir Charles Coote, and expecting his answer, I had sent out a party of horse to find out some of the enemies that were marched towards the barony of Burren ; and though they could not overtake them, yet they met with four or five hundred head of cattle, and seized them, which proved a great refreshment to our party, and to the army that was besieging Limerick, whither we returned and gave an account of our proceedings to the Deputy, who expressed himself well satisfied with the same." Shortly after, the Castle being taken by the Parliamentary troops, Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy went on the Continent, and served Charles II. during his exile ; but on the Restoration he was restored to his family mansion of Gortinsiguara, and 2,000 acres of land. "That the town and lands of Gortinshigory, in the county of Galway, formerly the estate of Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy, and other lands and tenements, and hereditaments, hereinafter mentioned, were seized and sequestered on account of the rebellion, which broke out in Ireland on the 23rd October, 1641, and were, by an Act of Parliament 14th & 15th Car. 2<sup>d</sup>., intituled 'An Act for the better Execution of his Majesty's gracious Declaration, for the Settlement of his Kingdom of Ireland, and Satisfaction of the several Interests of Adventurers, Soldiers, and others, his subjects there ;' and also by another Act, 17 Car. 2<sup>d</sup>., 'For the Explaining of some Doubts arising upon the said former Act, and for making some Alterations and Additions thereto, and for the more speedy

and Effectual Settlement of the said Kingdom,' vested in his said Majesty, his Heirs, and Successors, to the intent to be settled, confirmed, restored, or disposed to and for such Use and Uses, and in such Manor, as in and by the said Acts of Parliament is declared, limited, and appointed by a Clause in the said last-mentioned Act." It was further enacted, "That fifty-four persons therein named (of whom the said Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy was one) should, on the Terms in the said Acts mentioned, be restored to such of their principal Seats as they should make choice of, and 2,000 Acres of Land thereto adjoining. That Sir Dermot having made choice of his said principal seat of Gortinshagory and 2,000 acres of land, pursuant to the said Clause, obtained a Certificate thereof dated 8th March, 1666, from the Commissioners for putting the same Acts into Execution, in order to have an effectual Grant of the said Lands by Letters Patent, as directed by the Acts; but that he never obtained any Grant pursuant to the Certificate, so that he was only entitled to a Trust or equitable Estate in the said Lands the legal Estate thereof remaining in the Crown." Sir Dermot, as a transplanted person, was likewise entitled to other lands and also as a purchase in 1662-3. 'Dame Margaret Shaghnessy' and 'Sheela Shaghnessy' were returned on what was called the Roll of Innocents.

Sir Dermot married the Lady Margaret Barry,\* daughter of the Right Hon. David Baron of Ishawne and Viscount Buttevant, by his second wife Julia,† second daughter of Cormac M'Carthy, of Muskerry, General of the Provincials, &c., and had issue at his death in 1673—

\* John O'Donovan, Esq., LL.D., in his Addenda to 'The Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach,' page 381, most incorrectly calls this lady 'Joan, daughter of Lord Barrymore;' but all the authenticated documents of the family of O'Shaughnessy, and the Roll of Innocents, prove, beyond doubt, that she was the Lady Margaret Barry, daughter of Viscount Buttevant.

† Viscount Buttevant's first wife was the Lady Helena Roche, youngest daughter of David Viscount Fermoy, by the Hon. Ellen Butler, daughter of the Right Hon. James Lord Dunboyne, by whom he had issue—

I. David, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Lord Poer, and dying in his father's lifetime left a posthumous child,

1. David, who succeeded his grandfather, as Viscount Buttevant, on the 10th of April, 1617, and was advanced by Privy Seal, dated at Westminster, 30th November, 1627, and by patent dated at Dublin, on the 28th February, to the dignity of Earl of Barrymore.

II. Honora, who married Gerald Fitzgerald, Esq., of Decies, as his second wife, by whom she had no issue; and secondly, Patrick Browne, Esq., of Mulrankerne, county Wexford, by whom she had issue—

1. William.

2. Walter.

III. Ellen, married first, John, son and heir of Richard Lord Poer, of Carraghmore, by whom she had issue one son, who succeeded his grandfather. She married, secondly, the Right Hon. Thomas Earl of Ormonde, by whom she had no issue; and thirdly, Sir Thomas Somerset, third son of Edward Earl of Worcester, created in 1626 Viscount Cashel, Knight of the Bath, and Master of the Horse to Anne, Queen Consort of James I. of England, and by him had issue—



- I. Roger, of whom presently.
- II. Charles, of whom hereafter.
- III. Margaret, who married Hugh O'Connor, Esq.
- IV. Julia.
- V. Hester, who was betrothed to Colonel Rupert Forster of Clooneene, but died unmarried.

Roger O'Shaughnessy, Esq., the eldest son, married the Lady Helena O'Brien, daughter of the Right Hon. Conor, Lord Viscount Clare.\* Their marriage articles, dated on the 19th of October, 1667,† were duly executed between the Lord Clare and Colonel Daniel O'Brien, his eldest son and heir apparent, of the first part, and Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy of the other part; whereby Sir Dermot, in consideration of the intended marriage, and of a considerable sum of money agreed and secured to be paid to him as the portion of the said Helena, did for himself, his heirs and assigns, covenant and agree to and with the said Lord Clare and Daniel O'Brien, their heirs or assigns, that the said Sir Dermot, his heirs and assigns, should, on or before the 1st day of May next, convey unto four trustees, two whereof to be of the nomination of Lord Clare and Daniel O'Brien, or either of them, and the other two of the nomination of Sir Dermot, his heirs or assigns, a good estate in law, in fee simple, of and in the Castle and Island of Fidane, and 12 quarters of land more, with all their rights, members, appendances and appurtenances lying and being in the Barony of Kiltarton, in county of Galway, to the use of the said Roger and Helen for their lives and

- 1. Elizabeth, who died unmarried in 1642.
- IV. Honoria, married James Tobyn, Esq., of Kumpshinagh, county Tipperary.
- V. Eleanor, married Sir John Fitzgerald, of Ballymalve, county Cork, Knt.
- VI. Catherine, married Richard Burke, Esq., of DerrymacLaughlin Castle, county Galway.
- VII. Margaret, who married the Right Hon. Robert Dillon, Earl of Roscommon.

\* John O'Donovan, Esq., LL.D., in the Addenda to 'The Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach,' page 383, says—"He married in 1688 Helena, the daughter of Conor Mac Donogh O'Brien, of Ballynue." This is an error on Dr. O'Donovan's part; and it is curious how a man so well acquainted with Irish history could have made such a statement, as their family documents, and those of Lord Clare, prove that Captain Roger O'Shaughnessy's wife, Lady Helena O'Brien, was the daughter of Lord Clare. However, he appears to have heard of the marriage between the O'Shaughnessy and Clare families, as in Note 7, page 41, of 'The Tribes of Ireland,' a Satire by Aenghus O'Daly, which O'Donovan edited, he says that Colonel William O'Shaughnessy was married to the daughter of Lord Clare. This assertion is also an error, as that lady was his mother, and not his wife. It may be here remarked, that Roger O'Shaughnessy was obliged to go to law with his father-in-law, Lord Clare, for the recovery of his wife's fortune. One of his counsel on this occasion was the celebrated Sir Toby Butler.

† Dr. O'Donovan, in his Addenda to 'The Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach,' page 383, and Hardiman, in his 'History of Galway,' Note h, page 216, incorrectly state, that he married in 1688. His marriage took place in 1667, as stated above; and his son was grown up at the time these writers assert he was married.



the life of the survivor of them, as a jointure for the said Helena; remainder to the heirs male of the bodies of the said Roger and Helena; remainders to the heirs male of the body of Sir Dermot; remainder to the heirs male of the body of Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy deceased, father to Sir Dermot; remainder to the right heirs of Sir Dermot; and also that the said Sir Dermot should, on or before the said 1st of May, convey unto the said trustees a good, sure, and indefeasible estate in fee-simple of and in 35 quarters of land more, whereof Gortuishigory and the lands thereunto belonging were to be part, in the said county of Galway, to hold the said 35 quarters of land to the trustees and their heirs, to the use of Sir Dermot for life; remainder as to 12 quarters thereof to the use of Lady Margaret O'Shaughnessy his wife, for her life, &c., &c. Soon after the signing of those articles the marriage was solemnized; and by indenture bearing date the 10th of September, 1668, the year after, made between Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy, William O'Shaughnessy, Esq., and Captain Francis Forster, of Clooneene, of the first part; the Right Hon. Conor Lord Viscount Clare, the Hon. Colonel Daniel O'Brien, his eldest son Marcus Lynch, Barrister-at-law, and Donough O'Brien, Esq., of the second part, Sir Dermot made a further settlement of these and other lands. Roger O'Shaughnessy was a Captain in Lord Clare's Yellow Dragoons, and, although then in ill health, proceeded with his company from Limerick, where it was stationed, to take part in the coming battle of the Boyne; but when within a few miles of the scene of action, having fallen in with the retreating Irish army,\* and his health becoming worse, he slowly proceeded to Gortinsiguara, where he died on the 11th of July, 1690, ten days after the battle. Although dead, he was attainted on the 11th of May, 1691, and an inquisition was held in the town of Galway, on his lands, on the 5th of September, 1696. King William III. granted the O'Shaughnessy property *in custodiam* to Gustavus, first Baron Hamilton, who shortly after having received from the Crown a grant of other lands, King William, by Letters Patent, bearing date the 19th of June, 1697, granted it to Sir Thomas Prendergast, in consideration of 'his good and acceptable services' in discovering the Assassination Plot. Sir Thomas Prendergast having had the estates undervalued, he received a subsequent patent, dated the 20th of September, 1698, reciting the former grant, and stating that the King was informed at that time that the O'Shaughnessy estates were worth £500 per annum, but that they had since become of less value; and that as it was his Majesty's intention that £500 a year should be the sum allowed to Sir Thomas for his services, several other lands, to the clear yearly value of £334 0s. 2½d.,

\* Hardiman in his 'History of Galway,' incorrectly states, Note h, page 216, that O'Shaughnessy was present at the battle of the Boyne, thus:—"He afterwards joined King James's forces, and was engaged at the battle of the Boyne, from which he returned home sick, though not wounded, and died in the Castle of Gort." The family papers of the O'Shaughnessys and their relatives, at this period, prove, beyond doubt, that O'Shaughnessy was not present at the battle of the Boyne. It is an historical fact, that all the regiments which marched from Limerick to take part in this battle, did not arrive in time to do so.

situate in the counties of Galway, Roscommon, Tipperary, and Westmeath, were granted to him. Captain Roger O'Shaughnessy of Gortinsiguara and Fidane Castles, had issue by his wife Lady Helena O'Brien—who afterwards married Captain Hugh O'Kelly, a distinguished Jacobite officer who had served all through the great War of the Revolution in Ireland, and was a relative of The O'Kelly of Mullaghmore Castle, county of Galway, who was killed at the battle of Aughrim, and was the husband of Sarah, daughter of Captain Francis Forster of Clooneene, by his wife Mary, daughter of Sir James O'Donnellan, Chief Justice of Connaught, in 1637—two children.

I. William, who was educated in France, where he joined the army, became a Major-General in the Irish Brigade, and having taken part in the romantic rescue of the youthful Princess Maria Clementina, afterwards wife of James III., as shown in Chapter LI., was knighted by his Holiness Pope Clement XI. in 1719. Sir William O'Shaughnessy, or the Chevalier O'Shaughnessy, as he was called on the Continent, was on the 10th of July, 1691, appointed by King Louis XIV. a Captain in the regiment of his first cousin the Hon. Daniel O'Brien, who afterwards succeeded his father as Lord Clare. In this rank and in the same year he was present at the siege of Montmelian; in 1692 he served with the army of Italy; in 1693 at the great battle of Marsaglia, in Piedmont; in 1696 he took part in the conclusion of the military operations beyond the Alps, which were brought about by the siege of Valenza, at which he was appointed Commandant of the 3rd battalion of his regiment, and in 1697 was attached to the army of the Meuse. On the reform which took place in 1698, of the second and third battalions of his regiment, he was, on the 1st of April, appointed Captain of Grenadiers in the battalion which was kept on foot. After the breaking out of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1701 and 1702, he was actively engaged with the army of Germany. In 1703, Captain O'Shaughnessy distinguished himself by his military ability at the reduction of Kehl, the battle of Munderkingen, and the first battle of Hochstedt. In 1704, he took part in the second battle of Hochstedt, better known to the readers of English history as that of Blenheim, and inseparably associated with the memory of the famous Duke of Marlborough, as Waterloo is with that of the Duke of Wellington. In 1705, he was employed with the army of the Moselle, and in 1706, at the memorable battle of Ramillies. The Major of his regiment, the gallant John O'Carroll, another brave Irishman of the Brigade, having died from the effects of his wounds, as did also the Colonel, Lord Clare, received in this battle, Captain O'Shaughnessy was on the 4th of July appointed Major of the Regiment of Clare, and on the 12th of September was made Lieutenant-Colonel. He served with the army of Flanders in 1707, at the battle of Oudenarde in 1708, at that of Malplaquet in 1709, in which Brigadier-General Sir Thomas Prendergast, to whom the O'Shaughnessy property had been granted, was killed (see Chapter XLVI). He took part in the attack of Arleux in 1711, at the battle of Denain and the sieges of Douai, Quesnoi, and Bouchain in 1712, and in Germany, in the campaigns of Landau and Friburgh.

He was appointed Brigadier by brevet on the 3rd of April, 1721, and was, as appears by letters of the 15th of September, 1733, employed with the army of the Rhine, and at the siege of Kehl in October the same year. It appears by letters of the 1st of April, 1734, that he was at the attack of the lines of Etlingen, and at the siege of Philipsburgh, in which the Marshal Duke of Berwick was killed, and his cousin Lord Clare wounded by the same ball. Lieutenant-Colonel O'Shaughnessy was appointed Maréchal-de-Camp or Major-General by brevet on the 1st of August, in which capacity he finished this campaign. He continued as Maréchal-de-Camp with the army of the Rhine, by letters of the 1st of May, 1735, and was present at the engagement of Clausen. He was attached to the Army of Flanders by letters of the 21st of August, 1742, and commanded at Cambray during the winter, where he remained while the campaign of 1743 lasted. On the 1st of November he was appointed to command at Gravelines, and here he died on the 2nd of January, 1744, having attained the ripe old age of seventy years—as he was about being created a Count and Chevalier of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, in reward of the many great services which he had rendered to the country of his adoption. This veteran soldier having died without issue, the representation of his sept devolved upon his cousin-germain, the Rev. Colman O'Shaughnessy, afterwards Lord Bishop of Ossory.

II. Helena, who married Theobald Butler, Esq., eldest son and heir of Pierce Butler, Esq., of Ballygegan, representative of a junior branch of the noble House of Ormonde, by whom she had issue—

Charles O'Shaughnessy, Esq., of Ardemilevan Castle, the second son of Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy, Knt., of Gortinsiguara Castle, and his wife Lady Margaret Barry, daughter of the Right Hon. David Viscount Buttevant, married Eleanor Lynch, of Rafiladown, county Galway, and died in 1721, having had issue—

I. Joseph, who died in 1732, during the life of his first cousin Major-General William O'Shaughnessy of the Irish Brigade, Chief of the sept, having had issue—

1. Elizabeth, who married James Butler, Esq., of Doon, county Galway, by whom she had issue—

2. Mary, who married Murtagh Cam MacMahon, Esq.

II. Colman, who became Catholic Bishop of Ossory, and succeeded to the Chieftaincy of his sept, on the death of his cousin-germain Major-General William O'Shaughnessy of the Irish Brigade, head of his sept, who died without issue in France, in 1744, as stated above, but being a Catholic he could not succeed in recovering the property of his family, as his Lordship would not be recognised in law as heir to the O'Shaughnessy estates. After having made an unsuccessful attempt to recover the property in the fifteenth and sixteenth years of the reign of George II., he resided for some time privately with the learned Rev. Edmond Burke, author of the '*Hibernia Dominicana*,' who thus notices the sept of O'Shaughnessy—

“F. Colmanus O’Shaughnessy, S. Theologiæ Magister Alumnus Athenriensis Cœnobii oriundus e præclarissima Familia de Gort in Galviensi Agro, Conaciæ cujus Nobilitatem antiquitatem et Integritatem qui non novit Hiberniam non novit. Lovanii in Ordinem Fratrum Prædicatorum ex Officiali Militari Cooptatus ibidem Studia confecit atque docere incepit Anno 1706. Missionibus Apostolicis Hiberniæ maturus eoque profectus laudabiliter se gessit Sermone et peculiari Morum Candore in plurimis Conaciæ Regionibus ingenti cum Animarum Fructu prædicans. Die 30 Aprilis, 1726 in Comitibus Dublinii celebratis electus fuit Provincialis in locum Stephani nostri Mac-Egan Episcopi tunc Clonmacnoisensis nuperrime laudati. Anno 1736, à Clemente XII., Pontifice Maximo renunciatus fuit Episcopus Ossoriensis vulgo Ossory in Lagenia sub Metropoli Dubliniensi atque Dublinii in Monialium nostrarum Aedibus Sacris consecratus a D. Joanne Linegar ejusdem Urbis Archipræsule assistentibus F. Stephano Mac-Egan mox laudato Midensi et F. Michael Mac-Donogh, Kilmorensi Episcopis ex ordine nostro ut ex nuper dictis liquet assumptis. Anno 1744 defuncto Patruclæ suo Tribuno Gulielmo O’Shaghnessy in Galliarum Partibus quo pater ipsius Rogerius Regem Jacobum secutus fuerat Anno 1691, eam ob Causam Castro suo Allodiali Gortensi amplissimisque circumjacentibus Prædiis ultra Summam bis Mille et quinquies centum Librarum Sterlingarum id est decies Mille Scutorum Romanorum annuatim valentibus privatus a Principe Arausicano nuncupato Gulielmo III. qui eadem concessit Equiti Thomæ Prendergast durante duntaxat vita laudatorum Rogerii et Gulielmi O’Shaghnessy isto inquam Gulielmo defuncto Colmanus noster O’Shaghnessy etsi jam Episcopus Litem inchoavit qua Familiæ suæ Primipilus Dublinii in Curia Communium Placitorum contra tunc et adhuc existentem Equitem Thomam pariter Prendergast primo dicti filium ad Bona illa hæreditaria recuperanda atque Præsule nostro e vivis sublato in jure successit Germanus ipsius Frater Robocus O’Shaghnessy Armiger hujusque nunc succedit Filius Josephus O’Shaghnessy Armiger. Eques autem Thomas Prendergast acriter se defendit non quidem Justitia Causæ suæ sed Pecunia et Potentia unus quippe est e Senatoribus Regni in Parlamento sedens insuperque Regni a Sanctioribus Consiliis ad Differentiam Domini O’Shaghnessy qui Fidei Catholiæ est Cultor suisque hæreditariis Bonis exutus.”—pp. 505, 506.

The Lord Bishop of Ossory died in France in 1748.

III. Roebuc, or Robert, who became Chief of his name, on the death of his elder brother Colman, Lord Bishop of Ossory. He married Elcanor, eldest daughter of Ulick Burke, Esq., of Ower, and his wife Catherine, daughter of Stephen Lynch, Esq., of Doughieska, by his wife Elcanor, daughter of Sir John Browne, of the Neal, ancestor of the Lords Kilmaine. This Chieftain claimed the estates of his sept in 1744, and died on the 8th of August, 1754, having had issue—

- I. Joseph.
- II. William.
- III. Mary.

IV. Catharine.

V. Ellis.

VI. Eleanor.

Joseph O'Shaughnessy, the eldest son, who succeeded his father as Chief of Cineal Aodh, also claimed his hereditary estates, and a protracted lawsuit ensued in consequence. On the 15th of June, 1769, the Court decided against him. The unfortunate Chieftain then became a Protestant, in name only, bought his younger brother William's claim, and, being assisted by his friends and relatives, appealed to the English House of Lords to have the decision reversed; but on the 16th of February, 1770, his case was dismissed, and thus this ancient and aboriginal sept were unjustly deprived of their inheritance; a family of whom De Burgo says, in his '*Hibernia Dominicana*,'—'*Cujus nobilitatem antiquitatem et integritatem qui non novit Hiberniam non novit.*'

*Arms*—Argent, a castle triple-towered azure.

*Supporters*—Two lions, or.

*Crest*—Over an Esquire's helmet an arm in armour, the hand holding a long spear, all p p r.

*Motto*—Fortis et stabilis.

## THE SEPT OF PRENDERGAST.

The family of Prendergast, to whom the neat town of Gort owes its origin, is one of the oldest Anglo-Norman septs in Ireland. Its patriarch, Maurice Lord de Prendergast, near Haverford, West, landed in Ireland on the 2nd of May, 1169, in the interest of his noble kinsman Richard de Clare, the great Earl of Pembroke, surnamed Strongbow. He is styled '*Nobilis*' by Dowling; '*Vir probus et strenuus*,' by Geraldus; '*a gentleman born and bred*,' '*a righte valiaunte captain*,' '*a lustie and hardy man*,' by Holinshed; and his doings with his honourable conduct towards a native Irish prince, MacGilla Phadruig, Prince of Ossory, and Chieftain of the sept of Fitzpatrick, fill a very interesting part in the celebrated poem on the '*Conquest of Ireland*,' originally supposed by Sir George Carew, the President of Munster, to have been composed by O'Regan, the Secretary of Dermot MacMurrough, King of Leinster, and which was lately republished in the original Norman-French, by Francisque Michael. This Sir Maurice, who was of Welsh origin, was a brave and worthy knight; and in reward for his many eminent services, received a grant of the lands of Fernegenclan, to hold the same by the service of ten knights. In 1207; John, King of England, and Lord of Ireland, seeing that the nobles of Meath and Leinster were strongly opposed to giving effect to the royal *writs of rights*, &c., &c., &c., sent mandates to Walter, Robert, and Hugh de Lacy, Knights, Lords of Ulster and Meath, Sir Richard de Tuite, *Sir Philip*

*de Prendergast*, &c., &c., wherein his Majesty expressed his surprise 'that they should attempt to establish a new form of trial without his assent, or seek his Justiciary to deliver to them, without his orders, what had been taken at the hands of the Crown by royal precept; and he commanded not to 'default' towards him their lord; and declared, with God's and his rights, he will acquire according to time and place.'

In 1229, King Henry III., summoned Sir Gerald de Prendergast as one of the 'Fideles' of Ireland to a military muster, about to be held at Portsmouth, for service in Brittany.

In 1244, King Henry again summoned Sir Gerald to attend in the war with Scotland. The said Sir Gerald made a grant of the Abbey of Canons Regular, at Enniscorthy (of which he was patron), to be a cell of the noble house of St. Thomas á Becket in Dublin. In 1230, Thomas de Prendergast was slain by the Irish. In 1242, the List of the Barons and Knights of Connaught contains the name of this Sir Gerald.

In 1278, Jeffrey de Prendergast sued Paganus de Hinteberg for the estate of his mother in Ælienera, in the county of Limerick, by wager of battle, which was fought according to all the formalities of the time, and the appellant gained the day.

In 1326, Jeffrey de Prendergast was one of the Commissioners of Array for Kilkenny county, and also for Tipperary.

In 1329, Gerald de Prendergast was slain. In 1356, King Edward committed to Thomas Hamilton the custody of the manor of Drongan, of which Philip de Prendergast had died seised, to hold during the minority of Robert, his son and heir. In 1328, John, the son of Gerald Prendergast, was appointed Guardian of the Peace in Tipperary, 'with power and commission' to raise men-at-arms therein.

In 1414, Robert Prendergast was Abbot of the Mitred House of the Blessed Virgin in Dublin.

In 1585, Edward Prendergast was one of the Representatives in Parliament for the county of the Crosses of Tipperary.

In 1646, James Prendergast, Esq., of Tallivellan, was one of the Confederate Catholics of Kilkenny.

The Royal Declaration of Gratitude, contained in the Act of Settlement, includes Ensign John Prendergast.

In 1677, Jeffrey Prendergast received a confirmatory grant of 1,104 acres of land in Mayo. In the same year, Walter Prendergast had a confirmatory grant for the castle of 'Kinkelly,' and 136 acres in the same county. In 1691, Ensign James Prendergast, of Harristown, county Kilkenny, was outlawed, as was James Prendergast, Esq., of Butlerstown, county Wexford. Thomas Prendergast, Esq., of Ballyfernogue, and Nicholas Prendergast, Esq., of Enniscorthy, were attainted. Geoffry Prendergast, Esq., forfeited his estates in Galway and Mayo. After the last siege of Limerick, in 1691, Edward Prendergast, Esq., Lieutenant-Colonel in Hugh Sutherland's Regiment



of Horse, went to France, where he was appointed to the same rank in Colonel Sheldon's Regiment of Horse.

Sir Maurice de Prendergast, Knt., who died Prior of Kilmainham, the chief house of the Knights of St. John, of Jerusalem, in Ireland, left several sons, of whom Gerald was founder of the family called MacMorres, who anciently held the barony of Clanmorris, in the county of Mayo, with the chief seats of Brees and Castlemacgarrett, at the time of the composition of the province of Connaught, under the Lord Deputy Sir John Perrott, while Philip, the eldest son, was ancestor of the existing Prendergasts. His successor Gerald left two daughters, co-heiresses, of whom the eldest carried the barony of Kerricunihy, near Cork, and the lordship of Beauver, to her husband, Sir John de Cogan, from whose descendants, styled Lords Cogan of Beauver (or incorrectly Belvoir), it came to the Desmond Fitzgeralds; whilst the youngest married Sir Maurice de Rochfort, also summoned to Parliament in her right, and gave him the lands of Duffrin and Enniscorthy, in Wexford. Gerald de Prendergast thus leaving no male issue, the representation of the family devolved on the line of his brother William, who acquired the lordship of Newcastle near Clonmel, in exchange for other lands, from Ralph de Wygornia, *temp.* King Henry III. On this estate, his direct male descendant, Harris Prendergast, Esq., Q. C., eldest son of the late Sir Jeffrey Prendergast of the Gort family, still possesses a chief rent. Though not Peers of Parliament (their estates lying in the palatinate of the Earls of Ormonde) the Newcastle Prendergasts were deemed Barons, and held the same rank as the Comerfords, Barons of Danganmore. In the old Harleian MSS. preserved in the British Museum, Nos. 1,425 and 5,866, they are placed among the Feudal Barons, and above the Commoners: indeed, above the Barons of Dunboyne.

In the List of Peers in the British Museum, Add. MSS. 4,814, compiled about the year 1670, 'Prendergast, Lord of Clonmell, by some of Corke alsoe,' is placed at the head of the Viscounts and Tyny King-at-arms, to King James II., also styles him 'Viscount.' See Add. MSS., No. 4,814.

Jeffrey Prendergast, Esq., of Newcastle, married Joan, co-heir to the Right Hon. Lord Cahir, by his second wife Ellen Fitzgerald, granddaughter of Thomas, twelfth Earl, and sister and heir of James, thirteenth Earl of Desmond, and, therefore, heir general to the Tipperary Berminghams, known as MacFearis More. The title of Cahir being granted in fee, she was heir to that dignity; for claiming which, however, her grandson James Prendergast was slain at Cahir Castle, by Edmond, third Lord Dunboyne, who had married the heir of Thomas, second Lord Cahir of the new creation. This Jeffrey's eldest son Thomas, marrying Lady Eleanor Butler, sister of Walter, eleventh Earl of Ormonde, had three sons—James, who married the daughter of Sir John Fitzgerald, of Dromana, Knt., but was slain by Lord Dunboyne, on the 12th of December, 1627, for which that nobleman was tried by the House of Lords, but acquitted, the Lord Dockwra only voting him guilty. This James having died without issue, and Robert, the next brother, being of unsound



mind, Edmond inherited the property. He was afterwards deprived of the family estates by Cromwell, but recovered a portion of them at the Restoration. He was succeeded by his eldest son Jeffrey, the father of James, who raised a regiment for the service of James II., and of Edmond, who was Lieutenant Colonel of the King's Regiment of Horse in the Irish Brigade—a regiment known as Sheldon's, then Nugent's, and afterwards FitzJames', and highly distinguished at Cremona, Mantua, Spire, and Malplaquet. Jeffrey's brother Thomas, who married the heiress of the attainted Lord Condon, of Cloghlea, was father of Jeffrey, from whom the existing Prendergasts derive; and of Thomas, the first of the family, who was created a Baronet, who possessed the estates of the aboriginal sept of O'Shaughnessy.

Sir Thomas Prendergast being an adherent of King James, fought on the side of that monarch during the civil war, and, being a brave soldier, was induced by Captain Porter (who afterwards betrayed his confederates) to join in a plot to restore King James to his throne. But finding that the scheme had been against that Monarch's intention, turned into one for the assassination of William III., he took steps to save the King's life, which, eventually led to the discovery of the whole plot, as fully detailed in King James's Memoirs (Dalrymple), and more recently by Lord Macaulay, where it will be seen that his conduct, under very difficult circumstances, was that of a man of probity and honour. In return for this service, he was permitted, as well as his family, to enjoy such portions of their forfeited estates in Tipperary, as had not already been granted away; and in the following year, 1697, Colonel Gustavus Hamilton, afterwards Viscount Boyne, who had been given the estate of Captain Roger O'Shaughnessy, of Gortinsiguara, Chief of his name, forfeited in 1690, having received a larger property in exchange, Gortinsiguara was granted to Thomas Prendergast, Esq. In 1699 he was created a Baronet of Ireland, by William III., and was also knighted. He was M.P. for Monaghan, from the first year of Queen Anne's reign, to his death, which took place at the great battle of Malplaquet, 1709, where he was slain, having been previously raised to the rank of Brigadier-General on the 1st of January in that year. He married Penelope, only sister of William, Earl of Cadogan, K.T., &c., who succeeded the famous Duke of Marlborough, as Commander-in-chief of the British forces, by whom he had issue—

I. Sir Thomas, who succeeded his father.

II. Juliana, who married the Right Hon. the Earl of Meath, but had no issue.

III. Elizabeth, who married, first, Sir John Dixon Hamon, Bart.; and secondly, Charles Smyth, Esq., M.P., by whom she had issue.

Sir Thomas Prendergast, the second Baronet, succeeded his father in the O'Shaughnessy property. He was Postmaster-General for Ireland, M.P. for Chichester in the English Parliament, through the interest of his relative the Duke of Richmond, and M.P. for Clonmel, in that of Ireland, the ancient property of his family being in that neighbourhood. Sir Thomas, who was a

very liberal man, was also a Privy Councillor, and a prominent politician. He took an earnest part against the Bill for the Compulsory Registration of the Catholic Priesthood; and he also irritated the Court party, by joining with other high officials, in refusing to aid the Duke of Bedford in carrying the famous Money Bill in 1757, unless he consented to forward to the King the remonstrance of the Commons against absenteeism, jobbing, and pensions. He was subsequently, however, restored to favour, and was about to be raised to the Peerage, as Viscount Clonmel, when he died, on the 23rd of October, 1760. He married Anne, daughter of — but had no issue by her, who married, secondly, Terence Prendergast, Esq. Sir Thomas's eldest sister, the Countess of Meath, having no issue (as before stated), he left the Gort estates, provided he took the name of 'Prendergast' to his nephew John Smyth, son of his second sister Elizabeth Prendergast, by her second husband Charles Smyth, Esq., forty-five years M.P. for Limerick, and second son of Thomas Smyth, Bishop of Limerick.

This gentleman, during the lawsuit with O'Shaughnessy, was known as John Prendergast, and afterwards as John Prendergast-Smyth, and was subsequently raised to the Peerage of Ireland, as Baron of Kiltarton, on the 15th of May, 1810, and Viscount Gort on the 22nd of January, 1816.

THE END.



